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Review of Indological Research in Last 75 Years

Editors

P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S.

Dr. V. V. Mirashi

2072
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Published under the Joint auspices of

M. M. Chitraoshastri Felicitation Committee

and

Bharatiya Charitrakosha Mandal, Poona 4

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

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पुस्तकालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय,
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Review of Indological Research in Last 75 Years

Editors
P. J. Chinmulgund, I.C.S.
Dr. **V. V. Mirashi**

CHECKED 1973
Initial

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Foreward
Shri G. L. Mehta
Former Indian Ambassador to U.S.

भारतीय चरित्रकोश मंडळ
विद्या देशकी सेवामें

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FOREWARD

'Review of Indological Research in the last 75 Years' is a volume prepared as a token of felicitation to M. M. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao. It is an exhaustive survey of research work carried out in more than twenty-five branches of Indology. It thus constitutes a valuable publication which would be of considerable use for reference and further research by scholars and students interested in Indology.

G. L. Mehta

(G. L. Mehta)

INTRODUCTION

M. M. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao and myself have been nextdoor neighbours for over fifty years, in other words the whole working lives of both of us. Chitraoshastri, as he is generally known, was originally a Dhadphale. Both Chitraos and Dhadphales are old historical families of note, right from the days of Chatrapati Shivaji. One day Chitraoshastri came out with an original document with the seal of Shivaji's mother the venerable Jijabai asking her son 'Shivaba' to restore one mango tree from the Shivapur mango grove to the rightful owner.

The Chitraos were 'Tabibs' (surgeons), whereas the Bajirao, the great first stayed in Dhadphale's house, before he ordered a palace for himself in Poona, which he selected as his headquarters. Chitraoshastri is rightly proud of this his traditional heritage.

Chitraoshastri had besides the rare good fortune of studying '*Vyakarana*' at the feet of one of the most talented old Pandits, the Late M. M. Vasudeoshastri Abhyankar. Soon after he was called by another remarkable personality the Late Dr. Shridhar Vyankatesh Ketkar, better known as the *Dnyanakoshakar*, to join him in his great task of compiling a Marathi Encyclopaedia in several volumes.

Already equipped as a Pandit of the old school, Chitraoshastri, who had readily joined Dr. Ketkar, got opportunities to observe and learn the technique of the new modern methods of critical study. This experience and training stood him in good stead and Chitraoshastri, after finishing his part in the '*Dnyanakosha*', directed his energies towards the Compilation of the *Charitrakosha* — the Dictionary of Biographies — which he completed part by part: ancient, mediaeval and modern, labouring singlehanded, without substantial help from any quarters. He had his small group of devoted supporters and I take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the Late Shri. Gopalrao Angal, the Late Shri. S. G. Bhalerao (Bharadvaj), and Shri. N. V. Kinkar, the last of whom is still with us.

The Volume of Biographies of the ancient period, '*Pracheen Charitrakosha*', was so welldone that it drew encomiums from

Indologists from even outside India. Chitraoshastri is the only successful translator of the whole of '*Rigveda*', in Marathi.

Soon Chitraoshastri plunged into the neo-Hindu movement as a leader and toured the country from Hyderabad to Gwalior. Here his discerning eye enabled him to spot out sincere friends, who could bring to him small bits of financial and other help. Chitraoshastri continued his work of compilation silently but with steady devotion. His studies ranged from the Vedas, Upanishuts, Brahmanas, Smritis etc., down to the Puranas and classics. This voluminous mass of materials, he combed thoroughly and drew upon wisely and assiduously for his literary work. Verily, Shri Chitraoshastri has laid generations of students and scholars of Indian Culture under great obligation by producing his dictionaries, which, I am sure, will remain forever as a permanent monument to his industry, perseverance, critical insight, and deep scholarship.

No wonder, therefore, that a Felicitation Committee was formed to honour him in a fitting manner and the result is the present volume: '*Review of Indological Research in Last 75 Years*, under the able editorship of my distinguished friends Shri. P. J. Chinmulgund, I.C.S. and Dr. V. V. Mirashi. I was asked to be the Chairman of the Felicitation Committee, and I very gladly and readily agreed. I am indeed highly obliged to the scholars and specialists, who have come forward with their learned contributions to this volume, and to the editors who worked out a systematic plan to divide the vast field of the survey of Indological Research, under appropriate sections.

Sincere thanks of the Felicitation Committee and myself are due to all those who have done their part to make our present endeavour a great success.

(Datto Vaman Potdar)
Chairman.
M. M. Chitraoshastri Felicitation Committee.

Saur Magh 18, 1888.
7th February, 1967.

PREFACE

It is with great sense of gratification, we present this volume of 'Review of Indological Research in last 75 years', to students and scholars of Indology. The volume which is prepared as a felicitation volume to M. M. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao, veteran Sanskritist and Indologist of Maharashtra, has been published under the joint auspices of M. M. Chitraoshastri Felicitation Committee and the Bharatiya Charitrakosha Mandal, Poona, of which Shastriji is the President.

The Editors are deeply indebted to all the office-bearers of M. M. Chitraoshastri Felicitation Committee, and more especially to M. M. Datto Vaman Potdar (Chairman), Tarkteertha Laxman Shastri Joshi (Vice-Chairman), and Dr. S. M. Katre, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Shri G. D. Madgulkar, Pandit Vasant A. Gadgil, for their continued help and guidance during the various stages of preparation of this volume.

The Editors are also grateful to the various contributors of this volume, who have responded with alacrity for writing the learned articles. Dr. J. N. Banerjee and Dr. V. S. Agrawala have passed away during the printing of this volume. Their posthumous articles incorporated in this volume are the living monuments to their erudition and scholarship.

The Editors would like to thank Education Department, Government of Maharashtra and Ministry of Education, Government of India, whose financial assistance has helped considerably to bring out this volume in its present form.

Lastly, the Editors would like to thank the proprietors and staff of Wagle Process Studio and Press, Bombay and Shri. Bapurao Naik, Director of Printing, Government of Maharashtra for their valuable assistance in Printing of this volume.

Bombay.
26th January 1967.

P. J. Chinmulgund
V. V. Mirashi

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M. M. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao

M. M. CHITRAOSHASTRI'S PLACE IN INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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Dr. G. R. Dhadphale

M. M. CHITRAOSHASTRI—AN APPRECIATION

DR. N. K. BHIDE

New Delhi

Enlightened scholar, philosopher, Original researcher, teacher, public speaker, spirited reformer, compassionate social worker, creative author, critical compiler and in all these offices a dignified and successful figure — such is the summary of M. M. Chitraoshastri's endeavour.

To write an appreciation of a genius is a difficult task. The difficulties increase when a span of about thirtyfive years separates him from the author, and when the two are working in entirely unrelated fields. Such a task, therefore, should be carried out with humility and caution. Happily for the author, however, there exists a reassuring possibility, namely — those very difficulties which prohibit a close view might afford him broad, objective survey.

Shri Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao, now seventy-three on February 1, 1967, has lived a life that has been sustained by intense emotions and noble motives. The thrust of his emotions has carried him through arduous labour of great diversity. Enlightened scholar, philosopher, original researcher, teacher, public speaker, spirited reformer, compassionate social worker, creative author, critical compiler and in all these offices a dignified and successful figure — such is the summary of his endeavour.

The start of his brilliant career was clouded with difficulties. He was born in the middle-class family of Dhadphales of Pashan and was taken in adoption as a son by near relatives. This change brought him to Poona. During adolescence and early youth he was denied guidance of parents and benefits of adequate finances. The untimely death of elder relatives and reverses of fortune increased his responsibilities and hardships. He joined a Vedapathashala to study Sanskrit language, grammar, and Vedashastras. Always a shrewd judge of men and events, he clearly assessed merits and short-comings of the traditional methods of teaching oriental specialities. The faith, sincerity, and idealism of his teachers have left a lasting impression on his memory. He established academic associations and later a close personal friendship with many of the outstanding teachers and Sanskrit scholars of this period. Shri Ramshastri Godbole, M. M. Vasudeoshastri Abhyankar, Pt. Vasudeoshastri Dengwekar and Pt. Mukundshastri Adkar were his Gurus and Pt. Bhagwanshastri Dharurkar and Laxmanshastri Murgudkar were his colleagues.

At the close of the nineteenth century life in Poona, as in the entire Western India, was in a great cultural turmoil. Numerous thoughts and public activities were scintillating all around. Ranade, Tilak, Gokhale, Phirozshah Mehta, Vishwanath K. Rajwade, Agarkar, Phule, Karve, Maharaja Sayajirao Gayakwad and Maharaja Shahu of Kolhapur are some of the most brilliant stars in the galaxy of great men of that era. The surge of the nineteenth century Renaissance with all its robust vigour and intellectual extremism was then at its supreme advance. It seemed as if no task was too hazardous, no difficulty insurmountable and no sacrifice too big for the fierce people of that era. Idealism and a naive self-denial permeated the entire atmosphere. Fighting spirit was at its zenith and differences of opinion often meant violent feuds. It is important to understand that Shri Chitraoshastri's character and career were gradually evolving under these great influences.

The political scene of Poona and Western India was dominated by Mr. Lokamanya Tilak. The vanguard of aggressive patriotism, he always exerted a strong influence on the younger minds. But above all, Lokamanya Tilak, like so many great contemporaries was a man of profound and creative scholarship. Inspired by Lokamanya Tilak's example Shri Chitraoshastri, at the start of his career, thought of dedicating his life to the struggle for political independence.

At this juncture a curious accident brought him near a very colourful scholar Dr. S. V. Ketkar, also known as 'Dnyankoshkar' Ketkar. Dr. Ketkar was a man of supremely independent genius that was activated by an influence rather uncommon fifty years back, namely, education in the U.S.A. If Shri Chitraoshastri was to start his career in ultra-oriental Vedapathashala he now faced a man who was ultra-occidental — or indeed supra-occidental — in his outlook. The ease, candour, and originality of Dr. Ketkar fascinated young Chitraoshastri. He was convinced that agitating for political independence is not the only way to serve a suffering nation. Of equal importance is the cultural Renaissance to be brought about by such scholastic works as will encourage dignity of the individual, spirit of inquiry, and freedom of thought. These ideas were to form the master plan of Shri Chitraoshastri's future activities. Impressed by Dr. Ketkar he also joined the group of scholars who were then preparing the Great Marathi Encyclopaedia under Dr. Ketkar's leadership. The work lasted for many years and afforded Shri Chitraoshastri a good opportunity to observe modern methods applied to Oriental studies. Besides, he could study the problems of teamwork, fact-assessment, compilation, printing, and sale which face standard reference works. Later, all this proved of great use to him.

After the completion of the Marathi Encyclopaedia, Shri Chitraoshastri started working independently. First he turned to what is generally considered to be the most terse speciality — namely the Sanskrit Grammar. He prepared the *'Shabdakosha'* for Panini and for Patanjali's *'Vyakarana-Mahabhashya'* and also wrote several articles on the same. Precision and brevity which are the attributes of a great scientific mind, characterize the speech and writing of Shri Chitraoshastri. It could be a fruit of his labour in the field of Sanskrit grammar.

At this stage we come to a chapter, apparently incompatible with the career of a scholar. It is on the social reforms. During his childhood and youth Shri Chitraoshastri had heard of great social reforms. Dr. S. V. Ketkar, with whom he had long rewarding association held original views on social problems, all of which he was wont to disseminate in a rather uninhibited style.

But what effectively awakened the reformer in Shri Chitraoshastri was his casual visit to famine stricken villages where he witnessed the most shocking decay of economic, moral, and religious values of the starving victims. He grimly realised that the traditional social order certainly required remoulding for achieving social justice and dignity of the individual. He took no time to see that what now appears to be the most irrevocable tradition is the outcome of everchanging historical forces. A certain break with orthodoxy became inevitable and he managed it without malice. He carefully studied several social problems and spent much time and energy in delivering public lectures, holding discussions, and in actively helping the distressed. He also published several informative pamphlets which have run into several editions and are still very popular. Harijans, Brahmins and Khatries, orphans and widows, Hindus and non-Hindus were all of equal concern to him. In this thankless, controversial job he conducted himself with courage, dignity, sympathy, and discipline — which all led to a popular expression "Militant Shastri". When he saw signs of wider acceptance of the great social reforms he quietly turned back to scholastic pursuits. Time has vindicated the correctness of his opinions.

By 1930 Shri Chitraoshastri critically translated Rig-veda in Marathi. Indeed, he is the first to successfully accomplish this great work. He did not share the belief that Vedas are only for religious recitations and are too sacred to be interpreted.

As an extension of his study of Vedas, he prepared '*Pracheen Charitrakosha*' which gives critical biographies of the ancient Indians. The success of this gigantic work further stimulated him to prepare '*Madhyayugeen*' and '*Arvacheen Charitrakosha*'. These three volumes of biographies extend over 2200 pages and contain about 19000 life sketches. Prepared single-handed amidst very unfavourable conditions and written with elegance, precision, and wisdom that are hard to surpass, they represent his single greatest achievement. They are acclaimed and used alike by scholars and lay people and are the permanent foundations of his reputation. '*Pracheen Charitrakosha*' has recently undergone new Hindi revision and Marathi, and English editions are in progress.

Shri Chitraoshastri has written several articles and monographs on different subjects. He has been the Editor of some periodicals and an active member of many educational and social institutions. The Acharya-Peethas have honoured him by awarding 'Vidyanidhi' and 'Mahamahopadhyaya'. Recently, he has been awarded 'Certificate of Merit in Sanskrit by the President of India. At present he is intensely busy with '*Pracheen Bharatiya Sthalakosha*' (Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian Geography) and '*Rigveda–Upasanhar*' (Epilogue of Vedic studies).

Most of the great minds are at least eccentric and quite often insufferable, which is due to the severe mental strain produced by travails of creativity. Their weaknesses serve as an endearing and innocent entertainment to all except those who happen to be their relatives and biographers. Happily Shri Chitraoshastri is an exception in that he has lived an exemplary life. His sound common sense, strict discipline, and regard for decorum protected him alike from outer shocks and inner strains. His wife the late Mrs. Yamutai Chitrao, with her capability, affection, patience, and self-denial must have exerted stabilizing influence on him till her much lamented, untimely death, in 1952. She was a remarkable lady and certainly deserves a considerable share in Shri Chitraoshastri's success.

It would be rewarding to analyse the mission of Shri Chitraoshastri on a broader background. For over a century, after the advent of Western civilization in India, the great minds here have been keenly observing the merits and deficiencies of Indian and Western civilizations. By gathering the best from both they are trying to synthesise a new pattern of culture. In a sense it can be called the Indian Renaissance. From Ram Mohan Roy to Pandit Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Vinoba Bhave they all have been trying to lead the Indian Society to strength, justice, prosperity and wisdom. They have tried to develop this Renaissance by encouraging dignity of the individual spirit of inquiry, and freedom of thought. In his own field Shri Chitraoshastri has put in his best efforts and has fought with fortitude and dignity. Indeed, in his ability to learn from diverse influences, in his humane spiritual values, in his productive scholarship that is free of futile disputations, and in his concern for utility and progress, one can discern many characteristics of the scholars of European Renaissance. To guarantee the continuity of their mission is to offer the greatest tribute to these men; to express appreciative gratitude is the least the society owes to them.

Shri Chitraoshastri is still busy with his work. Rigours of age have not abated his enthusiasm. His sharp and comprehensive wit, sober demeanour, vast experience, and sympathy render his association pleasant and instructive.

This is to wish him on the occasion of his seventy-third birthday, a long, healthful, and productive future.

M. M. CHITRAOSHASTRI—A BORN 'KOSHAKARA'

DR. H. D. SANKALIA,
Deccan College, Poona.

'Bharatvarshiya Charitrakosha' is a ripe product of M. M. Chitraoshastri's self-chosen duty, discharged with a rare devotion and dedication. It is a unique example of 'Yoga' and 'Kshema' (planning, acquisition and execution), which dictionary-makers, small and big, all over India might well emulate.

Some months ago, I had an occasion to review M. M. Chitraoshastri's Hindi edition of *'Pracheen Charitrakosha'* (Dictionary of Ancient Indian Biography). This was the first *Kosha* brought about by Shastriji some 34 years ago, and the revised and enlarged Hindi edition of the same was published in 1965.

As it is, it is encyclopaedic in scope and documented with references from the Vedic, Sutra, Puranic, Jain and Buddhist literature. The lives of over 12,000 personages — Kings, Queens, Rishis and their wives, Gods and Apsaras, Nagas and Gandharvas — are described therein in just over 1200 large-sized pages.

The work is a ripe product of Shastriji's self-chosen duty, discharged with a rare devotion and dedication. It is a unique example of *Yoga* and *Kshema* (planning, acquisition and execution) which dictionary-makers, small and big, all over India might well emulate.

Beginning very modestly and single-handed, this doyen of Sanskrit scholarship has stuck to his work through thick and thin. In Panshet floods of 1961, he lost his precious library and the manuscripts of *'Pracheen Bharatiya Sthalakosha'* (Dictionary of ancient Indian geography). Undeterred by this calamity, within three years he published the revised Hindi edition of *Pracheen Charitrakosha*, indeed a most creditable performance.

Along with *'Pracheen Charitrakosha'*, Shastriji also has edited and published Dictionary of Mediaeval Biography, *'Madhyayugin Charitrakosha'* (321 B.C. — 1818 A.D.), and Dictionary of Modern Indian Biography, *'Arvachin Charitrakosha'*. (1818 A.D. to 1945 A.D.). To me all the three volumes made a very fascinating reading. There are hundreds of persons about whom I had never heard or read. There were some about whom my knowledge was very hazy. All these persons sprung to life as I went on turning the pages of these mammoth biographical dictionaries.

I realised how little I know of our history, modern, mediaeval as well as ancient. And this feeling explained to me the significance of and importance of Shastriji's work. Here is a scholar who has interested himself in the entire gamut of what we call history. This is a stupendous task, indeed the work of a life-time.

Biography, as Shastriji conceives it is much different from the information contained in 'Whos Who'. The latter gives very brief information about the living personalities. Usually the information is supplied by the person himself. Thus the Editor is not to cull from a large number of sources, nor is it necessary for him to weigh the evidence and give judgement over personalities and their actions or inactions.

The work of a biographer is quite different. He has to be a historian, acquaint himself fully with the events and persons from all possible sources, and then evaluate the work of the person, as impartially as possible. This is not a mean job. It may take years to complete a work, to write out a biography to ones satisfaction.

One can appreciate the magnitude of Chitraoshastri's work when one handles these biographies ranging from the most ancient period, i.e. Rigvedic and Post-Rigvedic to the modern running through the whole range of Indian history, and covering Hindu, Islamic, British periods of history. I read with profit and interest about Kabral, a Portuguese sailor who came to India after Vasco de Gama, Karuvaki, one of the wives of the Emperor Asoka, Chokha Mela, a Marathi saint and poet, and hundreds of other less known personages, as well as poets, patriots and philosophers who lived during the last hundred years. I have not seen a better book than Shastriji's three volumes on the ancient, mediaeval and arvachin Kosha for a detailed knowledge of the actors on stage of Indian History.

A Born Koshakara

Last so many years Shastriji has devoted himself to compile his Magnum o '*Pracheen Bharatiya Sthalakosha*' (Dictionary of ancient Indian geography). Geography is rightly considered to be a dull and complicated subject. This is especially true of ancient Indian geography, where Vedic, Puranic, epigraphic, Buddhist and Jain literature contains divergent information about ancient Indian place-names. Shastriji proposes to bring new unity and coherence to this divergent data and bring to life all these. I am sure that this work when published will bring new glory to his already glorious career as a '*koshakara*'.

Shastriji is a born '*koshakara*'. This little note on him is but an inadequate appreciation on his great contribution to Knowledge.

M. M. CHITRAOSHASTRI, A SANSKRIT SCHOLAR

— P. J. CHINMULGUND, I.C.S.

Bombay.

M. M. Chitraoshastri is a firm believer in Vyasa's doctrine of the true pursuit of Knowledge — 'आवृत्तिरसकृत् उपदेशात्' (Knowledge must be recited and re-iterated till the aim of ultimate knowledge is achieved). Through all the ups and downs in his life, he has practised this 'Dnyana-Marga', thus setting a glorious example to all the scholars of his generation.

M. M. Chitraoshastri, who can rightly be called a prize-product of the Sanskrit-pathashala tradition of Maharashtra, and who has devoted the last 50 years of his life to Sanskrit and Indological research, was awarded last year the President of India's '*Certificate of Merit in Sanskrit*'. His scholarship has thus received the recognition of the President of India.

I have been privileged to meet, converse and know intimately many of the eminent Sanskrit scholars of Sanskrit-pathashala tradition. M. M. Chitraoshastri's scholarship is quite unique amongst all these scholars, in as much as he combines the depth of traditional learning with the latest research outlook. It is through his skill and aptitude in blending the old and the new that his research work becomes invaluable for scholars of both the schools, traditional as well as modern.

Sanskrit scholars of the olden school many a time tend to be orthodox in their views and thus tend to be sceptical of all the modern research and its methodology. This peculiar and partisan attitude seeps into all their research work, thus making it out-dated and practically useless.

Though belonging to the older school of Sanskrit learning, M. M. Chitraoshastri's outlook towards Indological research is refreshingly different. Being the disciple of the veteran Sanskrit scholar of Maharashtra, M. M. Vasudeoshastri Abhyankar, he is justly proud of the heritage of traditional learning. Yet, right from the year 1928, he has shown rare aptitude for modern research outlook, almost unparalleled among his contemporaries.

In the days, when all the traditional Sanskrit scholars were busy reciting '*Rigveda*' by rote, M. M. Chitraoshastri undertook and successfully completed the monumental task of translating and interpreting complete '*Rigveda*' *Samhita*' in Marathi.

While interpreting the various 'Suktas' of '*Rigveda*', he was at many places bold enough to show his differences of opinion with Sayana's wellknown commentary of '*Rigveda*,' thus disproving the fallacy **'सायणवाक्यं प्रमाणम्'** (whatever Sayana says, is right) amongst the scholars of traditional school. Sayana, the most reliable commentator in the available commentaries of 'Rigveda', was born many centuries after the compilation of '*Rigveda Samhita*'. Hence his efforts of Rigveda interpretation are not foolproof as the old Sanskritists profess to be. It seems wise to evaluate his interpretation, rationally rather than accept them as gospel truth. M. M. Chitraoshastri put forth and practised these views in a very forceful manner in his '*Rigveda* interpretation', and established a new school of *Rigveda* interpretation in this part of India.

In the opinion of M. M. Chitraoshastri, what is true of '*Rigveda*' and Sayana's commentary thereof, is equally true of *Upanishads Puranas*, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. He feels that all this literature contains a rich mine of information regarding the history of culture of pre-historic India. As this information is masked and obscured by allegoric, hyperbolic and poetic mode of expression peculiar to ancient Indian literature, no historic truth can be gleaned therefrom if you accept all this information literally, as the scholars of the traditional school have a tendency to do. It is only through the application of modern research methodology of critical and rational evaluation that true history can be reconstructed out of this data.

M. M. Chitraoshastri has successfully and with dedicated devotion, professed, propagated and practised this research outlook for the last thirty years and more. His '*Panini Sutrapathas word Index*' and '*Mahabhashya Shabdakosha*' (both in collaboration with M. M. Shridharshastri Pathak), and more especially his monumental project in 3 volumes of '*Pracheen*, *Madhyayugin*

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and *Arvacheen 'Charitrakosha,'* (Encyclopaedia of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Indian Biography) are living monuments to this particular way of thinking.

All the above books covering in all more than 5000 big-size pages have been meticulously and critically edited by M. M. Chitraoshastri singlehanded and this has achieved, what many full-fledged indological research institutions with a host of staff aspire to do; but very rarely succeed in doing.

M. M. Chitraoshastri is a firm believer in Vyasa's doctrine of the true pursuit of knowledge **'आवृत्तिरसकृत् उपदेशात्'** (knowledge must be recited and reiterated till the aim of ultimate knowledge is achieved).

Accordingly to M. M. Chitraoshastri, research work must be pursued in the spirit of *Sadhana*, with dedicated devotion and it is only through life-time *Sadhana* in the tradition of the ancient Seers and Rshis that you can aspire to get true *Siddhi* (i.e. true achievement of knowledge) in any chosen branch of research.

Through all the ups and downs in his life, M. M. Chitraoshastri has steadfastly practised the aforesaid *Dnyana-Marga* thus setting a glorious example to all the scholars of his generation. Changing conditions in day to day life, necessitated due to Panshet Flood disaster of 1961, when he lost all his offices, library and valuable manuscripts, M. M. Chitraoshastri continued his research work in the true spirit of sthitaprajna, without a single day's break.

During all these years he has scrupulously avoided lime-light in the form of public appearances and platform speeches, Government Committees and University assignments, with a conviction that 'outdoor' activities disturb the mental tranquillity required for the true pursuit of knowledge.

Because of this hermit-like discipline, M. M. Chitraoshastri has remained a lesser-known figure in comparison with the scholars of the modern school, who devote much of their time to 'extra-curricular' public activities.

Yet, probably because of this 'hermit discipline', his scholarly output has become so rich and deep.

All the research work carried on since 1928 under the auspices of Bharatiya Charitrakosha Mandal owes its major inspiration and execution to M. M. Chitraoshastri.

Even to-day, whenever I meet M. M. Chitraoshastri, I find him completely engrossed in his latest research project '*Pracheen Bharatiya Sthalakosha*' (Encyclopedia of Ancient Indian Geography in Marathi), which is now in its final stages of printing. The complete press-copy of this work was lost in Panshet dam disaster of 1961. But during the last five years M. M. Chitraoshastri has reconstructed the entire work, collecting all the data and references anew and rewriting it.

Though scholars like Nundolal Dey, and Dr. B. C. Law have in the past compiled '*Geographical Dictionaries of Ancient India*,' M. M. Chitraoshastri aspires to compile his '*Sthalakosha*' in the much broader encyclopedic dimensions, presenting and correlating all the diverse epic, puranic, classical, Chinese and archaeological data in their proper order.

According to M. M. Chitraoshastri, the previous attempts in this field are more in the nature of geographical placename-indices. Though their importance is self-evident, their scope is very much limited, in as much as the vast geographical data contained in archaeological and architectural remains and inscriptions have been excluded, only because the ancient geographical names of their find-spots are not known to-day. Important places like 'Angkor-Thom' and 'Mohenjo-daro' do not find any mention in these dictionaries for this reason.

M. M. Chitraoshastri wants to incorporate all this data in his forth-coming '*Pracheen Bharatiya Sthalakosha*', and I am confident that the aforesaid work, which is likely to be published next year, will bring a crowning glory to his already illustrious career as a Sanskritist and Indologist.

M. M. CHITRAOSHASTRI—A VEDIC PHILOSOPHER

—DR. G. R. DHADPHALE
Poona.

M. M. Chitraoshastri, who has been aptly described by Shri M. S. Aney as modern 'Vyasa', combines many of the attributes of that great seer of bygone era. .... Through his rationalistic as well as faithful approach to Vedic literature, religion and ritualism, he has been able to achieve in 20th century, what 'Vyasa' aspired and succeeded in doing at the beginning of Christian era.

M. M. Chitraoshastri, who has been aptly described by Shri. M. S. Aney as modern 'Vyasa', combines many of the attributes of that great seer of the bygone era. Through his steadfast devotion to Vedic knowledge, his '*Koshas*' of biographies which cover thousands of pages and more especially his rationalistic as well as faithful approach to Vedic literature, religion and ritualism, he has been able to achieve in 20th century what Vyasa aspired and succeeded in doing at the beginning of the Christian era.

M. M. Chitraoshastri has been a most dedicated Vedic philosopher and a firm believer in Vedic doctrines whole of his life. He firmly believes that Vedic literature can successfully withstand the test of modern rationalism and scientific approach. According to him, Vedic literature has withstood all the political, doctrinal, socio-religious onslaughts for so many centuries, only because of its intrinsic universality and because it has the capacity to withstand test of time and to satisfy the needs of people of all times.

Thus M. M. Chitraoshastri's approach towards Vedic literature and religion is entirely different from the bookish academicians, who while following the words of Vedic literature totally ignore the spirit behind them. He is also at cross-roads with pseudo-modern socio-religious workers, who try to fit in the Vedic data to support their 20th Century doctrines, and also with antiquated Vedic missionaries of old school, who try to prove **वेदोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्** (Vedas contain all the knowledge, and conversely what is not in the Vedas is not knowledge at all.)

M. M. Chitraoshastri, in contradistinction to most of the scholars of his generation possesses inborn love and faith in the Vedas. He firmly believes that all the later Upanishadic, Puranic and epic literature has been written to emulate and spread Vedic philosophical doctrines, and unless this link between these diverse literatures is properly appreciated, the study of ancient Indian literature becomes pointless and meaningless.

According to M. M. Chitraoshastri, Upanishadas are in nut-shell a code of Vedic religious ethics, and puranas are folklore written with an underlined motive of propagating Vedic philosophy in day to day life. Vyasa and Valmiki in their '*Mahabharata*' and '*Ramayana*' respectively, have fitted in the ancient Indian history and its personages in the firm framework of Vedic philosophy. Thus though all the central events to characters in these two works are historical, their motivity in its entirety is the supreme creation of their authors, who were firm believers and exponents of Vedic doctrine.

According to M. M. Chitraoshastri, this central cultural link in all our ancient literature represents the biggest national heritage and must be presented to 20th century readers in a factual, matter of fact and historical manner. High-sounding rhetoric or empty philosophy which has reigned supreme in this particular field last so many years has spoilt the whole mission of propagating Vedic philosophy to common masses and as such should be avoided as far as possible.

This particular faith in Vedic doctrine and abhorence of rhetoric and empty words have made. M. M. Chitraoshastri's all writings and more especially his '*Pracheen Charitrakosha*' and '*Pracheen Sthalakosha*,' rare masterpieces in their respective fields. In these works spiritual, cultural and historical core of Vedic culture is left unaffected in such masterly fashion that a reader gets entirely correct concept of our ancient history.

According to M. M. Chitraoshastri, the world from historical times has been divided into two categories — Vedic and non-Vedic. Out of these two categories, non-Vedic part is all the while trying to merge into the Vedic part, while occasionally trying to defy it. On this basis, he feels that it is the duty of every Vedic philosopher to open up all the possible avenues, whereby non-Vedic people can enter Vedic fold, provided they are truly repentent and their wish to enter Vedic fold is genuine enough.

To this end M. M. Chitraoshastri has for the last 30 years advocated, practised and led '*Shuddhi*' (sanctification) movement in Maharashtra, whereby any non-Hindu can again enter Vedic religion provided he is prepared to observe. Vedic religious rituals and accept the code of behaviour as laid down by Vedic religion.

M. M. Chitraoshastri's participation in the '*Shuddhi*' movement has sprung from belief that Vedic religion and philosophy is not as static or rigid and puritan as its modern perceptors believe. This religion from historical times has remained a dynamic movement, where modifications and adaptations are practised at every turn of century and this adaptability is the keynote of its universal appeal and indestructibility.

With this particular broad-based viewpoint, M. M. Chitraoshastri can be rightly called a Vedic philosopher in the glorious tradition of Shankaracharya, Dnyaneshwar, Kabir, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa and Swami Vivekanand.

M. M. Chitraoshastri firmly believes that all the aforesaid philosophers with their apparently divergent philosophical doctrines, have one basic thing in common, in as much as they all have reverence to Vedas and as such, they can be rightly called Vedic philosophers of their own times. Because of the needs of their respective times they had to mould their philosophy in apparently mutually incompatible manner. Yet in their divergent manner, they kept the banner of Vedic philosophy flying in their respective times. Shree Shankaracharya had to forego his earlier un-comprising Vedic religious philosophy and to accept in later times a modified and simplified Vedic faith suitable to his times. Shree Dnyaneshwar defied Vedic hierarchy of brahmins and made open their spiritual secrets to the forbidden communities. Kabir in his preachings observed no distinctions of caste, sect or religion whatsoever. Lately Shree Ramkrishna Paramahamsa and his disciple Swami Vivekanand preached Vedic philosophy, totally devoid of its practical ritualistic side, replacing the same with selfless service in the form of hospitals etc. for '*Daridri-Narayana*'. This same term '*Daridri-Narayana*' was later adapted by Mahatma Gandhi in altogether different socio-political context.

Personally M. M. Chitraoshastri has never claimed to be a Vedic philosopher in the tradition of Shree Shankaracharya or Shree Dnyaneshwar. On the contrary he has kept himself aloof from occult part of Vedic philosophy and shunned from creating and propagating a school of Vedic philosophy of his own. Yet his rational and scientific approach towards Vedic literature and philosophy has done the same service to intelligentsia of Maharashtra, that all his illustrious predecessors have done in the bygone era. As such he has earned for himself a respected place in the glorious galaxy of Vedic philosophers in India.

Review of Indological Research
in
Last 75 Years

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	American Anthropologist
ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AI	Ancient India
AIOC	All India Oriental Conference
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin
APAMNH	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
ARASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India — Annual Report
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d-Extre'me Oriente
BG	Bombay Gazetteer
BPP	Bengal Past and Present
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BV	Bharatiya Vidya
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Cult. Her.	Cultural Heritage of India
Des. Cat. of MSS ASB	Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Asiatic Society of Bengal
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

GIS	Greater India Society
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
IA	The Indian Antiquary
IAL	Indian Art and Letters
IC	Indian Culture
IHRC	Indian Historical Research Centres
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
ILN	The Illustrated London News
Ind. Cult.	Indian Culture
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J & PASB	Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JAS	Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JBHU	Journal of the Benares Hindu University
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University
JGIS	Journal of the Greater India Society
JGRS	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JMSUB	Journal of Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research

JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JUB	Journal of the University of Bombay
JUPHS	Journal of the University of Poona (Humanities Section)
KZ	Kuhn's Zeitschrift
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
MII	Man in India
MIQ	Mediaeval Indian Quarterly
NIA	New Indian Antiquary
NPP	Nagari Pracarini Patrika
NUJ	Nagpur University Journal
OC	Oriental Conference
OH	Our Heritage
PO	The Poona Orientalist
PTAIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Conference
QBISM	Quarterly of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandala
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
TP	T 'oung Pao
VVRI	Vishveshwarananda Vedic Research Institute
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

REVIEW
OF
INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH
IN
LAST 75 YEARS

Section 1

LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

GENERAL LINGUISTICS
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VEDIC LITERATURE
Dr. G. V. Devasthali

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ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN LITERATURE
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S. R. Balasubramaniam

GENERAL LINGUISTICS

DR. S. M. KATRE

Director, Deccan College, Poona

Indological researches, hitherto only a scholarly pursuit of academicians, are now potent with practical moment of the highest consequence to the country. Here is a tremendous challenge to the Indian linguists and a like opportunity to help in forging linguistic ties to match and sustain the cultural and political unities of the community of Indian peoples. Nowhere in history could philologists and linguists have ever been called to a greater duty.

Introduction

Ever since the "discovery" of Sanskrit by the West in the 17th century, and the famous pronouncement made by Sir William Jones while inaugurating the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1786, which led to the founding of the School of Comparative Grammar by Bopp in Germany and Rask in Denmark, India has been recognized as the birth-place of scientific linguistics. The study of *Prātiśākhyas*, *Śikṣās* and particularly the grammar of *Pāṇini* provided a model for describing the classical and modern languages of Europe and introduced a method for handling linguistic facts. Thus Comparative Philology with its sub-branch of Historical Grammar established itself in Europe in the nineteenth century. Linguistics, based on articulatory phonetics and the recognition of language as an oral means of communication between members of a given society, led to the development of a number of ancillary studies which were marginal not only to scientific linguistics, but also to related branches of science such as physics, physiology, psychology, therapeutics, etc., until in the current century the discovery of electronics and its applications to communication engineering and the development of computer analysis have made Linguistics a very complicated area of scientific achievements. The history of General Linguistics is very largely concerned with developments which have taken place outside the country where it had its origin.

1. Methodology of Comparative Grammar

The method involved in Comparative Grammar, where the comparison between sets of comparable items from languages which show a regular correspondence in their phonological and morphological features throughout the entire corpus of the languages, leads to establishing a *stemma* showing the individual relationship between the member languages to each other, and to the common source from which they are ultimately derived, is already implied in the work which was accomplished in India in the

Prakrit Grammars of Caṇḍa and Vararuci. Here the source language or *Prakṛt* is taken as Sanskrit and the general system of description of each Prakrit dialect is a set of correspondences between Sanskrit and that dialect. It is, however, unfortunate that this implied theory of genetic relationship was not fully stated and applied to other families of languages. In a history of General Linguistics, this fact that an implied theory of genetic relationship was applied and comparisons established by stating the correspondences, phonological, as well as morphological, but not given due recognition by Western Historians, must be particularly emphasised. In this sense the techniques of Comparative Linguistics were first developed in India in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

2. School of young Grammarians in Germany

The major credit for developing the new discipline of Comparative Grammar during the 19th century naturally goes to Bopp and Rask. But its popularisation and recognition as a major discipline goes to a band of young German scholars headed by Brugmann, Delbruck, Osthoff, Paul and others during the last quarter of that century who insisted on rigorous methodology. Indeed a very lively controversy between the older scholars and the younger generation resulted in the school of thought represented by Brugmann and his colleagues being called the school of the 'young grammarians' or 'Junggrammatiker' in a derisive sense. The rigorous application of what were called 'sound laws' was the source of a great controversy; but finally the work of this school was accepted and became the model which could be applied to other linguistic families, particularly the Semitic in which a great deal of work was being done at this time.

3. De Saussure's thesis on system of primitive vowels in PI-E.

It was really the contribution of a single scholar who studied Linguistics in Paris and taught there during the closing quarter of the 19th century, that led to certain new developments. Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss scholar, presented a thesis on the system of primitive vowels in the Indo-European source language in 1888, which anticipated some of the findings resulting from the decipherment of Hittite and Tocharian in the present century. De Saussure was a remarkable scholar and was mentor and inspirer of some of the leading lights who made significant contributions to the development of General Linguistics. With a penetrating insight, he recognized that both synchronic and diachronic studies of any language are necessary before any advance becomes possible in the domain of comparative linguistics. He also analysed features at synchronic level which are capable of being considered as forming part of a non-uniform pattern. In other words, he established the fact that no human language is an isolate, and however far we can go back, we still find that a language has many facets arising from language contact. Again the representation of any given language even according to the phonetic analysis of the speech sounds in that language does not necessarily lead to a simplification of its graphemes. For achieving the maximum economy in this direction, it was necessary to analyse the speech from another angle: that of communication and a minimum system of distinctive elements which in their combination describe the structure of the language. De Saussure tried to develop his theories in Geneva, where he spent a few fruitful years in his short life, but unfortunately did not leave any writing behind. It is primarily due to his pupils who preserved the notes of his brilliant lectures and pursued some of the paths which he had cleared therein, that a new era was set up in the development of General Linguistics.

4. Phonetic Studies in France

It was towards the second half of the 19th century that phonetic studies in the West, and particularly in France, tried to keep pace with advances in other fields. With the development of acoustics and the fashioning of instruments to measure sound, phonetics entered a new phase : that of Acoustic Phonetics. The Kymograph designed by physiologists to study the heart-beats, was modified to study the nature of macrophonic speech and scholars like Rousselot in France, and Scripture in England utilized the horizontal and vertical varieties of the Kymograph to study the nature of speech sounds, isolating their individual features in a continuous stream of speech. This was the period during which Edison recorded human speech and the Gramophone and the Telephone were born. With further developments of electric technology as applied to communication engineering, and the discovery of wireless transmission, the transformation of sound into light and vice versa, bringing in the era of the radio, the talkies, and television, a whole new range of delicate instruments became available to the linguist, who now took on himself the role of a communication engineer, as well as an addict to the use of computers in skilful handling of linguistic material. The use of these instruments made the study of little known languages more precise, as we shall show in the succeeding sections.

5. Work of Missionary Societies

The great discovery of new continents and the scramble to set up spheres of influence or to carve out empires, resulted in the study of languages whose existence was unknown to European scholars. Credit must specially be given to missionary societies, who were among the first in the field of these studies with the avowed object of translating the Word of God in these languages. The equipment of these scholars was not scientific, but they did a remarkable job without having the basic linguistic approach; from adopting the roman alphabet for preliterate languages to producing literature in them was a gigantic task which they did with zeal. When, however, language scientists began to get interested in these languages they found the descriptions given by the bible translators inadequate. Language had to be studied for its own sake and described without reference to anything else outside that language, and no technique existed. This challenge was accepted by keen linguists, particularly some of those who came under the influence of De Saussre.

6. Work of the Prague School of Linguistics

It is in this sense that the Circle of Linguistics in Prague of which Prince Trubetzkoi was a member contributed systematically to the development of a phonological theory, which led to the concept of the phoneme as a minimum distinct speech unit and the consideration of any language as a system. Members of the Prague school of Linguistics dispersed to different parts of the world and contributed considerably to the development of the structural school of linguistics. Most of this development took place within the last thirtyfive years. The success of this school was ably demonstrated by the study of anthropological linguistics, i.e., study of languages for which no writing systems existed.

The 20th century Linguistics particularly recognized Linguistics as an important facet of the study of man and formed part of

Social and Anthropological Studies. In the United States the greatest impetus to the development of linguistics came from the social scientists. When American Indian languages had to be studied as part of the training of an anthropologist, existing linguistic theories and techniques were found to be lacking in system; it was in this context that Sapir developed his particular approach to linguistic description, from which point Bloomfield developed his special theories. The triumvirate Sapir, Boas and Bloomfield set a special stamp of American Linguistics in the Western Hemisphere, and the Structural School of Linguistics was born in the United States with great vigour.

Similarly in Copenhagen another special school has been developing under the inspiration of Hjelmslev and others. Indeed each country in Europe has developed a particular slant which characterises the linguistic research produced in that country. In Italy, for instance, following the trends of Linguistic Geography, the Neogrammarians have developed what is popularly called the 'Area School' of Linguistics or 'Areal Linguistics'.

7. Various branches of General Linguistics

During the last 30 years, General Linguistics has taken so many special facets, each of which has developed considerable literature that it is impossible to deal with them adequately in this brief review. However, we may indicate the fields by their labels just to give an idea of these facets. In addition to Comparative and Historical Linguistics which developed in that order, we have Descriptive Linguistics, Mathematical Linguistics, Applied Linguistics and Anthropological Linguistics, in addition to the schools like the American School, the French School, the Geneva School, the British School, the Prague School and the Copenhagen School. U.S.S.R. has developed its own theories and has considerable work to its credit, particularly with regard to Central Asian studies. Even in the United States, there is a Bloomfieldian School and a post-Bloomfieldian School. But in spite of these outward differences, there is a certain underlying unity which aims to apply the techniques of physical sciences to the act of speech; the differences are the results of the variety of techniques applied rather than of a fundamental variance of the general theory of language. Of particular interest to India is the British school of linguistics centred round Daniel Jones, J. R. Firth and others, and the French school of linguistics initiated by Maurice Grammont and Antoine Meillet, since most of the pioneers in Indian linguistics have been influenced more by these traditions than others, until the recent resurgence of interest in linguistic studies encouraged and sustained by the University Grants Commission, following the spade work accomplished by the Deccan College, particularly after the inauguration of the Language Project with a munificent grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of New York. Among the signal achievement of linguistic science in the current period is the application of linguistics to the teaching of languages on the one hand, and the development of machine translation which has been made possible by computer techniques, and detailed elaboration of new descriptive procedures involved in what is now called Transformation Grammar or Generative Grammar and with certain new ways of dealing with Meaning.

8. Work of 19th Century Individual Scholars

During the past 150 years, as indicated above, most of the development in linguistic science has stemmed from work initiated and carried out outside India. In India itself, during the 19th century, much of the early work was inspired by or carried out by Western scholars settled in this country for short or long periods. Thus the *Marathi Dictionary* of Molesworth is the result of collaboration between British and Indian scholars and is still the most comprehensive reference work, though more than 100 years old. The Rev. J. Wilson was one of the earliest representatives in Western India who gave some thought to the study of Indian languages then current in the Bombay Presidency, and gave the impetus to the developing interest of using the regional languages as media of communication at a time when under British hegemony English constituted the main language of administration and education. Scientific interest in linguistic studies was highlighted by the application of Comparative Grammar to the great literary languages of Peninsular India, in which Bishop Caldwell included quite a large number of uncultivated languages spoken in southern and central India. Though the book was printed in England the work was done entirely in this country, and the credit goes to Caldwell for initiating comparative studies in and establishing this family of languages. Indeed the gains from the field of Comparative Indo-European Grammar were first applied systematically to Dravidian before being extended to other families. It was much later that a sub-branch of Indo-European, Indo-Aryan was taken up for such systematisation. The earliest linguistic work of note in this field is that by Trumpp; his first contribution to Sindhi was a Sindhi Reading Book in Sanskrit and Arabic characters, published in 1858 at London. His *Das Sindhi in Vergleich zum Prakrit und den anderen neuren Dialecten Sanskritischen Ursprungs* appeared in **ZDMG** 15.690-752 (1861) followed by *Die Stammbildung des Sindhi im Vergleich zum Prakrit und den anderen neuren Dialecten Sanskritischen Ursprungs* in **ZDMG** 16 127-214 (1862). The first two volumes of Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* appeared from London in 1872 and 1875 and the final volume in 1879. Similarly Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages,* with special reference to Eastern Hindi was published in 1880. These were individual studies resulting from the personal interest of three officials in linguistic studies; there was no special inducement or patronage which led to their publication; and indeed much of the work that was done in this field until a university department was established at Calcutta in 1913 is remarkable for being the product of individual scholars who were not given any facilities or special inducements to pursue them. Nevertheless the credit for recognizing the need for giving a special place to these studies at the University level must be given to the University of Bombay which was the first to institute a lectureship in linguistics as it was then developing in Europe in the name of the Reverend John Wilson. The Wilson Philological Lectureship was inaugurated in 1877 by Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar when he delivered a course of seven lectures on *Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages* derived from it (and including the New Indo-Aryan languages). The Wilson foundation provided for an annual series of lectures in philology, to be delivered in regular succession covering four fields: (a) Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages derived from it, (b) Latin and Greek, (c) Semitic Languages and (d) English. With very few exceptions none of the courses delivered was ever published. The inaugural lectures of Dr. Bhandarkar were originally issued in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society **(JBBRAS)** between 1883 and 1889 covering only four of them. The complete series was, however, published only in 1914 and it soon became a text-book for philological studies at the M.A. for students of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrits and Modern Indian Languages.

9. Linguistic Survey of India

As a result of a resolution urging upon the Government of India to undertake a systematic study of India's linguistic wealth adopted at the Vienna session of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1886 Government accepted this recommendation and inaugurated the Linguistic Survey of India in 1894 and appointed Dr. George Abraham Grierson as its Director. This work lasted for well over 33 years and the final report of the first Linguistic Survey of India was finally submitted in 1927. This Survey brought to light innumerable languages and dialects without being able to cover the entire area of the sub-continent, and was the first ever to be attempted on such a large scale. It has become the source of practically all the major research in the field of Indian and General Linguistics, though every scholar who has used the Survey feels many inadequacies therein. But what was done therein for India had not been done for any other country previously and it shares the honour of being pioneer work. It has elicited the wonder and admiration of generations of scholars who have had occasion to consult and use it. It gave a direction to such work in other countries.

10. Sanskrit-Woerterbuch' by Boehtlingk and Roth

One of the major works dealing with the history of Old Indo-Aryan which was completed in the third quarter of the 19th century was the *Sanskrit-Woerterbuch* compiled by two German scholars Otto Boehtlingk and Rudolf Roth and published by the Russian Academy at St. Petersburg in 7 volumes (1855-75). Though the lexicon was based on extraction of material from less than 500 source books, it was done with a thoroughness and mastery which has scarcely been equalled in subsequent lexicons of any classical language. The material so finely analysed and presented supplied the second generation of linguists constituting the school of the Junggrammatiker an opportunity to work on the history of the development of Old Indo-Aryan on a scale which has not yet been approached for any other classical language constituting the Indo-European family. Jacob Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik—I Lautlehre* appeared in 1896, to be followed in 1905 by Vol. II (*Einleitung zur Wortlehre, Nominalkomposition*) and in 1930 by Vol. III (*Nominal Flexion-Zahlwort-Pronomen*) and in 1954 by another volume (=*Band II, 2 Die Nominal suffixe*). The last two volumes were brought out by Albert Debrunner from the rich materials which Wackernagel himself had collected in his immaculate hand, and it is indeed a loss to scholarship that Debrunner himself did not live to see the completion of the last volume which was to deal with Verb Morphology. Had Wackernagel been younger we might have anticipated his adding a couple of additional volumes on Old Indo-Aryan Syntax on the basis of a similar study of Greek Syntax which he gave in his *Vorlesungen.*

11. Work by Pischel, Geiger and Jacobi

At the turn of the 19th century, inaugurating as it were the 20th century, appeared another equally epoch-making work by Richard Pischel entitled *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen.* With his rich background of Indo-Aryan studies as witnessed by his *Vedische Studien* individually and jointly with Geldner, this grammar brings within the reach of general linguists the rich material belonging to Middle Indo-Aryan harvested from a maze of passages which needed to be edited critically. It was unfortunate that in this monumental work Pischel did not include either the Prakrit inscriptions, such as those of Asoka and others which constitute a fairly large body of material and coin legends, or Pali, the sacred language of *Hīnayāna Buddhism.* The influence of Pischel was so great that in some of the succeeding editions of Prakrit texts the grammatical statements of Prakrit grammarians analysed by Pischel were utilized oftentimes by editors (such as Sten Konow, who happened to be a pupil of Pischel), against the evidence of the manuscripts themselves. The deficiency so far as Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics was concerned was made good by Wilhelm Geiger's *Pali Literatur und Sprache* which appeared in 1916. In India the late Professor A. C. Woolner brought out a short *Introduction to Prakrit* in which he included both Pali and Asokan and other Prakrit Inscriptions, the first edition of which came out in 1917 and the second in 1928, together with a popular edition of Asokan Inscriptions accompanied by a vocabulary. The study of Apabhramsa was the weakest link in Pischel's *Grammatik;* he depended to a large extent on the material contained in Hemacandra's Grammar. It was, therefore, a matter for congratulation that an eminent scholar of the rank and experience of Hermann Jacobi brought out an edition of *Bhavisattakaha* in 1918. Thanks chiefly to the initiative taken by Professors P. L. Vaidya, A. N.

Upadhye, L. Alsdorf and Hiralal Jain a fairly representative selection of *Apabhramsa texts* were critically edited, making it possible for a proper evaluation of Apabhramsa grammar.

12. Discovery of Middle Indo-Aryan Texts in Central Asia

Another significant development was the discovery of Middle Indo-Aryan texts and inscriptions in Central Asia. The Kharoshthi Inscriptions edited in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, were supplemented by the study of the Kharoshthi Documents found in Niya and edited by Professor Rapson formed the basis of a linguistic study by T. Burrow and provided a link in the chain of Indo-Aryan developments (1936). Finally the *Kharoshthi Dhammapada* of which fragments had been edited by Sylvain Levi and whose linguistic characteristics were studied first by Jules Bloch and later by H. W. Bailey, have now been fully edited with the aid of the hitherto unedited fragments reposing in Russian Archives by J. Brough under the title *Gandhari Dhammapada.*

13. Epic, Jain and Buddhist Sanskrit Studies

The language of the popular Sanskrit literature as embodied in the Epics, in the writings of Mahayana Buddhists and of Jaina authors and commentators, has attracted the attention of linguists as a special vehicle of communication. Epic Sanskrit has been studied in some detail by Hopkins and Jacobi. A beginning in the study of what Maurice Bloomfield defined as 'Jain Sanskrit' was made by him, and subsequent editors of such texts brought out, have taken note of lexical and grammatical peculiarities found in these texts. But none have reached the magnitude of the study of Buddhist Sanskrit which Franklin Edgerton made under the special designation of *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. A Dictionary, a Grammar and a Chresthomathy form a triad, supported by a series of lectures which he delivered in Banaras Hindu University and elsewhere during the academic year 1953-54. Edgerton's contribution to the study of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics is incalculable.

Recently B. J. Sandesara and his associates in the M. S. University of Baroda have extended the study of Jain Sanskrit and issued a special dictionary of lexical items drawn from a variety of texts, serially in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* and subsequently issued in book form.

14. New Generation of Indian Linguists

With the introduction of a number of scholarships which enabled Indian scholars to go abroad and specialise in Indological Studies, a few of them specialized in linguistic studies. Among the first such generation may be mentioned the late Dr. T. K. Laddu (who edited Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar), Dr. P. D. Gune who studied linguistics under some of the leading European linguists, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar who edited critically a part of *Śākaṭāyana's Sanskrit Grammar.* Many of these returned to India just before the outbreak of the first World War in 1914. It was at this time that the University of Calcutta introduced a course in comparative philology with the late Prof. Strauss as the first Professor. He was succeeded by Dr. Taraporewala. Having tasted Linguistics, as it were, the University of Calcutta, under the inspiring guidance of Sir Asutosh Mookerji, founded the new chair for Indian Linguistics with the Khaira Foundation and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who had spent three years between Paris and London (under Meillet and Daniel Jones respectively) between 1919 and 1922 was elected as the first incumbent to this post. His major contribution *"Origin and Development of Bengali"* which was his thesis for the D. Litt. degree of London University was published in 1926. Under the joint inspiration of Taraporewala and Chatterji a band of scholars was trained in comparative philology at this University, making it possible for general linguistics to have a place of honour in a university curriculum.

15. Contribution of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma

About the same time that Dr. Chatterji was abroad another Indian scholar who had been closely associated with J. R. Firth and other British linguists spent a few years abroad and returned to his home province, to devote all his spare time to linguistic studies. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, whose contribution was published in the Furlong Series of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland dealing with the *Phonetics of Ancient Indian Grammarians*, has been continuously at work for the last forty years accumulating a rich collection of dialectal material from the sub-Himalayan regions. He has been one of the chief contributors to the development of linguistic studies in this country, with a band of devoted pupils. It is a matter for congratulation that the Vishveshvaranand Research Institute of Hoshiarpur, is now bringing out a series of publications embodying his long and sustained research in many aspects of Indian linguistics, enriched by his experience as one of the principal officers in charge of the work conducted by the Directorate of Hindi Studies in the Ministry of Education for well over ten years.

16. Bloch's "La Formation de La Langue Marathe"

A reference was made earlier to the influence of the French and British schools of linguistics on the development of Indian linguistics in this country. More specifically it was the basic contribution of Sir George Grierson, which paved the way to these two streams of a common tradition as exemplified by Jules Bloch in Paris, and Ralph Lilley Turner in London, both ultimately deriving their inspiration from Antoine Meillet and Sylvain Levi. Jules Bloch had spent some useful years in India with Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar while studying the formation of Marathi. His magisterial monograph *La formation de la Langue Marathe* which constituted his major contribution to Indian linguistics had been completed in 1914 just before the first World War, but was actually published in 1919, and furnished an exact model to historical studies of Indian languages. Chatterji's *Origin and Development of Bengali* owes considerably to the work of Jules Bloch, and most of the succeeding works on the history of individual languages and dialects of Indo-Aryan draw their inspiration from Bloch and Chatterji. Similarly Turner's contribution to the phonology of Gujarati and Sindhi were precursors to his principal contribution to the *Comparative and Etumological Dictionary of Nepali* which appeared in 1931. Prior to accepting the Professorship of Sanskrit in the London University, Professor Turner visited India as a member of the Indian Education Service and served in the Banaras Hindu University as Professor of Linguistics. His first Indian pupil there was Baburam Saksena, already an M.A. in Sanskrit. Thus was started the magic circle of linguistics in India which gradually moved to a position of strength only after the passing of nearly four decades. On the basis of Bloch's *Formation de la Langue Marathe* and Chatterji's *Origin and Development of Bengali* quite a large number of similar studies appeared in print in the following two decades. Notable among these may be mentioned Banarsi Das Jain's *Phonology of Panjabi and Ludhiani Phonetic Reader* (1934), Baburam Saksena's *Evolution of Awadhi* (1938), Dhirendra Varma's

La langue Braj (1938), T. N. Dave's *Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th Century* (1935), Bani Kanta Kakati's *Assamese, its Formation and Development* (1941) and S. M. Katre's *Formation of Konkani* (1937-42, serially in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, and reprinted in book-form).

17. Lueder's Contribution to Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics

A word must be said here of some fundamental work in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics. Lueders' edition of *fragments found in Turfan* consisting of part of Buddhist plays, enabled him to discover not only *Aśvaghoṣa's Sāriputtappakaraṇa* but also features of the Prakrit dialects used therein which he characterised as old Ardhamagadhi and Old Magadhi. With the vast array of scholarship which one usually associates with Lueders, he dealt with this in his edition of *Bruckstuecke der Buddhistischer Dramen* (1911). The discovery of Bhasa plays in Trivandrum and their edition by Ganapathy Sastri led one of Lueders' pupils, W. Printz, to make a detailed study of the Prakrits used therein and his monograph *Bhasa's Prakrit*, completed in 1919, was published in 1921. Printz was, however, influenced by the methodology employed by Lueders, and his approach was based on the implied assumption that like the *Aśvaghoṣa* fragments the Bhasa manuscripts were near contemporary. It was left to another brilliant pupil of Lueders, the late V. S. Sukthankar to write a detailed critique of this monograph. Together they form a very valuable document for the study of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics and a model for any work in general linguistics which must take note of related disciplines.

18. Foundation of Linguistic Society of India.

Under the Vice-Chancellorship of A. C. Woolner the University of Panjab had encouraged the study of linguistics; like Turner, Woolner was a product of both the British and French schools of linguistics, and his work *Introduction to Prakrit* and popular edition of *Asokan Inscriptions* with a full Glossary was the beginning of linguistic studies in Panjab, later supported by the presence of J. R. Firth who served there as Professor of English for several years. It was in 1928, that some of the senior and junior colleagues of Woolner, under his inspiration, founded the Linguistic Society of India, with I. J. S. Taraporewala as its first President, and

Chatterji, Saksena and Varma as some of the founder members. Starting with a few cyclostyled bulletins containing the contributions of the members, the Society soon established a new publication entitled *Indian Linguistics.* Volumes 2-6 were issued in honour of Grierson. With the death of Woolner in 1937, the Society lost its main support in the Panjab, and thanks to the devotion and patronage secured by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the Society's headquarters was shifted to Calcutta and the continuation of *Indian Linguistics,* in however slim a form, was assured. Closely associated with Chatterji in this, were Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and Sukumar Sen. With varying fortunes the Society survived crisis after crisis until in 1954, with the Language Project initiated by the Deccan College the working headquarters moved over to Poona and *Indian Linguistics* appeared in a much improved format.

19. Turner's contribution to Comparative Etymology.

Early in 1931, as already mentioned, Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* appeared, giving the comparative etymology of nearly 5000 Nepali head-words. This was to be a precursor for a *comparative etymological Dictionary of Indo-Aryan* as a whole, which was to form a companion volume to the great Linguistic Survey of India. It may be noted that the way was already paved by the short etymological index which Bloch had given at the end of his *Formation de la Langue Marathe.* Turner's was a more ambitious project successfully completed with vastly increased material and a finesse which certainly owes much to his contact with the Paris school. But the *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan* which was then promised had to wait for nearly three decades before any progress in printing could be made. Four fascicles have so far appeared between 1962 and 1964. The whole work is expected to cover about 10 fascicles of approximately 80 pages each.

20. Wuest's Etymological Dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan

While Turner was working on his *Comparative Etymological Dictionary,* there was an attempt in Germany to bring out a very elaborate and comprehensive etymological dictionary of Sanskrit (=Old Indo-Aryan) by Walter Wuest. Only one fascicle appeared, consisting of 3 parts in 1935. It is a matter of great regret that this work did not proceed beyond the third part. Wuest had made a wonderful collection of material, systematically arranged and well organised. Some of it has been included in his occasional papers which have been contributed to several journals, including his own under the title of *Rhēma.*

Mention should be made here of the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Dravidian which M. B. Emeneau (UCB) and T. Burrow (Oxford) have published recently. Burrow's *Dravidian Studies* have appeared in BSOAS and Transactions of the Philological Society (TPS) in addition to his book on *Parji dialect.* Since 1937 Emeneau has been bringing out his studies on Toda, Kota, Badaga and other less known Dravidian languages, in addition to his other linguistic work on Thai, Vietnamese etc. Under his inspiration recently, Bh. Krishnamurti has brought out his *Study of Telugu Verbal Bases.* All of these studies are designed to contribute substantially to the comparative and etymological dictionary project.

The gap left by the ceasing of publication of Wuest's *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Sanskrit,* has been to some extent bridged by a *Concise Etymological Dictionary* by Mayrhofer, of which 17 fascicles have come out so far.

21. Notable Dictionaries of Regional Indian Languages

The University of Madras was the first among Indian Universities to have undertaken the gigantic task of compiling a dictionary of a great regional language. The Tamil Lexicon Department of the University was a model one and the entire project took some years to complete, and the first great lexicon for such an important language became available to scholars. The Mysore University followed suit and issued an *English-Kannada Lexicon.* The initiative taken by the Kannada Sahitya Parishad in bringing out a *Dictionary of Kannada on historical principles* in close cooperation with the Mysore University has enabled great progress to be achieved. Similarly the department set up originally by the Kerala Government for compiling a *Dictionary of Malayalam on historical principles* has now become a part of the Kerala University. The Andhra University has been busy with compiling a *comparative etymological dictionary of Telugu.* It would thus seem that the southern universities have been alive to the need of compiling authoritative dictionaries of their regional languages. The University of Annamalai has plans for compiling a *Dictionary of Tamil on* *historical principles.* The other projects of which mention can be made here is the *Gujarātī Joḍnī Koś* brought out by the Gujarat Vidyapith, and the *Bengali Dictionary* edited by Kshiti Mohan Sen in the University of Shantiniketan.

22. Some more Dictionaries of Regional Indian Languages

Among Dictionaries which may be mentioned are first the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* which was completed with incredible speed by Rhys Davids and Stede (1921-25); the *Critical Pali English Dictionary* edited by Trenckner and continued by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith (1924ff.); the *Pāia-Sadda-Mahannavo* of Har Govind Das Seth (1928). Among dictionaries of New Indo-Aryan may be mentioned the *Hindī Sabda Sāgar,* the *Oriya Dictionary* of Praharaj and the *Dictionary of Sinhalese* which was undertaken in the last analysis by the University of Ceylon.

23. Revival of Deccan College, Poona

Though no departments of linguistics existed other than at the University of Calcutta, it was fortunate that many professors of Sanskrit in some of the principal universities and colleges were fully trained linguists and thus encouraged the pursuit of linguistic studies. In this way Siddheshwar Varma in the Prince of Wales College, Jammu; Baburam Saksena and Dhirendra Varma in the University of Allahabad, and Goda Varma in the University of Travancore, and A. N. Narasimhia in the University of Mysore, kept the torch burning and training younger scholars. The year 1934 is memorable for several incidents which, though not having any direct relationship with each other, tended to have a tremendous effect on the growth of linguistic studies in the country. Jules Bloch's *L'Indo-Aryen* appeared in that year summing up the current position in the comparative and historical study of Indo-Aryan from the Vedic period to its modern stage. The Government of Bombay closed the Deccan College which had been founded in 1821 and was probably the third oldest educational centre in the whole of India. Within five years of this closure, Government revived the Deccan College as a centre for postgraduate studies in Arts and Science in general and in particular for Linguistics, History and Social Sciences, as a nucleus for the first regional university to be brought into existence within the State of Bombay. The revival of the Deccan College in this form and having a department of linguistics in the Western part of India was unique; this constituted the second university-type department of linguistics in the country. From the very beginning the response was tremendous, and despite the fact that the Second Global War intervened soon after the Postgraduate and Research Institute started, scholars from every university in the country joined in for specializing in these branches. In the initial years, much of the linguistic work was centred round texts, and consequently comparative and historical linguistics occupied the prime importance. Among the studies which emanated at this time may be mentioned by *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* by M. A. Mehendale (1948), *Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa* by G. V. Tagare (1948), *Nominal Composition in Middle Indo-Aryan* by G. V. Davane (1956), *Verbal Composition in Indo-Aryan* by R. N. Vale (1948), *Evolution of Malayalam* by A. C. Sekhar (1953), *Linguistic Peculiarities of Jnanesvari* by M. G. Panse (1953) and *The Sanskrit Dhatupathas, a Critical Study* by G. B. Palsule (1961) and his *Concordance of Sanskrit Dhatupathas* (1955). Other work completed, includes descriptive studies of a number of modern Indian languages in the field of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Austric linguistics. A pilot survey of border dialects in the Marathi speaking region has been undertaken and two dialect areas covered. The meterial for one area has been published by the State Board for Literature in January 1964 at Wai.

24. Deccan College's 'Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles'

In 1942 the Deccan College undertook to compile a *Dictionary of Sanskrit* based on inscriptional material as a skeleton for a project involving the editing of a Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles. When this work had progressed sufficiently and the cessation of international hostilities made it possible to enlarge the scope of this to embrace the latter project, the Union and State Governments approved the project for the *Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles* but reserved judgement on the second major project for an Ethno-Linguistic Survey of India. So in 1948 the monumental project was initiated by a committee consisting of MM. Prof. P. V. Kane, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Prof. Louis Renou and Dr. S. M. Katre, and supported by the Union and Bombay State Governments initially, with assistance from several States and private foundations, until in 1952 the Union Government increased its share of financial assistance, and revised the same on a more equitable basis in 1956 necessitating increasing the staff, setting up an Editorial Board and generally seeing that the work would not suffer due to uncertainty of financial assistance. This monumental work is perhaps the largest research project yet to be undertaken, and will provide a plenitude of research material for generations of scholars to come. It is anticipated that the first two stages of collection and distribution of this vast material in the scriptorium will be completed, with some degree of sub-editing by 1968, when the final process of preparing the press-copy and having the same suitably printed will be taken up. It is understood that the Dictionary, when completed, may cover more than 20,000 royal quarto pages.

25. Dr. Raghuvira's "Great Indian English Dictionary"

It may be recalled at this juncture that since his return from Europe in 1931, Dr. Raghu Vira established the International Academy of Indian Culture at Lahore; while his primary interest at this time was Vedic studies and critical editions of Sanskrit texts, and the publication of the Journal of Vedic Research, he was drawn more and more towards linguistic studies involving the application of linguistics. His keen perception that Indian languages have to develop as media of communication from the school to the University, and onwards into the rarified atmosphere of advanced research, induced him to direct his tireless energy into the creation of necessary aids for this inevitable development. He was perhaps the first in India to realize this urgent need and to respond to the call of duty. Against heavy odds, he set himself to build the necessary terminology, scientific and technical, to enrich Hindi and other regional languages, and the project for his *Great Indian-English Dictionary* came into being with the cooperation of eminent scientists and linguists and educationists. Even before the country was conscious of what was likely to happen at the close of hostilities and of the negotiations which were taking place between Indian political parties and the British Government, Dr. Raghu Vira had a prevision of the partition of the country; consequently he transferred his headquarters from Lahore to Nagpur in 1946 itself, along with his library, press and research equipment. The series of special dictionaries which he issued, subject by subject, and the consolidated *Great Indian-English Dictionary* are standing monuments to his vision, patriotism and more particularly to his linguistic attainments. There have been similar attempts made by other scholars and institutions, including State Governments, but none has achieved the scientific distinction which characterises Raghu Vira's work. One may disagree with his choice for reasons other than scientific or methodological.

In this connection a reference should be made to the setting up of the Hindi Division of the Ministry of Education, and Language Departments by State Governments as in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta and Madras.

26. Discovery of 'Hittite' and 'Tocharian' Languages.

The discovery of 'Hittite' and its decipherment at the close of the first world war, closely followed by the recovery of another Indo-European language 'Tocharian' (with its two varieties) created certain problems for which solutions had to be found. In a sense the dissertation of De Saussure in 1886, anticipated the results remarkably in the formulation of his system of vowels in Primitive Indo-European. The Laryngeal Theory was established and the disappearance of some of these consonants explained both the qualitative and quantitative changes experienced in the historically attested members of this family. The principal contributions came from Benveniste of France, and Kurylowicz of Poland whose individual contributions more or less appeared simultaneously in French. Both applied the space time coordinates to linguistic facts and achieved significant advances of theory. It was realized that at any given point of time, and area, the attested language is a conglomorate of old and new elements, and for a diachronic approach to the study of language, the synchronic basis was indispensable if linguistic history has to be reconstructed. Earlier work had realised this in a practical manner without a proper basis, and much of the work of establishing etymologies was vitiated by ignoring the time-space aspects of linguistic signs. Both these works appeared in 1935.

27. Some Important Works of Indian Languages

In 1939 appeared Dr. Chatterji's lectures delivered in Ahmedabad entitled *Indo-Aryan and Hindi.* These summarise the results of linguistic research as applied to Indo-Aryan, illuminated by contributions from neighbouring disciplines of anthropology and sociology (or cultural anthropology). A second ("revised") edition appeared in 1960. Similarly Dr. Baburam Saksena's standard book on General Linguistics in Hindi entitled *Samanya Bhasa Vignan* has run into eight editions within a short space and provided basic knowledge in this field to readers of Hindi. A number of other standard books have appeared in Indian languages such as *Dhvani Vicar* in Marathi by N. G. Kalelkar, and *Dhvani Vignan* in Hindi by G. H. Dhall. The latest in this field is an Introduction to Modern Linguistics by Udai Narain Tiwari under the title *Bhāśa Shāstra* (1963).

28. Post Independence Era in India

The winning of independence at the cost of partitioning the country in 1947, the fashioning of the Constitution of India in 1950 and the adoption of this Constitution have created a number of situations in which scientific general linguistics has an inevitable place. The Constitution provided, among other things, (a) freedom for the great regional languages specified in Schedule 8 to develop unfettered according to their genius, (b) use of Hindi in Devanagari as the official language of India and (c) continuation of English as the *de facto* official language for fifteen years after which it was to be replaced by Hindi. Section 351 of the Constitution also gave directive principles on which Hindi was to develop as a national language. If the regional languages were to develop unfettered according to their genius, it was realised that they must function as communication media for ALL purposes, and this implied that the political divisions of the country should be given a linguistic slant. This created many unpleasant situations when, finally the State of Andhra was created and became the starting point of demands for reorganisation of the country on linguistic basis. Government appointed a Commission whose report was given effect to in 1956, and the country was reorganised accordingly, leading to many minor irritations. Similarly the Official Language Commission set up according to the Constitution in 1955, submitted its report, containing many recommendations which involve for their carrying out the application of linguistics. Finally if English were to be replaced as the current official language by Hindi, the directive principles of section 351 involve linguistic research of a highly technical character.

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28-A. A Language Project of Deccan College, Poona

In this situation, the Deccan College operated from 1954 a project which has come to be known as the Language Project, following the recommendation of a conference of Linguists and Educationists which was convened in 1953. The Project provided, inter alia, (a) training in modern descriptive linguistics in all its aspects, (b) advanced training in comparative and historical as well as descriptive linguistics and (c) applied linguistics with special reference to the teaching of languages, by holding summer and autumn institutes of linguistics, in which an international faculty participated, thanks to a princely subvention received from the Rockefeller Foundation. Apart from this training which included selected scholars from the United States and other countries for specialisation in Indian linguistics, the two aims of the Project were to have sufficient number of trained linguists, to handle the operations required for completing a comprehensive new Linguistic Survey of the country, and for study of the common core vocabulary shared by the languages of India, and its grading according to certain linguistic principles as reproduction, and recognition vocables designed to make intercommunication possible by using the current languages of the country. The training project continued for six years from 1954 to 1960 when the financial assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation came to a stop. It was, however, felt that the summer institutes and autumn or winter seminars should continue since this training was not available at university departments, and the demand continued unabated, each summer institute averaging over 200 registrants. A conference of Vice Chancellors and Linguists which met under the auspices of the Poona University, and the Linguistic Society of India in 1958, recommended the continuation of this training project for a period of ten years under the auspices of the University Grants Commission, and the opening up of departments of linguistics at the universities as the necessary staff became available. The Linguistic Society was requested to appoint a committee to outline this development and make suitable recommendations to the University Grants Commission. The Blue Print Committee made its report in 1959 and as recommended there the U.G.C. promoted the development of linguistics in many Universities.

पुस्तकालय

28-B. Activities in other Universities.

In celebrating its Silver Jubilee, the Annamalai University established a Department of Dravidian Linguistics towards the maintenance of which the U.G.C. contributed liberally. About the same time the University of Agra established the K. M. Institute of Hindi and Linguistics as one of its postgraduate and research schools. The Andhra University created a lectureship in linguistics. With the creation of a regional University in Gujarat with Ahmedabad as headquarters the School of Gujarati Language and Literature provided a readership in Linguistics. Gradually other university centres began to add linguists to their staff. During the third plan period, when the recommendations of the Blue Print Committee were circulated among universities and their plans were invited, more than fifteen universities will provide for teaching linguistics at the postgraduate level. That within ten years, more than 1500 scholars have been trained, and the number of active teaching centres in universities increased from 2 to more than 15, and the creation of two advanced centres for training and research in Linguistics at the Universities of Poona (Deccan College) and Annamalai, is an indication of the growing importance of the subject as one of academic pursuit.

29. Progress in the Field of Applied Linguistics.

The field of Applied Linguistics is daily growing. The three language formula in education and the fact that English still continues in the majority of universities as the medium of instruction in all faculties has made the problem of teaching English a major question. The Union Government in collaboration with the Ford Foundation and the British Council, set up a Central Institute for teaching English teachers, utilizing modern linguistic structural techniques at Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh; there now appears to be a proliferation of such centres elsewhere to meet the growing demand. It is increasingly realised that modern linguistics has something to contribute to the solution of the problem of language teaching. Apart from the teaching of English and other foreign languages, there are problems of teaching various Indian languages within India to adult literates, and the preparation of suitable teaching materials. Indeed it is now being realized that there are no adequate dictionaries for use in learing or teaching modern Indian languages; the existing dictionaries have not taken note of current expressions which are even being used in formal utterance. From this angle, a great deal of programming is necessary and a recent seminar held at Kanpur in the Indian Institute of Technology, has recommended that Applied Linguistics should occupy a prominent position in the linguistic planning of the country.

30. Contribution of United States to Post War Development of Indian Linguistics

Reference has been made earlier to the predominant influence of the British and French schools of Linguistics in the development of General Linguistics in this country. But since the Language Project was administered by the Deccan College from 1954, a fear has been expressed in Great Britain that the Atlantic School is exerting its influence in this development to an unusual degree. It is indeed true that, under this Project, the majority of faculty participants from outside India came from the United States; but that was primarily due to the fact that scholars from the Atlantic were more sympathetic to the invitation to participate in these institutes than scholars from England and France. But the faculty has always been international and no particular weight has been given to any individual school of thought. Having said this, however, it must be recognized that American scholars have exerted a tremendous influence on the development of linguistics; first the large subvention which the Rockefeller Foundation granted enabled India to select its international faculty, a majority of whom were drawn from the United States; secondly overseas fellowships awarded by the same foundation enabled a larger number of Indian scholars to visit the United States departments of linguistics; and finally the cooperative research projects and field trips jointly conducted by scholars from both countries have all contributed to the growing importance of American trends in general linguistics in India, particularly during the last five years.

30-A. Contribution of Ancient Indian Theoreticians in the Field of 'Meaning'

Notwithstanding this, however, there is a growing awareness of the fact that full advantage has not been taken by modern linguistics of some of the contributions of ancient Indian theoreticians in the particular field of Meaning. A new critical edition or Bhartrhari's *Vākyapadīya* is being brought out by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer of Lucknow, and published by the Deccan College. The contributions of *Navyanyāya* for instance, are in the process of being studied and interpreted in modern terminology, thanks chiefly to the initiative taken by Prof. D. D. Ingalls of Harvard University; and some of his pupils, including those from India, have been making a deep study of ancient and medieval texts and assessing their importance as a possible contribution to the development of modern theories. It is here that ancient Indian Linguistics, which was the starting point of modern general linguistics, may once again initiate a new era of significant developments.

W. S. Allen's *Phonetics in Ancient India* (1953) reviews the contributions made to this branch by ancient Indian grammarians and linguists and comes to the conclusion: "Whitney's pioneer expositions of certain of our sources some eighty years ago are acknowledged in the introductory chapter; but a general reinterpretation has now long been overdue, and this fact is in itself suggestive of the remarkable quality of the Indian texts. For it implies that they display a level of phonetic discourse beyond the full comprehension of Whitney and his contemporaries, such as only advances of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries enable us to appreciate today. The recognition that analyses so advanced in their technique should have been evolved at so early a date may well inspire a salutory scientific humility, and it would be at once arrogant and pessimistic not to expect that a reinterpretation will again be necessary in another eighty years—or even eight."

31. Instrumental Phonetic Laboratories in India.

The first linguistic laboratory appears to have been set up by Prof. J. R. Firth in the University of Punjab, when he was teaching English there, but gone out of commission when he returned to the United Kingdom. A Phonetics Department was set up in the University of Mysore which issued two Bulletins in the thirties. At the present moment there are Instrumental Phonetics Laboratories in the Universities of Agra (K. M. Institute), Annamalai (Department of Dravidian Linguistics) and Poona (Deccan College). During the past two decades a considerable amount of work has been accomplished by Prof. C. R. Sankaran at the Deccan College in Acoustic Phonetics, particularly with regard to the general structure of speech, and our concept of vowel and stop configurations, and in musicology. Prof. Sankaran who was in charge of the laboratory was invited by the University of Bonn as Richard Merton Visiting Professor for one semester. The course of lectures which he delivered there has been recently published by the Deccan College under the heading *Process of Speech.*

The use of language laboratories for the teaching of foreign languages, as well as second or third languages is a recent innovation in this country. The Central Institute of English in Hyderabad has set up a small laboratory to train teachers of English. The Alliance Francaise in Bombay, have a six-booth laboratory for teaching spoken French with the aid of audio-visual material. More recently the Deccan College is building up a 15-booth laboratory, where modern techniques will be tested and new teaching materials designed for various Indian and foreign languages.

32. Application of Modern Statistical Techniques in making Syllabic Count of Languages.

The Government of India, on the recommendation of a special committee set up for devising keyboards for typewriters for Indian languages and speed-writing systems, commissioned special linguistic research involving modern statistical methods of counting from randomising samples, and to provide a scientific basis to enable these two objectives to be reached. The Deccan College had already undertaken a similar work in the field of Marathi as a special doctoral dissertation; the methods employed here were taken as a model and similar work was farmed out of several universities and research institutes, the Deccan College being assigned Hindi as its share, and also asked to supervise the work of other universities and research institutes. Much to the chagrin of the Deccan College, only two universities were able to comply fully with the requirements of the analyses and ultimately Government were constrained to request the Deccan College to undertake similar work for languages which had not been covered by the earlier assignments. This statistical analysis has now covered four languages (Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi and Kannada), and currently work is in progress with regard to two more (Malayalam and Oriya). The work done so far in Tamil and Bengali has been found to be inadequate and probably have to be worked out anew. This is the first sustained effort at obtaining useful information through the application of modern statistical techniques in making syllabic, morpho-phonemic and phonemic counts of any language.

32-A. "Aksara" Analysis

Closely allied to this, but having much wider application in realising a major break-through in our printing processes involving the use of Indian scripts, is the projected research of *Akṣara analysis* which the Deccan College hopes to carry through in close cooperation with the ITEK Corporation of U.S.A., leading to adopting the Photon or Lumitype cold type composing machines for Indian scripts, and the design of calligraphically more satisfying forms. Indeed if this break-through is realised, a new era in printing will be established, which will be more than three times as fast as the fastest machine composition now available. This is another aspect of applied linguistics which has immense practical use in our country. Its repercussions on the design of new forms, and in the ease with which good printing can be cheaply and more quickly produced, on the spread of literacy and knowledge and the development of the great regional languages cannot be predicted with certainty.

33. Growth of General Linguistics in India and Abroad

It is not possible within the compass of this paper to give a full indication of the growth of general linguistics covering a period of 75 years. For the great part of the present century developments have been so rapid everywhere, that more development has taken place in linguistics during this period than during the whole of the nineteenth century. This growth has been phenomenal in the United States: the Linguistic Society of American was found in 1924, and until the beginning of the second World War the membership enrolment was not very large. Soon it crossed the coveted four digits and the latest figures available during 1961 are 1958, of whom 1951 are active members. The Linguistic Society of India, founded in 1928 scarcely boasted 100 members in 1954, when the Society was registered, and formally incorporated with the Indian Philological Association. Within five years the total membership reached almost to the coveted four figures; though current membership of active members is not more than 500, this increase is an indicator of the growth of linguistic studies. The Anthropological

Survey of India has a special division for linguistics and some useful contributions have appeared in print. Similarly the Census Division of the Government of India have recently set up a small unit for *linguistic studies.* Tribal Welfare departments have been set up in many states such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra etc. and provision has been made to some extent to cover linguistic studies of the tribal areas.

34. Linguistic Research — a challenge to Indian Linguists

With its rich linguistic heritage India has attracted a fairly large number of linguists from other countries to study its linguistic stock. Apart from the original interest of the School of Oriental and African Studies in the London University, whose faculty members have been welcome visitors almost every year since the Scarborough Report provided for a year's work in the area of their specialisation, and teams of linguists from the United States working with their counterparts in India on joint field tours, individual scholars have come from France, Germany, U.S.S.R., Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and the Scandinavian countries. It may consequently be assumed that, much of the future progress in general linguistics may emanate from the work on *Indian linguistics* which is being carried out by so many different countries representing so many different facets of linguistic science. It is but right that India whose contribution to the origin of this discipline is recognized all the world over, should continue to play a significant role in synthesising the current research and developing new directions for the growth of this discipline. It is a challenge to Indian linguists to gear up themselves towards applying the techniques and tools of linguistics to the problems involved in Language Policy Decisions, Language Planning and Language Engineering, a challenge which has been particularly emphasised by the Official Language Commission in the following words which bear repetition, almost like a *mantra* of old:—

"The variety of Indian linguistic media is not a national 'skeleton' to be ashamed of and to be somewhat hidden away. It is a wealth of inheritance in keeping with the continental size, ancient history and the distinctive tradition of assimilating and harmonising diverse cultural and racial elements, of which this country can be justly proud.

"Indological researches, hitherto only a scholarly pursuit of academicians, are now potent with practical moment of the highest consequence to the country. Here is a tremendous challenge to the Indian linguists and a like opportunity to help in forging linguistic ties to match and sustain the cultural and political unities of the community of Indian peoples. Nowhere in history could philologists and linguists have ever been called to a greater duty!" (p. 218).

VEDIC LITERATURE

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It must be observed here that almost the whole work done in Vedic Research so far, has been done in Foreign Languages with the result that majority of our brethren are in the dark about this vast heritage of ours. Our languages in India will be enriched with not mere translations of works done by foreigners, but with independent works which will bear comparison with even the best among them.

Introduction

Vedic studies had been already set on a firm footing about the date by which the present survey is intended to commence. Pioneer work had been done in editorial activities and the ***Saṁhitās*** of all the four Vedas, as also some of the ***Brāhmaṇas*** (*Br.*) and the *Upaniṣats (Up.)* belonging to them, had been edited. Translations and exegetical works also had seen the light of the day. Nor were lexicographical activities lagging behind. A host of western scholars had done masterly work in the field and inspired a whole generation of scholars who have kept carrying the torch further and further, inspiring in their turn younger generation of scholars to this day. Nor have Indian scholars been dormant. They also had in their own way been actively working in the field, bringing out editions of Vedic texts with or without original commentaries, and even translations and exegetical notes in English or modern Indian languages. A wide gulf was, however, evident between the works of these two schools of scholars who in a way may be said to have represented, at that stage, two extremes in almost every respect. Controversies raged with a good deal of argumentation on either side, providing a very vast material for scholars to think about. It was thus inevitable that a cooler phase should follow and a judicious and appropriate attitude should develop and a sound methodology should be evolved in due course.

1. Various schools of Vedic interpretation

Being in possession of a vast mass of what may be called comparative and critical material, over and above all that the indigenous ancient commentators could be expected to have, the earlier Vedists of the West looked at the commentators with an air of superiority, often rejecting their explanations quite summarily

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N.B. *References have been very sparingly and only partially given for space economy.*

without according to them the attention they deserve. Their industry and perseverance, however, are worthy of high praise. For it is these that have not only paved the way for cooler thought and proper judgment, but, we may say, have even shown the way — the right way — to study ancient literature, viz. collecting vast material from the literature itself, as far as possible, before jumping to any conclusion either way. Inspite of all this, however, differences of opinion in this field are far from being resolved; for the vast material itself thus assiduously collected has come to be viewed from diverse view points, and hence interpreted in various ways. Thus we now have what may be called the various schools of Vedic Interpretation such as the ritualistic, the euhemeristic, the comparative historical, the astronomical, and the biological. It must be observed that diversity of schools of Vedic Interpretation is not an exclusively modern phenomenon. It had existed even before the days of *Yāska*, who in his *Nirukta* has mentioned some of them, stating how one and the same Ṛgvedic stanza had been interpreted by followers of different schools of thought. It is, however, now generally accepted that Veda can be properly understood only by a close and critical study of all the traditional material, as well as the modern comparative material, supplemented by a due consideration of the stylistic and other peculiarities evinced by a particular text (or the section thereof), that we may be trying to interpret. And recently an attempt has also been made to demonstrate the importance of *Pāṇini's* work for this purpose, which seems not to have been utilised so far to any appreciable extent.

2. Two Masterly reviews of Vedic literature

During the last century and a half, periodical reviews of the work done in the field of Vedic literature have been taken more than once. In the period covered by this review, such work was done by Ludwig and Oldenberg in 1893 and 1905 respectively. But the most complete work in this respect, covering the whole period from the very beginning upto the year 1960, has been done by two great Vedists of our time, Renou and Dandekar. The former's *Bibliographie Védique* covering all the work done in the field up to date was published in 1931; while continuing the work further Dandekar has brought out his *Vedic Bibliography* in two parts in 1946 and 1961 respectively, thus bringing the work almost up-to-date. The importance of the work of these two Vedists can be realised, when it is said that no substantial contribution in the Vedic field may hereafter be possible to make, without being indebted to them. The present survey, which is obviously very highly indebted to the excellent work of these two scholars, has, for convenience of treatment, been divided into two sections dealing with editorial activity (including commentaries, translations, and notes) and rest of the exegetical activity respectively.

3. Editorial activity regarding Rigveda Samhita

Starting with the editorial activity in connection with the *RV. Saṁhitā*, we may note that Max Muller's 'editio princeps' of it with *Padapāṭha, Sāyaṇa's Bhāṣya* (*Sā. Bhā*) and indexes had already become rare; and we are indebted to the *Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal* (VSM) of Poona for a new complete edition thereof. This latter is naturally an improvement on its predecessor and can safely be declared to be the most complete and the most useful for Rgvedic studies. Equally noteworthy is the editing of the several commentaries on *RV. Saṁ.* during this period. Though other commentaries were known to have existed, no commentary other than that of *Sāyaṇa* had actually been edited for several decades. But the period under review has brought to light several of them. Thus the *Dayānand Series* (No. 15) has given us the commentary of *Udgīthācārya*; Sarup has given us in four volumes the *Ṛgarthadīpikā of Venkatamādhava*, covering the first seven *maṇḍalas* of the *RV.*; the *Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin* (and also the dipika of *V. Mādhava*) has been published in the *Trivandram Sanskrit Series* (TSS); and three parts of it have come out so far; while Raja has edited a commentary of a *Mādhava* (different from *V. Madhava*), as far as it has become available.

4. Translations of Rigveda

Several Indian scholars have been busy during this period editing the text with translations in various modern Indian languages. Thus V. Krishnayya has edited it with a Canarese translation (tr.) (1913-15), Lokanath Shiromani with a Bengali tr. (1915-17), K. Nambyadri with a Malyali tr. (1925, inc.), Patwardhan with a Marathi tr. (1942). English tr. by Wilson in six volumes was completed in 1888; and has appeared in a new edition again (1925-28). Another English Tr. is by Griffith which appeared at first in four volumes (1889-92), and has since then been published in two volumes (1896-97), and third ed. (1926). A complete Marathi tr. we owe to Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao (1925) and a Hindi explanation to Satavlekar (1945-52). Shastri has also given us Telugu tr. (1940) which, however, does not appear to have proceeded beyond its first part. Translation of hymns to different deities with some explanatory notes have been made by various scholars of note. Velankar has translated all the *Indra hymns* of the *RV.* and has started with *Agni hymns; Uṣas hymns* have been translated by Macdonell; while hymns to *Maruts, Rudra, Vāyu,* and *Vāta* have been translated by Max Muller; and *Agni hymns* from the first five *maṇḍalas* by Oldenberg. Bhawe is giving us a fresh interpretation of the *Soma* hymns (BK. IX), trying to utilise *Pāṇini's* work as fully as possible. He has covered 70 hymns in the three parts published so far (in 1957, '60 and '62 respectively). Another tr. of the same we owe to Renou, who in his '*Hymnes a Soma*' I (1961) has covered 67 hymns. But by far the most important tr. of the whole of *RV* is in German by Geldner published in Volumes 33-35 of HOS (1951), with Vol. 36 (1957) serving as an index to the tr., prepared by Johannes Nobel out of the material left by Geldner himself. Select portions or hymns of *RV* have been edited with tr. and notes, or sometimes merely translated and annotated in several European languages during this period; and as the latest in the field, may be mentioned the edition of RV. VII with an English tr., critical notes, select vocabulary, & c. by Velankar (1963). Individual hymns also have been discussed and translated by several scholars Indian, as well as foreign which, however, have to be left, out of consideration in a brief survey like this.

5. Editorial activity regarding Sama Veda.

As for the editorial activity regarding *SV.*, it may be observed that it was edited as early as 1842 by J. Stevenson and 1848 by Benfey. But it was edited for the first time in full with *Sā. Bhā.* in two parts by Jivananda Vidyasagar (1892); and with the comm. of *Mādhava* and *Bharatsvāmin* by Raja (Adyar, 1941). The *Jaiminīya text of SV.* was edited with *Mantra Index,* for the first time, by Raghu Vir (1938), though Caland had edited it with Intr. & c. in 1907. Jvalaprasad Sharma edited *SV* with a Hindi tr. in two parts (1890-91), and Durgadas Lahiri did it with a Bengali tr. in 1919. S. Samashrami had already edited SV with *Sā. Bhā.* in five volumes (1871-78), and with a Bengali tr. between 1867 and 1874. We have, besides these two English tr. of this Veda, one by J. Stevenson (1842, new ed. 1906), and the other by Griffith, a metrical one, in two parts (1893, 1907, new ed. 1916, '26).

6. Editorial activity regarding Atharva Veda.

As for the *AV*, Roth and Whitney's edition (1855) needed some revision; and the revised edition prepared by Lindenau saw the light of the day only in 1926. Thus the edition of this *Veda* with *Padapāṭha, Sā. Bhā.,* Introduction and word-index prepared by S. P. Pandit (1895-98), may be said to be the first and the best complete edition to appear in the field. The *Kashmir Recension* was brought to light for the first time by Bloomfield and Garbe in 1901, and it was serially edited in full by Barret between 1905 and 1940. Another valuable edition of the *Paip. recension of the AV*, was brought out by Raghu Vir between 1936 and 1942, presenting all the critical material with full references, and his own critical remarks in parallel columns, along with the text on the same-page. The text with a Bengali tr. was published by D. Lahiri (1919), and with a Hindi tr. by Kshemkaranadas Trivedi (1912-21); and by Satavalekar with easy exposition in Hindi in 1958, and Marathi tr. in 1960. An English tr. with a popular comment in two volumes by Griffith, appeared in 1895-96 (new ed. 1916); while the most important work so far viz. an English tr. with critical and exegetical comment by Whitney has been edited by Lanman in HOS. 7 & 8 in 1905 (new Indian ed. 1962). Visva Bandhu Shastri has recently brought out a complete edition of this Veda with *Padapāṭha,* and *Sā. Bhā.* in 1962.

7. Editorial activity regarding Krsna Yajurveda

Saṁhitās of no less than five *Śākhās* of the *YV.*, have been brought to light and edited during this period. The *Kāthaka Saṁ* was edited by Schroeder in four volumes (1900, '09, '10); and to the same author we owe an edition of the *Maitrayani Saṁ* in two volumes (1881-86; new ed. 1923). Roer in *Bibl. Indica* brought out an edition of the *Taittīriya S.,* with the commentary of *Mādhavācarya* in six volumes between the years 1884 and 1899; while Mahadevahastri and Rangacharya have given us the same *Saṁ.* with the com. of *Bhatta Bhākaramiśra* (1894-98), which however, has remained incomplete. The *An. SS* again has given us a good edition of this *Saṁ.* with *Sā. Bhā.* in nine volumes (1900-1908); while to Govt. Or. Library

(Mysore) we owe an edition of this *Saṁ.* with accent marks, and *Padapātha,* together with the com. of *Bhatta Bhāskara* called *Jñāna-Yajña* in 12 numbers (called *Samputās*). To Raghu Vir again belongs the credit of bringing to light and editing for the first time, one more *Saṁ.* of the Black YV., the *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha Saṁ.,* which he edited in 1932. Besides all this, however, the *Tait. Saṁ.* has been edited variously at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Mysore & c. by various scholars; and complete English tr. of this *Saṁ.* by Keith in two volumes was published in 1914 (HOS 28-29).

8. Editorial activity regarding Sukla Yajurveda

The *Sam.* of the *Śukla Yv.,* was edited between 1874 and 1888 by S. Samashrami, together with the com. of *Mahīdhara* and his own Bengali Tr.; while Jvalaprasad has given us only the text of this *Saṁ.* in two volumes, along with a Hindi tr. in 1903. Another good edition of the *Vāj. Saṁ.* is given to us by Ram Sakalamishra in four volumes (1912-15), who has included therein two commentaries viz. of *Uvaṭa* and *Mahīdhara.* We have two more editions of this *Saṁ.* together with a Marathi tr.: one is by Dhundirajshastri Bapat in two volumes (1940), and the other by Shridharshastri Pathak also in two volumes published in 1942. It may here be observed that, like the *Tait. Saṁ.,* this *Saṁ.* also has been variously printed at Bombay, Madras, Mysore in both the pathās ; or at times only in the *Padapātha.* It has also been explained (and even translated) in Hindi, Bengali and Oriya by scholars like Dayananda Sarasvati (1906), D. Lahiri (1919), Ramasvarupa Sharma (1899) and Ram Shankar Roy (1910-11). There appears only one tr. in English of the *S. Yv.* viz. by Griffith, the third edition of which has appeared in 1957. The only other English tr. which is by Devi Chand is based on Dayananda. The *Kānva S.* with *Sā. Bhā.* has been prepared by Ratnagopalabhatta and Madhavashastri in three parts, between the years 1908 and 1915; while S. Samashrami has edited the *Saṁ.* (text only) in 1940. Another work of note in connection with the *Kāṇva Saṁ.,* is the *Kāṇva-saṁhitā-bhāṣya-saṁgrahaḥ,* which is being serially published in *Sarasvatī Suṣamā Sanskrit University* (Banaras), since 1953 by Subhadra Jha and Vrajavallabha Dviveda. On the whole, however, the *Kānva Saṁ.* does not appear to have attracted much attention, and we have so far only one more edition of it with *Sā. Bhā.* published in Kashi Sk. Series, Banaras.

9. Editorial activity regarding Brahmanas of Rigveda

Equally imposing is the editorial activity that has been evinced in connection with *Brāhmaṇa Literature* during this period. To begin with the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *RV*, we have got during this period as many as four different editions of the *Aitareya Br.* The edition of Rajaramshastri Bodas contains only the text, carefully corrected by comparing many mss. (1895); S. Samashrami has edited in with *Sā. Bhā.* in four volumes in Bibl. India, between the years 1895 and 1906; the An.SS. edition (1896, new ed. 1931) also contains the *Sā. Bhā.* The fourth edition of this *Br.* we owe to A. Krishna Shastri, who has edited the text along with the com. *Sukhāpradā of Ṣaḍguruśisya.* Only three volumes covering 30 chapters have been published so far in 1942, '52 and '55 respectively. The only other *Br.* of the *RV*, the *Kauṣītaki* (or *Śaṁkhyāyana* as it is otherwise named), has been edited in the *An.SS*, in 1911; but the only edition of this *Br.* with a critical introduction and indices, is the one brought out by Lindner in 1887. Keith has translated both these *Br.*, with a useful introduction and indices in HOS 15 (in 1920); while Trivedi has given us a Bengali tr. and notes on the *Ait.Br.* in 1912. Haug's important work in two parts, containing the text, tr., notes and Introductory essay first published in 1863, has been reprinted in 1922.

10. Editorial activity regarding Brahmanas of Sama Veda

Of the *Br.* of the *SV.*, it may be observed that several of them have been brought to light and edited, during the period under review. The *Ṣadviṁśa Br.* had been already edited, with *Sā. Bhā.* and an English tr. by Burnell in 1873; while Eelsingh edited it with another com. viz the *Vijñāpanābhāṣya* in 1908, and Sten Konow translated and annotated it in German in 1893. Klemm, on the other hand, has edited only the first *Prāpaṭhaka*, with extracts from *Sāyaṇa's* com. and a German tr. in 1894. To S. Samashrami we owe an edition of the *Ārṣeya Br.* with *Sa. Bha.* He has also edited two more *Br.*, of the *SV.* viz. the *Mantra Br.* and the *Vaṁśa Br.* together with *Sā. Bhā.* and a Bengali tr. in 1890 and 1892 respectively. Caland edited the *Pañcaviṁśa Br.* with tr., notes & c. in 1931; and the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* was edited by Chinnasvami Shastry, with *Sā. Bhā.* in two volumes in 1938. We also have the *Devatādhyāya Br.* and the *Saṁhitopaniṣad Br.* edited during this period. Durgamohan Bhattacharya has edited the

Chāndogya Br. together with the com. of *Guṇaviṣṇu* and *Sāyaṇa* in 1958. But more important than all these is the *Jaiminīya Br.*, selections from which were edited with tr. notes, Index & c, by Caland as far back as 1919. The credit of editing this highly important Br. work once again goes to Raghu Vir who with the aid of his son Lokesh Chandra, brought out a complete edition of this work in 1954, the first book thereof having already edited in 1937.

11. Editorial activity regarding Brahmanas of Atharva-Veda

There is only one Br. belonging to the *Atharva-Veda*, the *Gopatha Br.;* and it has been edited by Gaastra in 1919, with Introduction, notes, index, & c. Before this, however, this *Br.* had been edited with an analytical introduction in *Bibl. Indica* by Rajendralal Mitra and J. Vidyasagar (1872).

12. Editorial activity regarding Brahmanas of Krsna Yajurveda

Of the *Br.* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (*KYV*), the *Taittiriya Br.* was edited together with *Sā. Bhā.* in the *An. SS* in three volumes in 1898 (new ed. 1937). In 1899 this Br. was edited with accents in Telugu character by L. Somayaji; while M. Vidyanath Shastri had edited it in three volumes in Grantha character, between 1900 and 1902. Between 1908 and 1913, it was edited by Mahadev Shastri at Mysore together with com. of *Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.* To Suryakanta goes the credit of bringing to light the *Kāṭhak Br.*, he has edited the *Kāṭhak Br. Saṁ.* in 1943.

The *Satapatha Br.* may be said to be the most important work in *Brāhmaṇa* literature, and has received good attention from various scholars. This Br. according to *Mādhyandīniyas* was edited by Weber as far back as 1855, with extracts from *Sā. Bhā.* (reprinted in 1924). But the first edition of this important work to appear during the period under survey together with complete *Sā. Bhā.* is the *Bibl. Indica* edition in nine volumes edited by Samashrami between 1899 and 1911. Another important edition is the one published by *Venkateshvar Steam Press* in 1940, Complete in five volumes. This edition gives besides the text, *Sā. Bhā.* and the com. of *Haribara* (where *Sā. Bhā.* is not available) and notes. Chinnasvami Shastri also had edited the text of this Br., with foot-notes and *Pāṭha-bhedās* in *Kashi SS.*, of which two volumes have appeared so far in 1937 and 1950 respectively. This *Br.* has been translated by Eggeling in SBE. Vol. 12, 26, 42, and 43 (1882-99). The *Kāṇva recension* of this *Br.* which is comparatively rare, had been edited by Caland in the *Punjab SS* in 1926, with a full Introduction and a part of the text. This work was continued further by Raghu Vira, by adding two more volumes and making the complete *Kāṇva* text available in 1939. Mention may here be made also of Motilal Sharma, who has edited this *Br.* with a Hindi commentary, which he has named *Vijñanbhāṣya*, published by the *Veda-tattvaśodha-saṁsthāna*, Jaipur in five volumes between the years 1933 and 1943.

13. Editorial activity regarding Upanisats

Coming to the Upanisadas, we find that they have attracted far greater attention of scholars, than any other section of Vedic literature. And this is but natural, not only because the Upanisadic texts are limited in their extent, as compared with those of the *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* but also because of the universal appeal that they hold on account of their subject matter. Thus we find collections of *Upaniṣats,* diversely edited and annotated and translated in various languages, Indian as well as foreign. Thus Subrahmanya and Raghavacharya have edited 108 *Upaniṣats* in Telugu character in 1883 and 1887 respectively; while Venkatakrshna Shastri has done the same in Grantha character in 1896. They have been edited in Dev. character by *N. S. Press* in 1913 (new ed. 1925 &c). The same press has published 38 Up. in de. Ch. in 1904. Ten principal *Up.* with Tamil tr. have been brought out by Kuppusvami Ayyer in 1898; while the same *Up.* have been edited with com. by Krishnamacharya, in two volumes in 1912-13. Mention must also be made of the *Daśopaniṣad drāviḍabhāṣya* edited by Tatacharya in six parts in 1897-98.

14. Translations of Upanisats

Among the translators and annotators of collections of *Upaniṣats,* mention must be made of names like Roer, Deussen, Hume, Max Muller, Hillebrandt, Renou and Radhakrishnan. The *Up.*, it may further be observed, have been translated not only in English, and other foreign languages but also in various modern

Indian languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Canarese, Malyali, Bengali, Gujarati, and Oriya.

15. Editorial activity regarding major Upanisats

Scores of what have been termed *minor Upanisats*, have been brought to light and edited, with or without comm. and often translated into some modern Indian language; and this activity has been going on continuously during the period under survey. Even the *major Upaniṣats* have been engaging the attention of scholars both Indian and foreign; and mention may here be made of some of the most important editions that have appeared so far. The *Īśa* appears to have attracted the greatest attention so far; and has been variously edited with tr. in Hindi (1890), Urdu (1899), Telugu and Tamil (1899), Hindustani (1911), Telugu (1916-17), Tamil (1920), Gujarati (1924). *Kaṭha* appears to be the next popular *Up.*, and has been translated into French (1898, 1935), German (1893-94), Italian (1915), Dutch (1902), Hindi (1905), Bengali (1913), and Kannada (1919). Similarly almost each one of the *principal Up.* has been translated into German, French, English, among the foreign languages, and Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Telugu and Bengali among the Indian languages.

16. Dharmakosha Mandal's 'Upanisat-Kanda'

In this connection special mention must be made of the excellent work done by *Dharma-Kośa-Maṇḍala* (of Wai) by publishing the ***Upaniṣat-kānda.*** This work comprising four volumes gives the text of all the *Up.* which have been commented upon by ancient commentators, and which have been drawn upon by them for the ***viṣaya-vākyas*** of some *adhikarana*, or the other in their commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtra*. It moreover includes commentaries of the ***ācāryas*** of different schools, or (where such are not available) those of their followers, (Vol. II and III); and in Vol. I gives several ***Pre-upaniṣadic Vedic Texts***, which obviously are of ***Upaniṣadic*** nature in their subject matter. The fourth volumes contains a complete ***vākya-kosa***, and Index of important Sanskrit words. But the most useful feature of this edition is the *subject index* to the *pre-upanisadic* material in Vol. I, and to the ***Upaniṣats***, in Vol. IV, which is sure to help the inquisitive reader to acquaint himself with and study the ***Upaniṣadic*** views on any particular topic. Equally important is the learned introduction (Sanskrit and English), in which Laxman Shastri Joshi has tried to show that, *Upaniṣadic thought* is not a revolution against but only an evolution of *Brahmanical thought.* He has not only discussed the subject matter of all the principal *Up.*, but has even tried to show and trace the evolution of the main *Upanisadic ideas,* such as *Ātman* and *Brahman* from their pre-upanisadic beginnings.

17. Other important works on Upanisats

Another important work is the *Aṣṭādaśa Upaniṣadaḥ,* edited with notes and index by Limaye and Vadekar, and published by VSM in 1958. Index of words and clauses covering almost every word of the 18 Up. makes this edition highly useful. Up. edited with a general introduction, English tr., and notes in four parts (called selections) covering 11 principal Up, published by Nikhilananda (in 1951, '54, '57 and '59 respectively), forms another important addition to this field. One more intriguing edition is the *Principal Upaniṣats* by Radhakrishnan, comprising 18 *Up.* text in Roman character, English tr., Introductory essay on the teaching of the *Up.*, notes, vocabulary, comments and arguments, and appendices. The parallels from the Bible, and several western philosophers may be said to form an interesting feature of this work. *Upaniṣads, Texte et traduction 'Les Upanishad'* (1943-56) covers 16 *Up.* (major and minor); and may be said to form an important contribution by Renou to *Upaniṣadic* studies. Similarly Daftary in his *Upaniṣadartha-vyākhyā* serially published (1955-56), has tried to shed fresh light on the interpretation of the principal *Up.* in his own way. Mention must also be made of the contribution of the Adyar Library, which has published the *Śaiva, Śākta, Sāmānya Vedānta, Saṁnyāsa, Vaiṣṇava, Yoga* and other unpublished minor and sectarian *Up.* with the com. of *Upaniṣad brahmayogin* between the years 1920 and 1923.

18. Review of exegetical material

Turning now to exegetical material, it may be observed that indexes, dictionaries, and concordances form a very important part therein. Bohtlink and Roth had already undertaken and carried to completion the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* in 7 volumes, published between the years 1852 and 1875. In this dictionary, Roth has given abundant references to the vast bulk of Vedic literature.

which makes it of immense importance for Vedic studies. The preface thereof is also interesting, as putting before us the views of the early Vedists regarding Vedic interpretation, and their attitude towards ancient commentators like *Sāyaṇa.* Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* also had been published in 1872 (neudruck 1936). Max Muller's edition of the RV. had given the word index to the *Rv. Saṁhitā.* Ludwig's *Mantra literature und das Alte Indien*, serving as an introduction to his own German tr. of RV., indicating the various lines of studying the *RV.* had been published in 1878.

In India *Tarkavāchaspati* had completed his monumental *Tarkavāchaspatya* in 22 parts, with ample quotations from and references to Vedic and other branches of Sanskrit literature, (1813-1884). In the wake of such work, it is no wonder that word-indexes and dictionaries came to be prepared and published independently or along with the texts themselves.

19. Some important Vedic indices, dictionaries and concordances

It is needless (and impossible also) to mention all these works in this brief survey. A few important ones may, however, be mentioned. Pischel and Geldner in their *Vedische Studien*, three volumes (1889, '92, and 1901 respectively), have discussed several words from the RV. quite exhaustively, and after a careful consideration of their several occurrences have tried to determine the exact sense conveyed by them. Oldenberg in his *Ṛgveda, text-critische und exegetische Noten*, 2 volumes (1909-12) has similarly discussed several Ṛgvedic words, and also dealt with some points of grammar and phonetics. A similar work has been done by Macdonell in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* published in 1893, wherein he has given etymological analysis throughout. Leumann's *Etymologische* Wörterbuch *der Sanskrit Sprache*, first volume of which appeared in 1893, Uhlenbeck's *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches* Wörterbuch *der Altlndischen Surache* published in 1899, and Wust's *Vergleichendes und etymologisches* Wörterbuch *des Alt-Indoarischen* (started in 1936) can very well serve to give an idea of how words may be studied and interpreted.

The *Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute* has also started a comprehensive work of this type, the *Vaīdika-śabdārtha-pārijāta*, a vedic etymological dictionary, recording ancient and modern interpretations, of which the first fascimile has appeared in 1929. This work when completed is bound to form an indispensable aid to further studies in Vedic literature. Utility of Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* is evident from the fact that it has been reprinted in 1936. The work has, however, to be supplemented by Neisser's *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, which after a philological and etymological examination of important words has tried to improve upon Grassmann's work. Bergaigne's *Etude sur le lexique du Ṛgveda*, (1883-84) also is worth mentioning in this connection. Renou also has made a substantial contribution in this branch of Vedic studies by his *Index Védique* (1934-35), wherein he has discussed several rare and significant vedic words taking into account latest researches. A similar importance attaches to *Etudes sur le Vocabulaire au Ṛgveda* of the same scholar (1958), in which he has similarly discussed 35 words from the *Ṛgveda*.

20. Discussion of Vedic words

This brings us to the discussions of several words or collections of words from the RV. and other sections of Vedic literature, which have been carried on by a host of scholars, both Indian as well as foreign. Here again it is not possible to do anything beyond mentioning the names of some prominent scholars. Thus among the Indian mention may be made of Venkatasubbiah, Coomaraswamy, Sukumar Sen, V. K. Rajwade, K. Chattopadhyaya, and Banarjea Shastry; while Thieme, Specht, **Rönnow**, Pissani, Gonda, **Lüders**, Dumont, and Charpentier deserve mention among the foreign in addition to those already referred to above.

21. Bloomfield's work

Now we come to another kind of work, whose utility for Vedic studies can't be easily exaggerated. And the most important among these is the astounding work of Bloomfield, *The Vedic Concordance* published in 1906 (HOS 10). This is an alphabetical index to every line of Vedic *mantras*, together with an account of their variants in the different Vedic books. *Ṛgveda Repetitions* is another work of the same scholar (HOS 20-21, 1916), in which he has presented all the repeated passages of the RV., in the order of their occurrence in the *Saṁhitā*, with critical comments and notes:

and has moreover offered explanatory, and analytical comments and classifications, from metrical, lexical, grammatical, and other points of view. *Vedic Variants* is yet another work, containing a study of the variant readings of the repeated *mantras* of the *Veda* in three volumes. The first two volumes are prepared by Bloomfield, in collaboration with Edgerton (1930, '32), while the third is prepared by Edgerton in collaboration with Emanau (1934). This work comprises a grammatical and stylistic study of all the variant readings of the repeated *mantras* of Vedic tradition, which well illumines the ways, in which the whole stock of *mantra* material has been reworked in course of centuries.

22. Vedic concordance and similar Dictionaries

To this list must be added, one more important work undertaken by Vishva Bandhu Shastri (*VVRI*) viz *Vaidika-padānukrama kośa* (A Vedic Concordance), which is a universal vocabulary register of all available Vedic texts (about 500), provided with complete textual references and commentary bearing on Vedic phonology, accent, etymology, morphology, grammar, metre and text-criticism. Of the fifteen volumes envisaged, eight have been published so far, between the years 1935 and 1958. *Vedic Index of names and subjects* by Macdonell and Keith (1912, new ed. 1958), belongs to a slightly different category. In it the authors have put together the results of all the research till then, giving with copious references, all the information available about names and subjects occurring in Vedic literature.

23. Chitrao Shastri's 'Pracheen Charitrakosha'

One more work of this kind, the *Prācīna-caritra-kośa* (A Dictionary of names in Ancient literature), conceived and worked out single-handed by Siddheshvar Shastri Chitrao deserves special mention. It covers not only *Vedic* but also *Puranic* literature. Jacob's *Upaniṣadvākyakośa* (A Concordance of the principal *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagvad-gītā*) published in 1931 (BSS. 39), is an important work of this type dealing with the *Upaniṣats*. A similar work covering all the available *Upaniṣats* major and minor, amounting to more than 200, entitled *Upaniṣad-vākya-mahākośa* has been compiled by Shambhu Shastri Sadhale in 1940.

24. Studies in Vedic Grammar

Vedic grammar in all its aspects is a highly important requisite for every student of the *Veda;* but the activity in this field appears to be comparatively limited, obviously because of the toughness of the subject. Pāṇini's work does contain several rules about the Vedic Sanskrit. These rules have been separately put together by *Bhaṭṭoji* in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī,* under the title *Vaidikī Prakriyā. Bhaṭṭoji* has also put together all rules of *Pāṇini,* concerning accent, under the title *Svara-prakriyā.* Unfortunately, however, these two sections of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī,* are almost neglected, though only recently scholars like Bhawe are trying to utilise these rules for Vedic interpretation to the best possible extent. But the exact worth of these rules may not be realised until a very systematic and exhaustive edition of these two sections of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī,* becomes available.

25. European scholars' contribution to Vedic Grammar

Inspite of their comparative neglect of *Pāṇini,* however, European scholars have done masterly work in the field of Vedic grammar. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar,* covering both classical as well as Vedic Sanskrit, was first published in 1879, and has now in 1952 run into the 8th re-print of its second edition of 1889. Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* (1910) is an exhaustive work dealing with all relevant topics, and gives ample illustrations from *RV* primarily, and also from other parts of Vedic literature. The same author has abridged his work under the title *A Vedic Grammar for Students* adding by way of *appendix: List of verbs, Vedic Metre,* and *Vedic Accent* (1916). Renou has discussed various grammatical topics in various articles; and has also composed *Grammaire de la langue Vedique,* which is a descriptive grammar of Vedic language (1952). The most comprehensive work in this field so far, however, is *Altindische Grammatic* of Wackernagel, the first volume of which, *Lautlehre,* appeared in 1896; second, *Einleitung zur Wortlehre, Nominalkomposition,* in 1905; and the third, *Nominalinflexion Zahlwort, Pronomen,* in 1930. Besides these works, however, several aspects of Vedic Grammar, particularly accent, have been discussed in various articles by scholars like Renou, Pissani, Neisser, Rönnow. Puhwel, Gonda, Mayrhofer.

Several articles concerning Vedic metre also have been written; but the one important and comprehensive work on this topic is *Vedic Metre in its historical development* by E. V. Arnold (1905), who in this work has discussed in full, details of the Rgvedic metres and tried to establish the strata in *RV* on the basis of the criteria discovered by him. In his *Literary Epochs in the Rgveda,* however, he has, on the basis of linguistic criteria, arrived at the conclusion that, there are only three chronological groups in *RV.*

26. Studies in Vedic figures of speech

Figures of speech and stylistic peculiarities, also have been engaging the attention of Vedists. Thus Regnaud has treated of the pun in Vedic literature in his *Le charactere et l'origine des jeux de mots Vedique literature.* Bergaigne had considered the syntax of the Vedic comparisons, and also made some observations on the rhetorical figures of speech in the *RV* in two articles, which have been both of them translated from the original French into English by Venkatasubbiah (ABBORI Vol. 16 & 17 respectively). V. Henry has considered the *Vedic antethesis and its utility for Vedic interpretation,* in an article contributed to Rev. Ling. XXXI. 81. Hirzel's *Gleichnisse und Metaphorn in RV* &c. (1889), has been translated by S. B. Velankar in BUJ. Sept. 1938 and 1940.

Gonda appears to have done more than any one else in this behalf. Particularly interesting is his *Stylistic Repetition in the Veda,* where he has tried to classify the passages containing repetition on the basis of stylistic motives discoverable in them (1959). Similes in the various *Family Mandalas* of the *RV* have been discussed and explained by Velankar, with an idea of going nearer if possible, to the true meaning of the Rgvedic stanzas through their rhetorical side. P. S. Shastri in his *Figures of Speech in RV* (ABORI XXVIII. 34-64) finds several figures of speech such as *upamā, rūpaka, atiśayokti, utprekṣā, bhrāntimān, paryāyokta* &c. in RV., the first four being very common. The figures in RV are, according to him, familiar, beautiful, apt and also picturesque.

27. Studies in Vedic religion and Mythology

Turning now to religion and mythology, it has to be observed that considerable bulk of the work done in this field so far, is of foreign authorship, Indian scholars having contributed a good deal in the form of articles only. *La religion Védique d'apres les hymnes du Ṛgveda,* of Bergaine, discussing in three volumes (1878, '81, '83 respectively), the elements of Vedic mythology in their natural phenomena and in the cult and also the individual Vedic deities, may be said to have ushered in the period under survey. Almost at the same time appeared Macdonell's *Vedic Religion* (1880, new ed. 1881). Oldenberg's *Religion des Veda* covering the same subject was out in 1894 (new ed. 1917, 1925). In 1908 was published Bloomfield's *Religion of the Veda, the Ancient Religion of India;* while Roussel's *La religion Vedique* was published in 1909. Griswold's *Religion of the Ṛgveda,* came out in 1923; and *The Religion and the Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanisats* of Keith was out in 1925.

While all these works deal with Vedic mythology only in a general manner, there are other works which deal with the subject more directly, and perhaps in a more detailed manner also. Thus Hilebrandt's *Vedische Mythologie* in three volumes (1891, '99, & 1902 respectively) deals with *Soma* and related deities (Vol. I); *Usas, Agni, Indra* (Vol II); and the remaining gods (Vol III) in all details. In 1910 was published the smaller edition of this very work, covering the whole matter in only two volumes, (new ed. 1927). Another important work in this connection is Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* (1897), which has now been recently published in Hindi translation. Besides these works on religion and mythology in general, there are several tracts and articles dealing with individual Vedic deities, discussing the nature of the deity, or the original basis of it as represented in Vedic literature in general and the RV. in particular.

28. Studies in original concepts of Vedic Deities

In this connection it has to be noted that, the idea of the original concept of a particular deity differs from scholar to scholar, according to the view held about the origin and nature of the *Veda,* and hence the method of interpretation followed. Hence while some scholar would see some natural phenomenon pure and simple as the basis of a particular deity, another would see some astronomical phenomenon therein, a third one would see some historical fact in the back-ground, while a fourth one may find nothing but some biological factor behind it. Even among those, who hold some natural phenomenon as the basis of a deity, differ among themselves: some finding there some aspect or the other of the sun, others of the moon, still others of the fire and so on.

29. Dr. Dandekar's four criteria

It is, therefore, not quite easy to make one's way through this entangling maze of differences of opinion and to arrive at a proper judgment. Hence it is necessary to have some criteria that would help us to decide whether a particular view is or is not sound. These have been ably and succinctly stated by Dandekar in ABORI XXI. 157f in 1940. According to him, for a view to be acceptable it must satisfy the following *four criteria:* (i) It must enable one to give a complete picture of the deity, agreeing in almost every detail about the deity found in the RV; (ii) it must enable us to explain the origin and development of the deity, in consonance with history and comparative mythology; (iii) it must sastisfactorily explain the nature and the status that the deity is known to have in later literature and mythology; and lastly (iv) it must not run counter to sound philological principles. There can hardly be any difference of opinion regarding the soundness of these criteria, which, it must be observed, presuppose on the part of the theorist as also of the critic, a very wide mastery of all the available relevant material. Has not *Vasiṣtha* also voiced a similar opinion when he wrote: *Bibhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ pratariṣyati'* ?

30. Studies in individual Vedic Deities

Turning now to individual Vedic deities, we have to observe that there is such a vast plethora of mutually conflicting theories and opinions about almost each one of them, that we shall have to satisfy ourselves by taking only some of the most prominent deities, and mentioning the various views that have been put fourth regarding them.

Taking *Indra,* the most prominent of the *Ṛgvedic* deities, first, we find that he has been declared to be the sun-god (Hillebrandt), the rain-god (Oldenberg), a god of universal character (Roth), and god of fertility as well as battles (Hopkins). Kretchmer declares him to be merely a development of a god of the Ur-Indians of Mitanni; while Anantalakshmi holds him to be the Ṛgvedic *Ātman.*

According to Fateh Singh, he is the universal god of light and energy; while according to K. Chattopadhyaya, he is originally only a god of war and victory. After a careful survey of facts supplied by the *Veda* and the *Avesta*, Benveniste and Renou have arrived at the conclusion that, here we have a confused mythology made up of three main themes originally distinct and separate from one another viz. Victorious god; Dragon-killing Indra; and Liberated waters.

31. Studies in Deity — 'Varuna'

A similar medley of theories has clustered round the equally important deity of the Vedic pantheon, *Varuṇa.* Betty Heimann declares him to be simultaneously macrocosmic, as well as microcosmic in nature; while Kretchmer holds that *Varuṇa.* must have originally been some god of the sea, which the Ur-Indians must have borrowed from Western Asia. On the other hand, Vedic *Varuṇa.* has been identified by Przyluski with a non-Aryan sea-god. Keith upholds the *Varuṇa-Ouranos-Skygod* theory; while Dumezil accepting the *Varuṇa-Ouranos* equation suggests that, V. must essentially have been a god who binds with his fetters as *Ouranos* also binds his rivals, (tracing the names back to Uerfasten). After discussing the various theories and sifting all evidence, however, Dandekar has come to the conclusion that, the fundamental conception behind the *Varuṇa-Ṛta* religion must be that of bondage, both cosmic as well as ethical.

32. Studies in Deity — 'Asvina'

No less divergent are the views held and propounded in connection with the twin gods, the *Aśvinā*. Geldner takes them to be *Die Indische Notheiligen;* Weber held that they are the constellation *Jemini;* Vodskov declared them to be originally rain-gods; while Miller, Ludwig, and Hardy thought that they are the sun and the moon. According to Mannhardt, Oldenberg, Guntert and others, the *Aśvinā* represent the morning and the evening stars; while Shamashastri has endeavoured to show that they represent some astronomical phenomenon. Przyluski is unique in holding that, *Aditi* is the Goddess Mother in the *Veda;* and that the *Aśvinā* are nothing but her attendant gods.

Hopkins, Goldstucker, and Jhala think that they represent the morning twilight; while Chandavarkar has tried to show that they are of historical origin. As a matter of fact, a difference of opinion regarding the original concept behind these deities is as old as or even older than *Yāska,* who has noted four different views about them prevalent in his time viz. Heaven and earth; Day and night; The sun and the moon; and lastly Two princes of meritorious deeds, — this last view being ascribed to the *Aitihāsikas.* After a careful consideration of all the available material from Vedic literature and ritual, Hillebrandt has come to the conclusion that the original nature of the *Aśvinā* is as obscure in Indian ritual as it is the *Ṛgveda.*

33. Studies in Deity — 'Vishnu'

We shall now consider only one more deity — a deity that was destined to top the whole of the Hindu pantheon in course of time, eclipsing even *Indra* the mightiest of the Ṛgvedic deities. Ghosh considers *Viṣṇu* to be a god of lightning; while Jacobi takes him to be merely some abstract conception; and Johansson declares that he is originally only the spirit of the *pitaras.* According to Das, *Viṣṇu* is very similar to the Egyptian god *Bes* who rules over every thing; while according to Hardy and Kunike, he is simply the moon god. Pryzluski holds quite a unique view again declaring that *Viṣṇu* has no counter-part in IE mythology, and connecting him with the *Viṭh,* the non-Aryan race living in *Veṭhadvīpa* in the Deccan.

Dandekar has, however, shown that *Viṣṇu* in his origin must have been a god of fertility, belonging to a very large clan of the Aryan race, rather than the supreme deity of the Ur-Indians. Machek, on the other hand, has tried to show that *Viṣṇu* far from being the sun-god, belongs originally to the realm of witch-craft. *Viṣṇu* the helper of *Indra* is *prius,* he is *druidmagician; Viṣṇu* the dwarf is *posterius,* a magician only. He further holds that *Verethragna* may be *Viṣṇu* himself; that *Appolo* was his counter-part; and further that *Viṣṇu* like *Indra* and other gods, must have come into being in the era of IE linguistic unity.

34. Studies in Age of Vedas

Let us now turn to the highly intriguing problem, which has been the subject of acute controversy and often been closely connected with the question of the entry of the Aryans into India, or the original home of the Aryans. Linguistic, religio-historical, and astronomical considerations have played a very important part in the discussions about this problem, — the problem of the Age of the Veda. Discovery of the *Boghazkoi Inscription,* and the excavations in the *Indus Valley* also have been pressed into the service of this problem, with the result that a final solution of the problem has become well-nigh impossible, the various views and theories cancelling one another and leaving the student in bewilderment where he was.

Max Muller, on the basis of the strata of Vedic literature, and arbitrarily assigning to each stratum a period of about 200 years, arrived at 1000-800 B.C., as the age of the *Mantra period;* while Bloomfield and Whitney, also on linguistic considerations only, based on the repetitions of the *RV* have come to the conclusion that the age must be considerably earlier, about 2000 B.C. Macdonell, on the other hand, following M. Müller's line of argument, favours the moderate view of about 1300 B.C., as the age of the Veda. Scholars like Keith, on the other hand, take their stand on the very close affinity of language between the *RV* on the one hand, and the oldest portions of the *Avesta* on the other, conclude 800 B.C. as the date for the completion of the RV., and further hold that, the beginning of the Ṛgvedic period, therefore, can't be very far removed from this date.

B. K. Ghosh also on similar considerations, holds 1000 B.C. as the date of the RV. He further has tried to substantiate his view with historical and archaelogical evidence, which are, however, not quite convincing. Husing also believes that the Indians had gone to Afghanistan circa 1000 B.C., where a major part of the *RV*. was composed. It must here be observed that M. Müller, who first tried to fix the age of the *Veda* on the basis of linguistic grounds, claims to have laid down only the lowermost limit thereof. But the uppermost limit he has left alone; for he felt that it was next to impossible to fix it with any semblance of certainty. Moreover, linguistic considerations are bound to be defective, because it is certainly impossible to determine the period required by a particular type and extent of linguistic change. The process can't be uniform at all times and in the case of all languages. And the case of a sacred language like the Vedic Sanskrit, can never be rightly judged by the standards of the languages or ordinary parlance.

35. Some important views on age of Vedas

Winternitz, therefore, taking his stand on the several distinct stages in the history of Indian literature, and also the manner of the Aryan expansion in India comes to the conclusion that, the beginning of Vedic literature should be placed nearer 2500-2000 B.C. than 1500-1000 B.C. K. Chattopadhyaya vindicates Winternitz in general against R. Chaudhary, but holds that the *RV Saṁhitā* contains material from the oldest to the latest Vedic period. Kretchmer, on the other hand, on the basis of the *Mitanni* records thinks that *Mitanni* must have been the seat of the *Ur-Indians*, and that several things must have been borrowed by them from the *Hittites*, and the *Mitannians.* Konow argues that Vedic Indians must have destroyed the *Indus Valley* people about 3000 B.C., which must, therefore, be the date of a major portion of the *RV*. Similar is the view held by Sarup.

Wüst on the other hand, thinks that the *Indus Valley civilization* was destroyed by some other people, before the Vedic Aryans entered into India. According to him, therefore, the *RV* activity must be placed between 2000-1500 B.C. Hauer, however, thinks differently. According to him the Indians invaded India about 2000 B.C.; and prior to it they must have lived together with the Iranians as the Aryan people. The IE period, therefore, he thinks, goes back to 6000-5000 B.C. It may be noted here, that the *Boghazkoi Inscription* and also the *Indus Valley excavations* have applied with certain details, which are capable of being drawn in dimetrically opposite directions, and hence have for the time being at least proved incompetent to afford definite solution to our problem.

36. Age of Vedas: Astronomical considerations

Nor have astronomical considerations fared any better. On the basis of several astronomical statements in the Vedic literature, attempts have been made to fix the age of the Veda. S. B. Dixit based his argument on the statement of the *Śatapatha Br.*, regarding *Kṛttikās* never swerving from the east; Tilak and Jacobi have calculated independently of each other, that the Krttikas coincided with the vernal equinox, which dates about 2500 B.C. Tilak further points out to the texts that suggest that, vernal eluinox occurred in the Orion (*mṛgaśīrṣa*), which must have been about 4500 B.C. Jacobi tries to confirm his own finding, on the basis of the custom of *dhruva-darśana* mentioned in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, but altogether absent in the RV. But these arguments have failed to bring conviction, because of the possibility of the texts concerned being otherwise interpreted, so as to point to some other later date as has been actually done by Daftary and Winternitz; and also because non-mention of the custom in the *RV.* (being an argument ex silencio) can't be of any use, until it is convincingly shown that such mention was absolutely necessary there, so much so that it's absence would constitute what is called *yogyānupalabdhi.*

37. Conclusions regarding Age of Vedas

Thus though it is found impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion, regarding the age of the *Veda* on any of the considerations that have come up so far, it has to be admitted that from the point of view of Indian history, nothing speaks against the assumption that, *Vedic* literature extends back into the third millenary, and ancient Indian culture to the fourth millenary B.C. But the most prudent course, of course, would be to steer clear of any fixed dates, and to guard against the extremes of a stupendously ancient period or a ludicrously modern epoch.

38. New Horizons

Several aspects of Vedic studies had to be left untouched in this brief survey; and even those that are touched had to be dealt with only cursorily. But the details presented here may be found sufficient, it is hoped, for gathering a general impression about the importance of the *Vedas*, and the keenness with which scholars have been working in the field every where. It is heartening to note that, Indian scholars have been playing a prominent part in the editorial, as well as exegetical activities in the field, and further that scholars, both in India and outside by and large, are trying to steer clear of the extremeties which to a large extent appear to have marred the work of the Vedists of the earliest period. It is also evident that, notwithstanding all that has been done so far, Vedic literature still affords vast scope for many-sided research activities, in all its branches — nay the scope is getting wider and wider with passage of time. Even the *RV Saṁ.,* which appears to have been the centre of activity of a vast number of scholars, and has been subjected to multifarious research activities for more than a century, seems to have offered fresh fields of investigation, which are equally fascinating.

39. Need for propagation of Vedic Research in Indian languages

It must, however, be observed here that almost the whole work done so far (even that of the Indian scholars) has been done in a foreign language, with the result that a majority of our brethren are in the dark about this vast heritage of ours; and that it is high time Governments and private institutions encourage and undertake propagation of this vast treasure among the populace of our land, through the language or languages they understand. It is well known that there are in our land several *pandits* who are, so to say, walking encyclopaedias in the various branches of oriental learning. But being ignorant of any language but their own mother tongue, they have not been able to profit by this vast work done in the field by scholars educated on modern lines; nor have they been able to contribute their own mite to it. It is indeed a great national wastage not to utilise their learning and energies for this work.

Similarly any amount of work done in a foreign language is bound to be nothing short of a large scale national wastage, for the simple reason that it reaches only an infinitesimal fraction of the populace, leaving all the rest of it in blissful ignorance. It is, however, a good sign that the Central as well as the State Governments have become conscious of this state of affairs, and are encouraging translation and publication of important works in Marathi, Hindi and other regional languages, through *maṇḍalas* specially constituted for the purpose, and through enterprising publishers. There is every reason to hope and expect that before long our languages in India will be enriched with not mere translations of works done by foreigners, but with independent works which will bear comparison with even the best among them.

Om Tat Sat

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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The years under survey have produced valuable discoveries, invaluable catalogues, important publications, critical editions and illuminating studies. These studies have reached a stage, when a complete bibliography has become a sheer necessity. An attempt is made here to take a bird's eye-view of the work done in various branches of Classical Sanskrit Literature, viz. Poetry, Prose Romances, Fable and Folk-lore literature, and the Dramas.

Introduction

It is indeed a very difficult task to carry out a complete and satisfactory survey of the work done by Sanskrit scholars in the field of Classical Sanskrit Studies, during the last seventyfive years. Great progress has been made in Indology in general, and in Classical Sanskrit Studies in particular, during these years and what can be done in a survey like this, is at best to refer to the most important work done in the several branches of this literature, viz. the *Mahākāvyas* and the smaller *Kāvyas*, the *Subhāṣitas* and their anthologies, Prose Romances, Fable and folklore literature, and finally the Dramas.

During the period under survey, in all these different branches, many new works have been brought to light; critical editions of many old texts with the help of new material have been offered, and quite a number of critical and interpretative studies have appeared, while papers that touch this or that aspect are simply too numerous to be counted. The total contribution thus made, is both considerable and significant.

1. Important catalogues of Sanskrit literature

Sanskrit literature is very vast and much of it lies scattered in manuscript form and unnoticed. All these manuscripts have got to be collected, catalogued and published. Systematic efforts have been made in this direction, and very good collections have been made and preserved at centres like Calcutta, Poona, Baroda, Madras, Trivandrum, Banaras, Tanjore and Mysore, thanks to efforts of individual scholars like Buhler, Peterson, Bhandarkar and others, and to the splendid help and encouragement given by the Governments of the different provinces and the states.

Catalogues are the guides to scholars for wading through this manuscript-wealth, and we have fine catalogues prepared for the manuscripts at these centres. In this connection the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. V. Raghavan deserves a special mention. This work is far more comprehensive and of much greater use to the scholars than the monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht, for this new Catalogue not only containes notices of many new works and manuscripts, but also gives information regarding the critical articles on such works. The *Jinaratnakośa* prepared by Professor H. D. Velankar is also equally valuable, as it is an alphabetical register of Jaina works and authors.

2. Publication of Sanskrit works

The different Sanskrit and Prakrit Series organised by the institutions like the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay; Adyar Library, Madras; the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona; the International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi; the Oriental Libraries, Madras, Mysore and Trivandrum; the Rajasthana Puratattva Mandir, Jodhpur; the Prakrit Text Society; the Bharatiya Jnānapeetha, Varanasi; and the Jaina Saṁskriti Saṁrakṣaka Saṁgha, Sholapur, and the different Universities, have done a very valuable work by bringing out good editions of new works, which we have before us perhaps for the first time. To be brief, great progress thus has been registered in the matter of collecting, cataloguing and publishing manuscripts of works hitherto known only through references or by names. It is true that all the works thus published are not of equal importance and merit, yet the fact remains that all these works together contribute much to the fuller understanding of the ancient Indians, their times, and the wonderful continuity and the length of the Sanskrit literary tradition.

3. Publication of longer historical poems

Amongst the Mahākāvyas newly brought to light mention is to be made of the *Rajavinoda mahākāvya* of Udayarāja, edited by *Gopālnārāyana Bahura,* a poem of historical interest, as it gives an account of a Sultan of Gujarat, Mahamud Begda, of the second half of the 15th century. The *Māṇḍalikanṛpacarita* of *Gangādhara,* a mahākāvya in ten cantos, is another poem of similar interest, for it gives an account of king Mandalika of the Yādava dynasty at Junagadha in the second half of the 15th century, and mentions many events and personalities from the history of the Saurashtra in the pre-Sultan period. *Īśvaravilāsa mahākāvya* of *Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa* is yet a third historically interesting poem dealing with the life of Sawai Īśvarasiṁha of Jaipur whose date is 1723-1752 A.D., and in essence can be compared with the *Sāhendravilāsa* of Śrīdhara-Venkaṭeśa, a biography in verse of King Shahaji of Tanjore 1664-1710 A.D., edited by Dr. V. Raghavan.

The Rajasthana Puratana Granthamala has published the *Cakrapāṇivijaya mahākāvya* of *Lakṣmīdharabhaṭṭa,* while the Mithila Institute of Darabhanga has brought out an edition of the *Pārijātaharaṇa mahākāvya* of Karṇapūra of the 15th century, a poet in all probability different from the Vaiṣṇava poet of the same name from Bengal. The *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṁśa* of Rudra Kavi composed in 1596 A.D. gives a historical account of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri, from Rāṣṭrauḍha to Narayana Shah of the dynasty. The *Sāhityaratnakara* of *Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkshita* is a long poem in sixteen cantos, and deals with the exploits of Raghunatha Nayaka, king of Tanjore in 17th century A.D.

The other mahākāvyas that have been published are the *Pṛthvīrājavijayamahākāvyam* of *Jayānka,* with the commentary of Jonarāja ; *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda; *Vasantavilāsa* of of Bālacandra Sūri describing the life and history of king Vastupāla of Gujarat. An account of the poem *Kosalānanda mahākāvyam* by Gangādhara Miśra is given by L. P. Pandeya Sarma, and accordingly it appears to be a historical poem dealing with the Chauhan rulers of Patna cum Sambhalpur kingdoms. The *Subhadrāharaṇa* is an unpublished mahākāvya. but from the account of this poem given, it appears to be a poem of twenty cantos by Nārāyaṇa and resembles the *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* since the poet seeks to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini's grammar. The poet has himself written a commentary on the sixteen cantos of his poem, and was one of the 'eighteen and half' poets at the court of Mananika, the Zamorin of Calicut in the latter half of the 15th century.

4. Publication of smaller poems

Along with these longer historical poems the smaller poetical compositions also have received proper attention. Many Dūtakāvyas written in imitation of the *Meghadūta* of *Kālidāsa,* like the *Bhṛngadūta, Haṁsasandeśa, Vāṅmanḍanaguṇadūta.*

Bhramaradūta, Candradūta, Pavanadūta have been published and critical studies have appeared, of which mention can be made of the contribution by Cintaharana Cakravarty and E. P. Radhakrishnan. M. P. L. Sastry has given information regarding Bhogaṇātha, a poet of the 14th century and younger brother of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa, who is reported to be the author of six works, *Mahāgaṇapatistotra, Gaurināthaśataka, Udāharaṇamālā, Sṛngāramañjari, Tripuravijaya* and *Rāmollāsa.*

The great grammarian Pāṇini is known to have been a poet, and F. W. Thomas has collected the verses ascribed to him in the different anthologies. Pāṇini is reported to have been the author of the *Jāṁbavatīvijaya* and the *Pātālavijaya.* Ksitisa Candra Chatterjee after a thorough examination of the question, comes to the conclusion that these works are not of the grammarian, since the *Jāṁbavatīvijaya* appears to be a product of the 9th century. A. D. Bhankarkar does not accept the identity of the grammarian with the poet Panini.

Mankad has published the *Buddhivinodakāvya,* a small poem of twenty verses, with the commentary of one Kālidāsa. The *Śṛngāramanjarīkathā,* a work of Bhoja of Dhara of the 11th century, based on a single palm-leaf manuscript has been recently published, and in content and plan it resembles the famous *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta, and the *Samayamātṛkā* of Kṣemendra.

The Rajasthana Puratana Granthamala has published for the first time a new *śṛngāraśataka,* the *Śṛngārahārāvalī* attributed to Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhīya.* Another work that has been brought to light is the *Śṛngārakallola* by Rāmabhaṭṭa, and this work resembles the celebrated Śataka of Amaru. *Śṛngāravairāgyataraṁgiṇī* by Somaprabha sūri is a very interesting composition, for here the same expressions are made to yield sense contributory to both the sentiments, śṛngāra and vairāgya.

The *Śivanāmakalpalatāratnālavālakāvya,* attributed to the Tantric Bhāskarārya, is a poem of hundred and eight verses in several metres, and explains the significance of the different names of Lord Śiva. The *Kṛṣṇagīti* by Somanātha is a poem in imitation of the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, proving the popularity and the continuity of the Jayadeva tradition. The *Uṣāpariṇayaprabandha,* a campū; the *Gopikonmāda,* a lyrical poem of hundred and twentyfour verses; the *Tripuradahana,* a yamaka kāvya; the *Viṣṇuvilāsa,* the *Śrīrāmapañcaśatī,* the *Karṇakutūhala,* of Bholānātha, a peculiar combination of drama and the narrative prose, are some of the poetical compositions that have been published.

5. Publication of prose works

Amongst the Prose works that have been published during this period, mention can be made of the *Ānandakandacampū* of Mitramiśra, *Ajāmiḷamokṣaprabandha* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, *Yuddhakāṇḍacampū* of Rājacudāmaṇi Dīkshita, *Citracampū* of Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṁkāra; *Virupākṣavasantotsvacampū* of Ahobala, interesting as it gives the history of Vijayanagara, *Ānandarangacampū* of Śrīnivāsa, depicting the life of Anandaramga Pillai, the Dubhash of the French at Pondicherry in the eighteenth century; *Sarvadevavilāsa campū,* giving us the history of old Madras.

6. Publication of Fable works

The Fable has not been neglected, and we owe to M. B. Emeneau a very fine edition of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati,* the version of Jambhaladatta. Keith has carried out in his usual thorough manner a detailed examination of the possible relations between the *Pañcatantra* of Parṇabhadra, the *Pañcākhyānoddhāra* of Meghavijaya, and the *Tantrākhyāyikā.* W. Norman Brown has discussed the position of the *Pañcatantra,* in the Indian Folklore, while Keith has discussed the problem of the date of the *Pañcatantra,* and has rejected the second century theory on the strength of the use of the word Dīnāra in it. Important contribution to these studies has also been made by Winternitz, Hertel, A. Venkatsubbiah.

Excellent editions of works already published and therefore known to scholars, also have been produced during this period, and a full and complete account of all these efforts would be beyond the scope of the present survey.

7. Research regarding Sanskrit poets — Asvaghosha studies

Similarly much new material has been brought to light about authors who are pretty well known. Valuable contribution to Aśvaghoṣa studies had been made by F. W. Thomas, E. Hultzch and G. Tuci. Thomas has, in his Introduction to the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya,* given a complete list of Aśvaghoṣa's works with references, while Hultzch has evaluated the influence of Aśvaghoṣa on Subandhu, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Tuci has pointed out the influence of Aśvaghoṣa on Vasubandhu and Hemacandra, while C. W. Gurner has shown how greatly is Aśvaghoṣa influenced by Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa,* and has made a study of the psychological simile in Aśvaghoṣa. Keith and Winternitz have given us their critical estimates of Aśvaghoṣa in their works, and E. H. Johnston has brought out in 1936, an edition of the *Buddhacarita* with an English translation, while Gurner and Johnston give us the textual criticism of the poem. Cintaharana Cakravarty has brought out with some additions a re-issue of the *Saundarānanda* edited by Haraprasad Shastri. The bibliography here is extremely valuable for it gives us a complete list of the articles and studies of the poem that have appeared between 1905 and 1933.

8. Bhasa studies

The Bhāsa problem has been discussed by very competent hands and as yet no solution acceptable to all appears to be in sight. Almost every scholar of note has had to say something in the controversy, but only to make the problem more complicated. Winternitz, Deodhar, Sukathankar, Pisharoti, Bhat and Pusalkar have made very significant contribution towards the elucidation of the problem, and a proper appreciation of the dramatist. The recently discovered *Yajñaphala* has made the controversy more interesting in spite of the contributions by Mirashi and Dandekar.

9. Sudraka studies

The *Mṛchhakaṭika* has been translated by S. K. Basu — Calcutta and Revilo Pendelton Oliver, Urbana, a play that has been beautifully rendered by Ryder. The identity and life of Śūdraka has been discussed by Saletore and K. N. Watwe. H.

Luders has discussed in a very interesting paper the ten names of Vasantsenā, *Daśanāmaka*, while Radhagovind Basak has discussed the Indian Society as pictured in the play.

10 Kalidasa studies

Kālidāsa studies also have made similar progress, and much has been written about the poet, his birth-place, his poetry and works. Majumdar has fixed his birth-place at Daśapura, A. C. Chatterjee at Ujjain, and Lacchmi Dhar in Kāśmīr. His date is taken to be 58 B.C. by K. G. Sankar, and 6th century A.D. by D. R. Bhandarkar on the strength of the political conditions reflected in the *Raghuvaṁśa* VI, and also by Prabodha Chandragupta on a consideration of the astronomical data from his works. It appears that the theory that he flourished at the court of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty is gaining ground, though the First century theory also has its staunch supporters.

To Mirashi would easily go the credit of having thrown much light on problems connected with Kālidāsa. Articles touching this or that aspect of Kālidāsa and his works are too numerous to be referred to here, but one might mention the studies of A. C. Chatterjee '*Kālidāsa, his poetry and mind*, A. Hillebrandt '*Kālidāsa*', K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, '*Kālidāsa, His period, Personality and Poetry*, and those of C. Kunhan Raja, Candrabali Pande, Mirashi, Ruben, Karmarkar and Mainkar. Among the interesting articles on Kālidāsa may be mentioned the following: *Kālidāsa and Music* by G. N. Muzumdar, where technical terms in music and dance occurring in the works of Kālidāsa are collected; *Kālidāsa in China* by Louis Finot, where Finot has given information about a single palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Buddhist monastery of Chekiang province in China, containing references to the legendary life of Kālidāsa, with quotations from his poems. The criticism of this article by Sten Konow is equally interesting. V. Raghavan has discussed the *Women characters in Kālidāsa's dramas*, while C. Kunhan Raja has tried to assert, though unconvincingly, that Agnimitra is the best and ideal hero in Kālidāsian heroes. According to H. D. Sarma, Kālidāsa is indebted to the *Padmapurāṇa* for his stories of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Śākuntala*. Belwalkar has attempted to apply the cannons of textual and higher criticism to the *Śākuntala*, while Bhagawat Saran Upadhyaya has tried to study Education and Learning, and Fine Arts as are to be seen in the works of Kālidāsa

11. Geographical aspects of Kalidasa's works

B. C. Law has collected about hundred references to the different places in the works of Kālidāsa, and has tried to identify them in his article 'the *Geographical Aspect of Kālidāsa's works'* B. S. Upadhyaya in his '*India and Kālidāsa'* has dealt with all the material of cultural significance from the works of the poet. Mirashi and W. K. Parañjpe have discussed the question of the identification of the Rāmagirī in the *Meghadūta*, the former identifying Rāmagirī with Rāmatek near Nagpur, and the latter taking it to be the Ramgadha in the Sirgujā state. Shembhavanekar has unsuccessfully tried to identify the hill with Rāmashej near Nasik.

12. Research regarding other Sanskrit authors

It is not that other poets of lesser merit are neglected. Thus, the question of the identity of Bhaṭṭi, the author of the Bhaṭṭikāvya, with Vatsabhaṭṭi or Bhartṛhari is still being discussed. Scholars are not as yet agreed as to his age, priority or otherwise to Bhāmaha, a problem raised by the use of the alaṁkāras in canto X of the poem.

Bhāravi has been assigned to the 6th or 7th century by S. K. De, and Harihara Sastri considers him to be different from Dāmodara, though tradition accepts Dāmodara, as the other name of Bhāravi.

Hultzch tries to fix the date of Māgha on the strength of the evidence available in the commentaries of Vallabha and Mallinātha, and Dasaratha Sarma assigns him to the 8th century on a consideration of the military equipment, statecraft and military customs as described by him. Many editions of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* have appeared but the most important contribution is by Handiqui, who has given us an excellent English translation of the difficult poem with critical notes. Kṛṣṇa Lilāśuka, the author of *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, Rūpagosvāmin, the author of *Padyāvalī*, and Nitivarman, the author of the *Kīcakavadha* have engaged the attention of S. K. De, who has brought out excellent editions of these works. K. R. Pisharoti has given us the life and history of Kṛṣṇa Lilāśuka and of different authors bearing this name.

Kosambi has produced a standard edition of the *Śatakatraya* of *Bhartṛhari* an edition that may be regarded as a model of scholarship and textual criticism. He has given us the commentaries of Dhanasāragaṇi, the oldest commentator of Bhartṛhari, of Rāmarṣi and of Rāmacandra Budhendra, and also a southern recension of the popular Śatakatraya.

13. Publication of Anthologies

Gokhale and Kosambi have presented the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* in a masterly manner. This is in fact the recast of the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* that was presented by F. W. Thomas in 1912, but presented in a fuller form, and it is more valuable since the editors have consulted material available from Tibet and Nepal. The author of this work is a Buddhist Vidyākara by name and lived in 1100 A.D. In the introduction Kosambi has discussed the question of identity of many of the poets who are nothing more than names to us.

Sabhyālaṁkaraṇa of Govindajit, the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Harihara, and the *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* are other anthologies that have been recently published, in addition to the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* or Śrīdharadāsa. Amongst articles discussing these anthologies may be mentioned *the Note on Sanskritic and Sanskrit Anthologies* by Ramavatara Sarma, and *An analysis of the authorities quoted in the Śārangadharapaddhati* by H. D. Sharma.

14. Research regarding Sanskrit prose writers

Scholars have evinced a similar interest in the writers of prose and the prose forms. S. K. De has discussed the question of the Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā. Discussing the question of the relation between Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, De comes to the conclusion that the author of the *Daśakumāracarita* is not the author of the *Avantisundarikathā*. A. Pattabhirama has attempted an evaluation of Ācarya Daṇḍin as a critic. A. A. Sharpe has edited the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa and we owe to V. S. Agarvala cultural commentaries in Hindi on the *Harṣacarita* and the *Kādambari*.

The question of the relation between Bhāmaha and Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā* is yet being discussed, many regarding Bhāmaha as criticizing Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* as *loka-śāstra-viruddha.* R. V. Krsnammacariar regards Subandhi to be later than Bāṇa, a view of accepted by S. P. Bhattacarya. M. Ghosh thinks Bengal to be the home of Subandhu while A. Rangasvami discusses the question of the identity of Subandhu, with a writer in dramaturgy of the same name, and with the Mauryan minister also of the same name, but without coming to any definite conclusion. P. K. Gode has tried to fix the dates of the various commentators of the *Vāsavadattā.* The *Udayanasundarikathā* of Soḍḍala 1026-1050 A.D. is now before us, and J. C. Ghosh has studied the historical data available from the work.

15. Research regarding Sanskrit dramatic literature

But perhaps the most interesting contribution has been in the field of dramatic literature. The *Kaumudimahotsva* by the poetess Vijjakā published by M. R. Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri is very important from a historical point of view. K. P. Jayaswal has examined the historical data from the play, while Dasaratha Sarma, after a comparison of the play with the works of Kālidāsa concludes the poetess to be later and the borrower. M. R. Kavi has brought to light the *Kundamālā* ascribed to Dinnāga. The name of the author is read also as Dhīranāga or Vīranāga, and the play in all probability belongs to some time earlier than the 5th century A.D.

The *Devīcandragupta* is another important historical play that has been recently brought to light, and has engaged the attention of scholars like Raghavan and Sten Konow. This play is supposed to have been written by Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa.* Many new and interesting facts have come to light on account of this play about the life of Candragupta. K. H. Dhruva ascribes to Viśākhadatta, yet another play, a play based on the *Rāmāyana.*

The controversy regarding the identity of Bhavabhūti with the Mīmānsaka Uṁveka in which Mirashi and S. K. Ramnatha Sastriar have taken part can be only mentioned here. Mirashi, after a critical study of the topographical details supplied by the *Malati-Mādhava,* concludes Padmapura to be the birth-place of Bhavabhūti. The critical edition of the *Mahāvīracarita* by Todarmall and its study by S. K. De are important contributions to Bhavabhūti studies, after Belkarkar, who has given us the masterly edition of the *Uttararāmacarita.*

The publication of the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* of Bodhāyana, a prahasana, is also very interesting as it, among the Sanskrit dramatic pieces, reveals a very keen sense of humour and has a modern flavour in its combination of humour and satire. The edition of the *Saṁkalpasūryodaya* of Venkaṭanātha with the commentaries of Ahobala and Nṛsiṁharāja, published by the Adyar Library, after consulting as many as seven manuscripts, is a very valuable work. The *Yadavābhyudaya,* another work of Venkaṭanātha, also has been published recently with the commentary of Appayyā Dikshita. The Adyar Library has given us yet another interesting work, the *Jīvānanda,* ascribed to the Tanjore minister Anandaraya Makhin, an allegorical drama dealing with the Āyurveda.

Among other dramatic compositions that have been brought to light recently can be mentioned the *Pārthaparākrama* of Pralhādana (12th cen. A.D.) *Rūpakaṣatkam* of Vatsarāja, minister of Paramardideva of Kalanjar (12th cen. second half), *Mohaparājaya* of Yasaḥpāla (1230 A.D.) *Hammīramardana* of Jayasiṁhasūri, *Nalavilāsa* or Rāmacandrasūri, *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra, *Tāpasavatsarāja* of Māyurāja the author of the *Udāttarāghava* and a Kalucuri king of Cedi, *Mārtaṇḍavijaya* of Devarāja, the court-poet of Mārtaṇḍavarman (1729-1758 A.D.), *Dharmavijaya* of Bhudeva Śukla (1500 A.D.), *Mṛgānkalekhā* of Viśvanātha. *Manonurañjananāṭaka* and *Karpūrumañjari. Śankhaparābhava vyāyoga* of Harihara, *Bhīmaparākrama vyāyoga* by the son of *Śatānanda, Madanaketucarita,* a prahasana by Rāma Pāṇivāda and the *Ullāgharāghava* of Somesvara of the 13th century.

16. Some noteworthy editions of Sanskrit works

Different institutions have brought out very fine editions of Sanskrit works, and among these a mention can be made of the editions of all the works of Jagannatha Pandita published by the Sanskrit Academi of the Usmania University, Hyderabad. The Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, has only recently brought editions of the *Meghadūta, Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava* of Kālidāsa.

Some of the editions newly brought out are of great importance, for these have brought to light new commentaries for the first time, and thus have made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the different forms of literary interpretation and appreciation. In this connection mention may be made of the commentary of Koneśvara on the *Vikramorvaśīya*, of Bharata Mallika on the *Meghadūta*, of Aruṇagirinatha on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and of *Pūrṇasaraswati* on the *Malatimādhava*.

17. Sanskrit works by Buddhist and Jain writers

It would be necessary here to refer to the Sanskrit works written by the Buddhist and the Jaina authors, that have been made available to the scholars. Among these a mention can be made of the *Stutividyā* of Samantabhadra, consisting of 116 verses in praise of the twentyfour *Tīrthankaras*, for it is a fine specimen of kāvya, especially for a study of the *Citrālaṁkāras* like 'murajabandha, ardhabhrama and so on. P. Pannalal has published this work with the commentary of Vasunandin and a Hindi translation. To the same scholar we owe a very fine edition of the *Jivandharacampū* of Haricandra, also with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation.

The Bharatiya Jnanapeetha has brought out the edition of the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, a remarkable composition in the true Sanskrit classical style. The editors have consulted ten manuscripts in Devanagari and Kannada and the work is very important for a study of mythology, legends and cultural history. We owe to the same institution very good editions of the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, *Padmapurāṇa* of Ravisena and the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasena. The *Digvijaya mahākāvya* of Meghavijaya is an epic of thirteen cantos dealing with the life of Vijayaprabha, the sixty-first Bhaṭṭāraka in the list of the *Tapāgaccha*. Other poems of historical interest are the *Kīrtikaumudi* of Someśvara and the *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* of Arisimha.

Among the dramatic compositions mention is to be made of the two plays, the *Añjanāpavanaṁjaya* and the *Subhadrā* of Hastimala, edited by M. V. Patwardhan.

18. Research in Sanskrit poetics

Considerable progress has been made in the studies about the literature in poetics and dramaturgy, both in the matter of critical editions of standard works and competent critical studies. Several good editions of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* have been brought out, and amongst these of great importance are those with the commentary of Someśvarabhaṭṭa and of Śrīdhara. The first is prepared by Rasiklal Parikh, and the other by Shivaprasada Bhattacarya, and both these editions are important for the two commentators are the earliest before us, and thus provide a vital link between the work of Mammaṭa and its later interpretations. Śrīdhara's commentary is full of quotations and therefore useful for the history of Sanskrit literature. The Singhi Jaina Series have published the *Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana* of Siddhacandragaṇi, interesting, as it is a critique of Mammaṭa.

The *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin has been brought out by the Mithila Institute, with the commentary *Ratnaśrī* by Ratnaśrījñāna, a Buddhist and a Ceylonese scholar. He has subjected the *Kāvyādarśa* to a kind of textual criticism, and accepted the best readings after consulting the several manuscripts of the work available to him.

Other works that have been published are the *Kavyaparīkṣā* of Srivatsalanchana, *Kāvyamīmānsā* of Rājaśekhara edited by N. Cakravarty, the *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha* of Amṛtānandayogın. The *Dvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana has been edited by Bisnupada Bhattacarya with a kind of running commentary in English, and K. Krsnamurthy has given us a complete English translation of this master-piece.

S. K. De's contribution to Sanskrit Poetics like that of P. V. Kane has been immense, and both have produced masterly histories of Sanskrit poetics. Raghavan's study of the Sṛngāraprakāśa of Bhoja is a model of scholarship. Rasa, Rasābhāsa, Rīti, Guṇa are topics that are receiving ever new treatment. Similarly good deal has been written about Bhāmaha, Kuntaka, Mahimabhatta, Rudrata and the doctrines they held, by very competent hands like K. B. Pathak, P. V. Kane, H. R. Divekar, Raghavan, De and others. The *Kāvyamālā* Series, the Gaikawad Oriental Series, the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series have rendered a signal service to these studies by bringing out the editions of many standard works in poetics.

19. Research in Sanskrit Dramaturgy

Dramaturgy also has received its proper share of importance and treatment. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata was published in the Kāvyamālā Series in 1894, and since then it has engaged the attention of scholars. The Gaikwad Oriental Series brought out another edition of this text, with the celebrated *Abhinavabhāratī*. Batukanatha Sarma and Baladeva Upadhyaya brought out the third edition of this text in the Kasi Sanskrit Series, after consulting a larger number of manuscripts. We owe to M. M. Ghosh an English translation of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In his introduction Ghosh has attempted a discussion of the history and development of the text and dramaturgy.

Another important text to appear in the Gaikwad Oriental Series is the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra. This work is very interesting, as it refers to many views, and thereby throws considerable light on dramaturgy as such. It has a new theory to propound especially about the nature of Rasa.

The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sagaranandin are other texts that are of interest. Sagaranandin's work was first published by M. Dillon in 1937, and it has again been presented to us by Raghavan and Dillon, with considerable improvement by way of introduction, notes, corrections and emendations as well as the appendixes. Some texts dealing with the Rasa theory have been brought out, amongst which can be mentioned the *Rasaratnapradīpikā* of Allarāja and the *Sṛngāramañjarī* by Akabar Shah, a Muslim saint.

Amongst other important studies in dramaturgy are to be mentioned the following: K. R. Varma's papers dealing with Nāṭya, Nṛtta, Nṛtya, their meaning and relation; and *Seven words in Bharata*, in which the author takes his stand chiefly on Bharata to determine the original views and in that light tries to outline the development of the Nāṭyaśāstra, *the Bharatakośa* by Rama-Krisna Kavi, which is important because it is a dictionary of technical terms relating to nāṭya, gīta, nṛtya, vādya and dhruvāgāna;

the Theory of the Saṁdhis and the Saṁdhyaṅgas in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra by T. G. Mainkar in which the author tries to interpret the theory as it was originally conceived by Bharata following a historical method of interpretation; *Types of Sanskrit Drama* by D. R. Mankad, in which the author discusses the different forms of Sanskrit drama and also their evolution; *Laws and Practices of Sanskrit Drama* by S. N. Sastri, where a complete treatment of dramaturgy is attempted. Other studies to be noted are *The Indian Theatre* by C. B. Gupta; *Theatre of the Hindus* containing papers from different scholars, The *Vidūṣaka : Theory and Practice and Sanskrit Comic characters* by J. T. Parikh and *Sanskrit Drama, its Origin and Decline* by I. Shekhar. S. K. De has discussed the Bhāṇa form, while Manamohan Ghosh, P. K. Gode have tried to deal with the Bharata and the Ādibharata problem.

20. Some important Histories of Sanskrit literature

Excellent histories of Sanskrit literature often serve the purpose of the catalogues of works and manuscripts. Viewed from this point of view, we have the history of classical literature by Keith. The third volume of the history of literature by Winternitz in which he discusses the classical literature is now translated in English. De and Dasagupta have produced their *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Classical Period), in which we have many fine appreciations of our poets, their limitations duly brought out. To these books are to be added the histories of Sanskrit literature by C. Kunhan Raja and Krishna Chaitanya, which are both comprehensive as well as critical. K. K. Raja's account of the contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature is very illuminating, and calls for similar regional accounts.

It will thus be seen that the contribution that has been made to studies in Classical Sanskrit is immense, and the progress considerable. (These years under survey have produced valuable discoveries, invaluable catalogues, important publications, critical editions and illuminating studies. These studies have reached a stage, when a complete bibliography has become a sheer necessity.) I must put forth the excuse of limited space and time for the absence of any mention of many an important work in the field of Classical Sanskrit studies, which, unfortunately, I may not have been in a position to peruse.

PRAKRIT LITERATURE

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In the early stages, the Prakrit studies were carried on by a small group of Sanskritists and they formed a byproduct of Sanskrit Philology. To-day they form, along with Pali and Sanskrit, an Important branch of Indology. Due to the publication of the Vast Prakrit literature written and preserved by the Jain Community, we are now in a better position to appreciate their value and importance.

Introduction

In the early stages, the Prakrit studies were carried on by a small group of Sanskritists, and they formed a by-product as it were of Sanskrit philology. They thus remained in the background for a long time, and it is only in recent days, that they assumed their legitimate and natural proportions, due to the publication of the vast Prakrit literature of ancient and medieval times, written and preserved by the Jain community. Today they form, along with Pali and Sanskrit, an important branch of Indology in general. More and more scholars are now devoting their attention to them, and we are now in a better position to understand and appreciate their value and importance, than was possible some twenty-five years ago.

1. Prakrit Dialects in Sanskrit Dramas

In the field of Sanskrit, the Prakrit studies were originally naturally bound up with the dramas, and they were mostly confined to the so called dramatic Prakrits. The Sanskrit dramas make use of a considerable amount of Prakrit in the speeches of ladies, children and other characters of lower social status. They use a variety of dialects, which are named by the rhetoricians, and described by the Prakrit grammarians to some extent.

2. Pischel's Pioneering contribution to Prakrit Dialects

The credit of pointing out the importance of Prakrit dialects in the Sanskrit dramas, and bestowing on them the proper care goes to R. Pischel, who published the Bengali recension of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* in 1877, with an attempt to decide the original recension of this famous work. He devoted particular care to the Prakrit passages, and expressed the hope that his edition would contribute to a better knowledge of the scenic Prakrits. It is generally admitted that, this recension preserves the Prakrit passages in a much better form, than the Devanāgarī recension which Weber favoured on other grounds.

At this early date, Pischel naturally gave great importance to the teachings of the Prakrit grammarians like Vararuci, and corrected the text in the light of their theory. The views of later rhetoricians like Viśvanātha and others, that the prose of the dramas should be in Śaurasenī, while the verses should be written in Māhārāṣṭrī, were also accepted by him in settling the text. In 1877 Pischel allowed the use of intervocalic *d* in the verses of Śākuntala, because Vararuci allowed it in a number of words in his principal Prakrit, identified with Māhārāṣṭrī. Later on both these views were contested, and scholars are to-day inclined more to disregard them.

3. Some Noteworthy editions of Sanskrit Dramas

Later editors of Sanskrit dramas do not appear to have devoted much care on the Prakrit portions, and they were generally satisfied by providing the traditional Sanskrit chāyā, along with an indifferent Prakrit text. There are, however, a few editions which are useful for the study of the Prakrit dialects. Such are the editions of the two remaining dramas of Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra* (BSS 1889), and *Vikramorvaśīya* (BSS 1889) by S. P. Pandit, who presented the Prakrit passages with care, and with copious readings; and made a special effort to present the Apabhraṁśa verses in the fourth act of Vikramorvaśīya in as good a form as possible, though he considered them as spurious, and hence relegated them to an appendix. Except for the orthographical peculiarity of doubling the aspirate, the Prakrit passages are fairly correct, though the editor has not followed the principle of normalising the text with the standards of the grammarians.

4. Contribution of Konow and Hillebrandt

From the point of view of Prakrit, the edition of *Mṛcchakaṭika* by Godbole (BSS 1896) is fairly good, and so also the edition of *Mālatīmādhava* by R. G. Bhandarkar (1905), of *Mudrārākṣasa* by Telang (1900), of *Ratnāvalī* of Cappeller in the second edition of Böthlingk's *Chrestomathie* (1877), where the usual chāyā is replaced by a Prakrit-Sanskrit Index.

A great advance in Prakrit studies is seen in the admirable edition of *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara, prepared by S. Konow (HOS 1901). This is a Saṭṭaka wholly written in Prakrit. Konow was a pupil of Pischel, and took great pains in collecting a large number of Mss, and constituted a critical text of the drama on an uniform plan. The editor followed a rigorous method in making the verses of the drama pure Māhārāṣṭrī, and the prose pure Śaurasenī by using an eclectic procedure. My applying the improved standards of dialectal differences between the two Prakrits, as supplied by the exhaustive grammar of Pischel, he naturally came to the conclusion that, Rājaśekhara has failed to keep the dialects distinct in all the details. The text of this drama gives quite a different appearance from that of Pischel's *Śākuntala*.

In 1911 Hillebrandt published an edition of *Mudrārākṣasa* (Breslau), based on a number of old Mss, and on the authority of his Mss material, he came to the conclusion that the verses in that play were either in Śaurasenī or Māgadhī, but not in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, which view came in conflict with the usual supposition.

5. Discovery of Bhasa Plays in South India

At this time a number of plays were discovered in South India and published by T. Ganapathiśastri from Trivandrum (1910-1915), who ascribed them to the famous poet Bhāsa. In the controversy that followed, the Prakrits of these plays played an important role, and a detailed analysis of these was given by Printz in his work *Bhāsa's Prakrits* (Frankfurt a.M. 1921). He pointed out a number of peculiarities, which may be assumed as marking an earlier stage in the growth of these languages. The same general conclusion was arrived at by V. S. Sukhtankar, who discussed the problem in a series of articles '*Studies in Bhāsa*' published in JAOS (40, 41, 42). The orthography of the south Indian Mss must also have played a role in giving these Prakrits their present appearance.

More important for the study of Prakrits was the publication of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas by H. Lüders (Berlin 1911). They contained a number of Prakrit dialects, which may be called the older forms of Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī and Śaurasenī. The absence of Māhārāṣṭrī there is significant, and we get a glimpse of the Prakrit languages before the time of the earliest Prakrit grammarians. The careful tabulation of all the forms by the editor is of great help in deciding the relative chronology of other Prakrit forms found in later works.

In 1922 the HOS published a second edition of Pischel's *Śākuntala*, worked out by Cappeller in full conformity of Pischel's grammar. Thus inervocalic *d* was eliminated, forms in *ijja* were replaced by those in *īa*, for passive in prose and so on. No new Ms material was used, and the value of this normalisation remains doubtful.

6. Todar Mall's edition of 'Mahavircharita'

The other extreme is represented by the edition of Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita* prepared by Todar Malla, and posthumously published (Oxford 1928), in which the Prakrit passages are given in a form based solely on the Mss readings, and in no way tampered with grammatical considerations. This has led the author to call in question the ability of Bhavabhūti to use Śaurasenī in its correct form. The delegation of the chāyā to notes, and the index of Prakrit words, are features certainly conducive to a better study of the Prakrit dialects. The edition of *Moharājaparājaya* by Chaturavijaya and Dalal (Baroda 1918), and of *Nalavilāsa* by L. B. Gandhi (Baroda 1926), are of interest as the authors have written their Prakrits after the study of Hemacandra's grammar.

7. M. M. Ghosh's edition of 'Karpurmanjari'

It is again the drama *Karpūramañjarī* which is responsible for giving a new orientation to the study of dramatic Prakrits. A new edition by M. M. Ghosh (Calcutta 1939), is important in making use of a method of text constitution faithful to the Mss, instead of following the standards of the grammarians in choosing the readings. In the long introduction, the editor puts forth his view that the whole drama is written in one uniform Prakrit called by him Śaurasenī. This has led him to the extreme view that even the *Setubandha* is written in the same dialect, and he naturally rejects the view that intervocalic *d* or a Loc. sg *e* are the real features of Śaurasenī as such.

8. Dr. A. N. Upadhye's contribution to Prakrit Dramas

This Saṭṭaka has also helped to bring to light other works of the same type, which are all dramas written in Prakrit alone, with no use of Sanskrit except for the stage directions. A Saṭṭaka called *Rambhāmañjarī* by Nayacandra was long ago published by the N. S. Press (Bombay 1889), but the work of unearthing most of the Saṭṭakas and presenting them in an excellent form for the use of Prakrit scholars, is taken up by A. N. Upadhye who has edited them, including *Candralekhā* of Rudradāsa (Bombay 1945), *Ānandasundarī* of Ghanaśyāma (Banaras 1955), and *Sṛṅgāramañjarī* of Viśveśvara (Poona 1960), with a method of text constitution and interpretation, which can be considered as models of scholarship and integrity. A new edition of *Karpūramañjarī* was published by N. G. Suru (Poona 1960) which is important for its all-inclusiveness than for any new point of view.

9. Dr. Velankar's edition of 'Vikramorvasiya'

In many ways the most valuable edition of a Sanskrit drama for Prakrit studies, is the Sahitya Akademi edition of *Vikramorvaśīya* (1961) by H. D. Velankar. The editor has taken particular care in giving the Prakrit portions which make up two-thirds of the whole, and has dealt with the problem of the Apabhraṁśa verses in act four with great learning, and has brought it nearer its final solution. In constituting the Prakrit text, due regard is shown to the Ms tradition, which is preferred to the rules of Pischel, when it is fairly consistent and wide spread. Even then some exceptions are made as in case of *bhodi* and *bhodu*, which shows how complex the problem of deciding the readings of a Prakrit text is. More elaborate and more successful is the attempt to show that, the Apabhraṁśa verses in the drama are genuine, which view is based on both the internal evidence, and the probability that Apabhraṁśa dialects may be as old as Kālidāsa.

As compared to the vast number of editions of Sanskrit dramas, there are very few good ones for Prakrits, even in case of the best known plays. It is to be earnestly desired that, future editors of Sanskrit plays devote more time and care on the Prakrit portions, which form in many cases a considerable part of these works.

10. Weber's Contribution to Prakrit Literature in Maharastri

It was the work of A. Weber which first brought into prominence the Prakrit literature in Māhārāṣṭrī. The famous anthology of 700 verses mostly of romantic contents usually called *Gāhāsattasaī,* was edited by him in 1870 (Leipzig), in which only 370 verses were included. Some additions were made to it in ZDMG (1872, 1874), and finally a complete edition of the work was published at Leipzig (1881), which can be considered as the first major Prakrit work in an excellent form. The elaborate preface deals with the literary and historical questions connected with the book, like its different recensions which number as many as six, the authorship of Hāla and his probable date, and the date of the anthology as a whole. Weber is inclined to date the anthology circa 3rd century A.D. at the earliest. The edition also gives a German translation of the text, with exhaustive notes dealing with grammar, and a complete index of words at the end. In an appendix are collected the Prakrit verses from the Alaṅkāra works, which is now of no interest.

Later on Weber also dealt with the commentary of Bhuvanpāla (IS XVI), which gives the names of the supposed authors of the verses included in the anthology. More recently the anthology is again edited by Jogalekar (Poona 1956), with an elaborate introduction dealing with the social study of the facts revealed by the verses. The linguistic value of this edition however is very moderate, and it adds very little to the Prakrit studies as such. Parts of the work with the commentary of Pitāmbara are also published, and V. V. Mirashi has made a suggestion that the original name of the anthology was Kośa or gāthākośa.

11. Prakrit epic Setubandha

The famous Prakrit epic *Setubandha* or *Dahamuhavaha* of Pravarasena, received an excellent treatment at the hands of S. Goldschmidt. Originally P. Goldschmidt edited the first two cantos of the poem; but later on a complete edition of this highly artificial epic was published by both, Siegfried being responsible for the editing of the text and the German translation, and the working up of the word-index which was left incomplete by Paul. (Strassburg 1881-1883). The editor has discussed in his preface the problem of the two recensions of the work, one commented on by

King Rāmadāsa, and the other by Kṛṣṇa. A Sanskrit rendering of this work was attempted by one Śivanārāyanadāsa, a part of which is given in the appendix. In spite of the fact that, Hemacandra used this book for his grammar as seen from his quotations, and that he is considerably older than the present Mss, the editor feels justified in not correcting the evidence of the Mss with the help of the grammarian's rules, particularly when it is a question of implication. Thus forms in *d* are retained, though Hemacandra expressly rejects them in Māhārāṣṭrī. The few elaborate rhymes found in the poem show so much artificiality, that no linguistic deductions can be drawn from them.

Quite recently a fine edition of this large epic is brought out by Radhagovind Basak (Calcutta 1959) with a new commentary called *Setutatvacandrikā*, which is much shorter and in places fragmentary. Basak devotes a good deal of space to the discussion of the commentaries on this work and their chronology, and gives a detailed summary of the text; but adds little by way of the interpretation of the Prakrit text which also shows go great improvement. A number of articles by Ramasvami Shastri, Altekar, Mirashi, Raghavan and Pusalkar also discuss the problem of the authorship of the poem and the identity of Pravarasena. It can now be taken as settled that he was a Vākāṭaka king who lived in the Gupta age. But the question of Kālidāsa's hand in its composition still remains doubtful, the historical indications conflicting with the literary standards.

The existence of another epic of a very similar nature, the *Harivijaya* attributed to Sarvasena, a predecessor of Pravarasena, was brought to light by V. V. Mirashi; and the different quotations presumed to be from it from works on Alaṅkāra were put together by A. M. Ghatage, in an attempt to ascertain its nature and literary form (JBU. 1936).

12. Paṇḍit's edition of 'Gaudavaho'

In 1887 S. P. Pandit published his edition of *Gauḍvaho* of Vākpati, a historical poem of great literary merit, from a number of good Mss preserved in Jain Bhāṇḍāras, to which his attention was drawn by G. Bühler The edition shows great skill and industry on the part of the editor, who also prints a brief commentary by one Haripāla, obviously a Jain writer, and adds a complete word index. Following the practice of Jain Mss the ya-śruti is preserved, which Pischel later thought necessary to remove in his grammar.

Pandit's text differs from that of the commentator in many places. The real contribution of the editor, however, is to be found in the extensive introduction, which gives a good summary of the text, deals with the date of both Vākpati and his patron Yaśovarman, putting forth a strong plea for the correctness of the chronology of Kalhaṇa; and pleads for a better understanding of Prakrit language and literature.

The second edition of the work (Poona 1927) by N. B. Utgikar, adds a few notes dealing with the literary form of this poem, on which different opinions were expressed by scholars like Bühler and Jacobi; some remarks on the date of the author, and a brief indication of another epic by him called Mahumahaviaa.

13. Prakrit Poems as an exercise in Grammar

With the publication of these works, it appeared for a long time that purely Māhārāṣṭrī works were exhausted and new books could not be found. In a sense this was true, and in comparison with the continuous tradition of the Sanskrit epics, Prakrit works of a secular nature were not often met with.

But in South India, the study of the Prakrit grammar, particularly of Vararuci, was continued for a long time, and south Indian Pandits composed Prakrit poems of smaller scope as a kind of exercise in Prakrit grammar, and display of skill in different languages. A. N. Upadhye has brought to light a number of such poems from the Mss collections in South Indian Libraries, and has published an excellent edition of a poem called *Kaṁsavadha* (Bombay 1940) by Rāmapāṇivāda, a late Kerala poet well known for his numerous Sanskrit works. This poem in four cantos deals with the killing of Kaṁsa by young Kṛṣṇa, and a number of other exploits of his in a large number of ornate classical metres. It is edited with a masterly introduction, dealing with the literary and historical problems of the book, a close translation, a Sanskrit chāyā and notes. Particularly important is the discussion about the exact nature of the language used, and its nomenclature.

A second poem by the same writer called *Uṣāniruddhaṁ* was also edited by him in the JBU (1941), while Kunnhan Raja later issued these works with full Sanskrit renderings. Upadhye has also drawn the attention of Prakrit scholars to other similar works, like the *Śauricarita* of Śrikaṇṭha, and *Śricihnakāvya* of Bilvamaṅgala *alias* Krisṇalīlāśuka, specimens of which he published in the Bharatiya Vidya (III.I) and JBU (1941). The latter work is interesting because it continues the tradition of writing kāvyas to illustrate rules of grammar, in this case, those of Vararuci, for which it supplies some indirect evidence of a textual nature.

14. 'Lilavati' — a long poem in Maharastri

Earlier to these, is a long poem in Māhārāṣṭrī called *Līlāvaī* a reference to which was made in the descriptive catalogue of Mss in the Jain Bhāṇḍar at Jesalmir by Dalal (GOS 1923). All the available material for this work which runs to 1333 stanzas, with some additional gāthās was collected by A. N. Upadhye, who published his beautiful edition of the work in 1949 (Bombay). The story deals with the marriage of the Simhala princess Līlāvatī with the Sātavāhana king of Prtiṣṭhāna, and is written as a continuous narration, without the usual divisions into sections. The story is made complicated by the device of inserting one narration into another.

The book has its own importance for the Prakrit languages, because the author calls the dialect specifically Māhārāṣṭrī and the editor has done his best to supply all the facts about it in his introduction. As is usual with this scholar, the introduction treats all the relevant problems in great detail, though one may feel a little embarrassed by the inclusion of a large amount of extraneous matter, simply because the name Līlāvatī is used by the author. One is also inclined to differ from the editor in his judgment of considering the additional verses as genuine. The real name of the poet remains doubtful, though Koūhala is given as such by the commentator. Many more works of this nature may yet remain buried in the Mss collection, and an attempt has to be made to bring them to light in order to get a proper perspective of Prakrit literature as a whole.

15. Some Important editions of Prakrit Grammar

The work of editing and publishing the Prakrit grammars was undertaken early, and it is mostly completed except for some late minor works. This was partly due to the fact that they were written in Sanskrit, and partly due to the necessity of having a thorough knowledge of the Indian systems of Prakrit grammars as essential for the understanding of these dialects. Cowell issued his admirable edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, along with the oldest commentary on it called *Manoramā* by Bhāmaha (London 1868) which however was not available for the last chapter dealing with Śaurasenī. To make up for this deficiency Cowell added in the appendix the corresponding portions of Hemacandra's grammar. This admirable edition is now available in a recent reprint.

This was followed by the edition of the Prakrit Grammar forming the 8th chapter of Hemacandra's *Śabdānuśāsana* or Siddhahemacandra in two parts (Halle 1877, 1880) by R. Pischel, undoubtedly the best edition of a Prakrit grammar even to the present day. Hemacandra is the most exhaustive Prakrit grammarian, who has treated the languages with thoroughness, utilising all the material available to him. In particular his contribution to Apabhraṁśa grammar remains unsurpassed, and his quotations in this section remained for a long time the only material available in this dialect.

The value of this work was greatly enhanced by the excellent and painstaking work of Pischel, who gave the text with a complete word index in the first part, and a German translation and explanations in the second. He notes in the margin the corresponding sūtras of both Vararuci and Trivikrama, which makes comparison easy. Hemacandra's grammar was again edited by S. P. Pandit as an appendix to his edition of *Kumārapālacarita* (BSS 1900), a second edition of which was prepared by P. L. Vaidya, who has already edited it earlier (Poona 1928) with copious notes. Even then, a good edition of the work with the well known commentaries is yet needed.

16. 'Prakrtalakshana' by Canda

The *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* of Caṇḍa is a much fragmentary work, and has come down to us in an imperfect condition. Hoernle edited it (Calcutta 1880) with extreme care and thoroughness usual with him, but with some amount of overconservatism in accepting the extent of the work, in which he was partly influenced by the idea of evolving the grammar of Ardhamāgadhī proper from the rules of Caṇḍa, by a process of interpretation which cannot be accepted as valid.

17. Hultzsch's edition of 'Prakrtarupavtara'

In 1909 E. Hultzsch published the *Prakṛtarūpāvatāra* of Siṁharāja (Royal Asiatic Society), a work nearly complete, and a kind of epitome of the so called Vālmīkisūtras, in whose existence the editor firmly believed. The value of the work is not great, but the editor's presentation makes it attractive, and the full comparisons with the sūtras of Hemacandra and the tabulation of forms have their own importance.

The same sūtras form the basis of the *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* of Lakṣmīdhara, which is edited by K. P. Trivedi (BSS 1916), with an introduction in which the editor unsuccessfully tries to prove the existence of the work of Vālmīki. In reality the original sūtras belong to Trivikrama, whose *Prakṛtavyākaraṇa* with his own vṛtti was partly published at Vizagapatam (1895), and a complete edition of which appeared from Benaras, prepared by Batuk Nath Sharma and Baladev Upadhyaya, a performance which is not satisfactory. More recently P. L. Vaidya has given us a satisfactory edition of this Prakrit grammar, which is important for the interpretation of the *Apabhraṁśa* verses, which are the same as those in Hemacandra.

18. Works on Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians

Of the works of the so called Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians, the work of Kramadīśvara is not available in a separate edition, though Rajendralal Mitra undertook it long ago. The best representative of this school remains Mārkaṇḍeya, whose *Prākṛtasarvasva* is finely edited by S. P. V. Bhattanathaswami (Vizagapatam 1927), in which all the citations are carefully traced to their sources, and it is to be regretted that the second volume containing the critical material and notes was never published.

The *Prākṛtakalpataru* of Rāmatarkavāgīśa had a halting career in its publication, due to the defective nature of the Ms material. Grierson published different portions of it from time to time, in the form of articles and monographs like Paiśācī in the Prākṛtakalpataru (IA LI), The Apabhraṁśa Stabakas of Rāmaśarman (IA LI), The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāmaśarman (IA LVI, LVII). The whole of the first Śākhā dealing with the Main Prakrit, except the Dhātvādeśas, is edited by Nitti-Dolci (Paris 1939), along with a translation in French. Finally M. M. Ghosh has issued the complete edition of the work (Calcutta 1954), with an English translation, and a number of appendices in which the minor works on Prakrit grammar like the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Laṅkeśvara, and the Prakrit sketch in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are included, making it a useful collection.

An important addition to the Prakrit grammars is undoubtedly the publication of the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama by Nitti-Dolci (Paris 1938), which is the oldest extensive representative of the Eastern School. The only Ms of this book was found in Nepal and the beginning of the work is lost. The edition is done with skill, and even in the absence of a commentary, the editor has succeeded in construing it fairly well with the help of other grammars. The introduction deals with the date and other works of Puruṣottama well known as a grammarian and lexicographer. Parts from a late Prakrit grammar, the *Prākṛtacintāmaṇi* of Śubhacandra were published by A. N. Upadhye in his article dealing with him (BORI XII).

19. Commentaries on Vararuci's Prakrit Grammar

Of all the Prakrit grammars, Vararuci had the largest number of commentaries on it, and a few of them are published. The two commentaries *Sañjīvinī* of Vasantarāja, and *Subodhinī* of Sadānanda are published in the Sarasvati Bhavana Series (Banaras 1927); while the metrical comment attributed to Kātyāyana is issued by N. S. Press (1913). The extensive comment, the *Prakrtamaṇidīpa* of Appaya Diksita, is issued from Mysore (1953), edited by T. Srinivasagopalacarya. The commentary of *Rāmapāṇivāda* is edited by C. Kuhnana Raja and K. R. Sharma, published from Adyar (1946).

All these commentaries only take note of the first eight chapters of Vararuci, and thus represent the text which was current in South India. The few verses and scanty prose in the

Nāṭyaśāstra was edited and translated by M. M. Ghosh, in his article 'the Date of *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*' (Calcutta 1934), and is also included in the seventh appendix of Vaidya's edition of Trivikrama.

20. Questions connected with Prakrit Grammarians

A number of questions connected with the Prakrit grammarians were dealt with in individual articles from time to time. Pischel collected a large number of *Deśī* words from the work of Trivikrama from 1879 to 1888, while Th. Bloch in his thesis *Vararuci und Hemacandra* (Gutersloh 1893) discussed the interrelation of the two works, and found Prakrit grammars of little value. T. K. Laddu gave an analysis of Trivikrama's grammar, and proved his authorship of both the Sūtras and of the Vṛtti in his dissertation '*Prolegomena zu Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammatik*' (Halle 1912) and the same grammar forms the topic of Bhattanathaswami's article '*Trivikrama and his followers*' (IA 1911) and Upadhye's *Valmikisūtra a myth* (Bharatiya Vidya 1941).

The *Śaurasenī* section of Mārkaṇḍeya was translated by Hultzsch in ZDMG 66, while Grierson contributed the following articles: The *Bṛhatkathā in Mārkaṇḍeya* (JRAS 1913), *Apabhraṁśa according to Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Ḍhakkī Prakrit* (JRAS 1913), The *Prakrit Dhātvādeśas according to the Western and the Eastern Schools of Prakrit Grammarians* (Calcutta 1924) and *the Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians* (Calcutta 1925).

21. 'Les Grammarians Prakrits' by Nitti-Dolci

A brief review of the Prakrit grammars is found in the third volume of Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, and Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford 1928). But the first attempt at a real history of Prakrit grammars is found in *Les Grammarians Prakrits* of Nitti-Dolci (Paris 1938), which surveys in a detailed manner the principal Prakrit grammars and enters into a detailed discussion on them.

After a brief introduction, the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci is subjected to a close analysis in order to ascertain its precise relation to *Sattasaī*, and the principal variants of his sūtras are collected. Bharata's chapter, dealing with Prakrit (XVII) is edited anew with the help of a Nepali Ms. and translated. The question of the druvas, which first attracted the attention of Jacobi, is dealt with, and the author comes to the conclusion that they are in *Śaurasenī*.

The eastern school of Prakrit grammarians then receives a detailed treatment and their essential agreement is pointed out. The author is convinced that, though represented by late works, it preserves an old tradition of value.

The remaining grammarians are then taken separately. Hemacandra's indebtedness to earlier writers like Namisādhu is fully pointed out, and the shortcomings of his work are noted. The author tries to find textual support for the existence of the sūtras of Vālmīki in Hemacandra and Trivikrama, and finally the works of Kramadīśvara and Caṇḍa are evaluated. Thus the work covers the entire field of Prakrit grammar, and does justice to the subject.

22. Modern Grammars of Prakrit language

Very soon, modern scholars began to prepare grammars of Prakrit languages, based on the teachings of Indian grammarians and the evidence furnished by the Prakrit literature, which was showly being published. If the early attempts like Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae* (Bonn 1837), or E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jain Prakrit* have only now a historical value, the same cannot be said of the grammatical introduction of Jacobi to his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* (Leipzig 1886), which gives a concise and accurate description of the dialect called 'Jain Māhārāṣṭrī', and the treatment of the syntax there is of use even to this day.

All further work in the form of separate articles was superseded by the monumental work of Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg 1900), which laid down the firm foundation for the Prakrit philology, and Prakrit grammar. Giving in the introduction a sketch of the various Prakrit languages and their literature, and a brief statement about the grammarians, the work deals with the phonology and morphology of the Prakrits with admirable thoroughness, and the work remains a book of reference, even after the lapse of so many years. The syntax is, however, neglected, and now and then its historical explanations are not sound. The lack of a complete index from which the book suffers, is made good by the word-index prepared by

Vikramasinghe, and published as an appendix to IA. Recently the work is translated into English by Jha and into Hindi by Joshi, thus making it available to a wider circle of readers and scholars.

23. Studies on particular Dialects

After the publication of this work, studies in Prakrit languages naturally proceeded along the line of specialisation in one particular dialect, or discussion of some specific aspect of the subject. Woolner's useful *Introduction to Prakrit* (Calcutta 1928), is entirely based on it, but adds reading selections. Other works dealing with individual dialects are R. Schmidt's *Elementarbuch der Śaurasenī* (Hannover 1924), B. D. Jain's *Ardha-Māgadhī Reader* (Lahore 1923), P. L. Vaidya's *Manual of Ardhamāgadhī Grammar* (Poona 1934), A. M. Ghatage's *Introduction to Ardha-Māgadhī* (Kolhapur 1941), M. A. Mehendale's *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona 1948), G. V. Tagare's *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa* (Poona 1948), G. V. Davane's *Nominal Composition in Middle Indo-Aryan* (Poona 1956), Sircar's *Grammar of the Prakrit Language* (Calcutta 1943), and Sukumar Sen's *A comparative grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (Calcutta 1951), and *A Comparative Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan* (Calcutta 1953).

24. Works on Prakrit Lexicography

In the field of lexicography, we have the edition of *Pāialacchī-nāmamālā* of Dhanapala by Bűhler (Bonn 1879), which is a small tract in verses intended for the use of Prakrit poets. To the text is added, a full glossary of Prakrit words with Sanskrit and German meanings. This was followed by the edition of Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (Bombay 1880) edited by Pischel, including the commentary and illustrative verses, which the editor thought to be the work of Hemacandra's pupil because of their inferior nature. Many years after, the index was added to it in the edition of Banerjee (Calcutta 1931), and a second edition prepared by Ramanujaswami, (Poona 1938).

In the course of the years 1913-1925, was published at Ratlam a big encyclopaedia of Jainism in Prakrit and Sanskrit in seven volumes, called *Abhidhānarajendra*, a work of the *Śvetām-*

bara monk *Vijayarājendrasuri*, which is mainly useful for the information put together from a vast published and unpublished literature, including the commentaries.

But the real dictionary of the Prakrit languages is the comprehensive work of Pt. Haragovindas Seth called *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo* (Calcutta 1923-28) in four parts, a work of great merit and industry, which gives the Sanskrit equivalents of Prakrit words and Hindi meanings along with a reference to literature, which could not be but of limited scope, in view of the circumstances in which the work was done.

More elaborate is the *Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary* in five volumes by Shri Ratnacandra (Bombay 1923-32), which confines itself to the canonical material, but gives meanings in Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi and English; and supplies a good deal of information on the technical terms of Jainism, some of which are illustrated.

H. R. Kapadia has published a small *English Prakrit dictionary* (Surat 1941), mostly for school use, and there are a few small glossaries of no great value. Thus a comprehensive dictionary of the Prakrits remains yet a great need of this subject. In 1962 the Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo was republished by the Jain Text Society but with no important changes.

25. Studies on Problems of Prakrit languages

As is to be expected, the numerous problems of the Prakrit languages are dealt with in the form of articles by scholars, and published in the oriental journals throughout the period. Thus Māhārāṣṭrī receives a comprehensive survey in *Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature* (JBU 1936) by A. M. Ghatage, and its relation to Śaurasenī is dealt with by M. M. Ghosh in *Māhārāṣṭrī a later phase of Śaurasenī* (JDL 1933).

W. E. Clerk has dealt thoroughly with the *Māgadhī* Prakrit in his article *Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī* (JAOS 44), and its relation to Bengali is discussed by M. Sahidullah in his *Māgadhī Prakrit and Bengali* (IHQ 1925), while its relation to Asokan dialects is discussed by J. Block in *Aśoka et la māgadhī* (BSOS VI). A detailed discussion about the material in this dialect is found in A. Banerji-Shastri's *the Evolution of Māgadhī* (Oxford 1922), which remains an incomplete study.

On Paiśācī we may note Grierson's '*Rājaśekhara on the Home of Paiśācī* (JRAS 1921), *Paiśācī and Culikāpaiśācī* (IA 1923) Konow's *Home of Paiśācī* (ZDMG 1910) the comprehensive review of A. N. Upadhye *Paiśācī Language and Literature* (BORI 1940) and Alfred Master's the *Mysterious Paiśācī* (JRAS 95). The various vibhāṣās are discussed in Grierson's The Prakrit Vibhāṣās (JRAS 1918), while one of them is studied by M. A. Mehendale in Ṭakkī or Ḍhakkī (BDCRI 1940).

Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī are discussed in such articles as Alsdorf's *Vasudevahiṇḍī, a specimen of archaic Jain Māhārāṣṭrī* (BSOS 1936); and also in Ghatage's *Instrumental and Locative in Ardhamāgadhī* (IHQ. 1937) and *A Locative Form in Paumacariya* (BBRAS. 1957).

Problems of Apabhraṁśa grammar from the theme of Alsdorf's *Apabhraṁśa Studien* (Leipzig 1937), and a series of articles under the title *Apabhraṁśa Studies* by Vreese (JAOS 79 72, 81).

Problems of the Middle Indo-Aryan as such are dealt with, in articles like Grierson's the *Pronunciation of Prakrit Palatals* (JARS 1913), Bloch's *Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology* (BSOS 1930), Gray's *Observations on Middle Indian Morphology* (BSOS 1936); Ghatage's *Repetition in Prakrit Syntax* (NIA 1939), and *Concord in Prakrit* (ABORI 1940); Katres *A new Approach to the Study of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan* (Bharatiya Vidya 1940), and his Wilson Philological Lectures (Bombay 1941) Schwarzschield's *Absolutive Forms in MIA* (JAOS 76), *Infinitive in MIA* (IL 16), and *Declension of Feminine Nouns in MIA* (BSOAS 1956), and H. Berger's extensive monograph *Zwei Probleme der Mittleindischen Lautlehre* (München 1955).

Contribution to Prakrit lexicography is found in Upadhye's *Observations on Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā* and Katre's *Materials for a Dhātupāṭha of Indo-Aryan* (IC. 1939).

26. Publication of Jain Canon

The major part of the Prakrit literature is formed by the religious writings of the Jainas, which is written in either Ardhamāgadhī or Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. The publication of this rich store of writings, and its evaluation naturally went hand in hand with the study of the Jain religion, its teaching and history.

One of the first tasks in this direction was the publication of the *Jain canon,* the sacred books of the religion, which were regarded as the authentic by only one section of the community. The whole of the *Ardhamāgadhī canon* was repeatedly published along with commentaries on individual works, and translated into Hindi. The edition of Ray Dhanapat Singh was published from Murshidabad from 1880 onwards, while the edition issued from Hyderabad in 1920 by Sukhadev Shastri belonged to the sect of the Sthānakavāsins and therefore contained only 32 books out of the usual 45. The works published by the Āgamodaya Samiti from Mehasana from 1915, contain Sanskrit commentaries, and are much better than the other two. More recently the bare text of the canon is published in two volumes under the name *Suttāgame* by Bhikkhu Puppha from Giragon in Panjab, but also represents the version of the Sthānakavāsins. A really authentic edition of the whole cannon is not yet available and is a great necessity.

27. Publication of Jain 'Anga' Texts

From time to time, good editions of some of the important books of the canon were issued by both western and Indian scholars. The first to be published was a fragment of *Bhagavatī the 5th Aṅga,* which Weber edited in the *Abhandlungen der ZDMG* (1865-66). The first part deals with the language, while the second gives the story of Skandhaka with translation.

This was followed by the edition of Bhadrābāhu's *Kalpasūtra* (Leipzig 1879) by Jacobi, to which he has added an introduction, which for the first time proved the independent existence of Jainism and its great antiquity. A full glossary is added to the text which makes its study easy. Later on the same scholar edited in the Pali Text Society the *Ācārāṅga,* the first book of the canon (1892), with a brief introduction comparing its language with Pāli. A part of the *Jñātādharmakathā,* another *Aṅga* text, was edited by Steinthal (1881) while Leumann gave out his beautiful edition of the first Upāṅga *Ovavāiyasutta* (Leipzig 1883) with an analysis of the contents and a full etymological glossary. This book is noteworthy because it contains most of the varṇakas in full, which are referred to in other canonical books in a greatly abbreviated form The *Dasaveyāliyasutta*, with its oldest commentary the Nijjutti attributed to Bhadrabāhu, was edited by him in ZDMG (1892). The collection of the five small Upāṅgas under the title *Nirayāvaliyāo* was edited by Warren (Amsterdam 1879), but is of no great value.

Compared to all these, a much better edition was prepared by Hoernle for the work *Uvāsagadasāo,* with the commentary of Abhayadeva, and a full English translation, glossary, notes, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica in two volumes (Calcutta 1890). The appendix gives a translation of the 15th Saya of *Bhagavatī* and brings to light the teachings of the Ājivaka sect founded by Gosāla, a contemporary of both Mahāvīra and Buddha.

In 1910 the first Śrutaskandha of *Ācārāṅga,* which contains the oldest parts of the canon was carefully edited by W. Schubring, who attempted a restoration of its original metrical shape as much as possible. This text was later given in the Devanāgarī characters by Jinavijaya (Ahmedabad 1927). The second Aṅga, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga,* an equally important book of the canon, was critically edited by P. L. Vaidya (Poona 1928), to which he added the text of the Niryukti. The second part, which was intended to contain notes and other exegetical material, was never published.

Another important Aṅga work the *Nāyādhammakahāo* was edited by N. V. Vaidya (Poona 1940), but offers no critical apparatus worth the name. The smaller Aṅga works like the *Uvāsagadasāo, Antagaḍadasāo, Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo* and *Vivāgasuyam* were all edited in a handy form by P. L. Vaidya (Poona 1928 fol.), with brief summaries and useful glossaries. The bulk of the Bhagavatīsūtra, also called Vyākhyāprajñapati was published with the commentary and Gujarati translation, from Ahmedabad by Bechardas, but was not completed, possibly because of its elaborate form.

28. Publication of 'Upanga' Texts

From among the Upāṅgas, P. L. Vaidya edited the last five collectively called *Nirayāvaliyāo* (Poona 1932), in the usual elegant form. He also published the second part of *Rāyapaseṇijja* dealing with the dialogue between Kesi and king Paesi. The astronomical work the *Sūryaprajñapti* was edited by J. K. Kohl (Stuttgart 1937), who gave the text in comparison with that of Jambudvīpaprajñapti.

29. Publication of 'Chedrasutras'

Of the Chedrasūtras of the canon, an excellent edition of the small book the *Kappasutta* was prepared by Schubring (Leipzig 1905), which contains an introduction dealing with the extent of its commentorial literature, the nature of the Chedasūtras in general, and their value for the study of the church organisation, with a complete translation and word index. The extensive exegetical literature on it, beginning with the Niryukti and the Ṭīkā, finds a place in the large edition in 6 volumes of the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra,* edited by Muni Chaturavijaya and Puṇyavijaya. Schubring has further edited the other chedasūtras, *Vyavahāra* and *Niśītha* (Leipzig 1918), with a brief introduction, in which he discusses the different strata of the sūtras ; and from Agra is issued the fuller edition of *Niśītha* with its Niryukti, Cūrṇī and Bhāṣya, in three parts by Muni Amara (1957-58).

30. Publication of 'Mulasutras'

In 1922 J. Charpentier edited the 3rd Mūlasūtra called *Uttarādhyayana* (Upsala), with an elaborate introduction dealing with the date of the canon, the slow process of its formation, the difficult problem of the Pūrva works and their loss, the different strata of the text, its title, and the commentorial literature on it. The notes embody a good deal of information of philological and comparative nature, making the work useful in many ways.

Of the other *Mūlasūtras*, the *Dasaveyāliya* was edited by Abhyankar (Ahmedabad 1932) with its long and important Niryukti from original Ms material, and again by Schubring (1932), who added a full literal translation to it. The *Oghaniryukti* with the commentary of Droṇācārya, is published from Surat (1957); and there are other editions of the canonical books which do not show any special merit except that they make the works more easily accessible. Among works of semi-canonical nature we may mention the edition of *Isibhāsiyāī* by Schrubing (Wien 1943) and of *Aṅgavijjā* by Puṇyavijaya (Banaras 1957).

31. Histories of Jain Canon

A comprehensive view of the whole canon was taken by Weber in *Über die heiligen Schrifen der Jaine* (IS. 1883-85), in which he described the contents and the nature of these works mostly from Ms. material. In 1920 Winternitz wrote the first history of Prakrit literature, which formed the second part of the second volume of his large work on Indian literature. This sketch was amplified by him, when an English translation of the same was prepared, and published by the University of Calcutta (1933).

But the best description of the canon in a small compass, particularly the manner of its growth and its metrical and literary aspects, remains the compact introduction of W. Schubring to his translations of selections from the canon called *Worte Mahāvīras* (Göttingen 1926). In his later work *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Leipzig 1935), the third part *der Kanon and seine Teile* is devoted to an accurate but schematic description of its contents, and the bibliographical notes therein are brought upto date in the English translation of the same by W. Beurlen, and published from Banaras (1962).

H. R. Kapadia has written a history of the canonical literature of the Jains (Bombay 1941), which contains much useful information, but is presented in a very crude and unsatisfactory manner. B. C. Law has also put together his separate studies of the *Jain Sūtras* in a book form under the title *The* Jain Sūtras (Calcutta) which is mostly based on second hand material. It is necessary to mention two more books in this connection for the use they make of the ample material found in the canon, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons* (Bombay 1947) by J. C. Jain and *History of Jain Monachism* (Poona 1956) by S. B. Deo.

32. Studies of Individual Canonical Works

Of the numerous studies of individual works by way of translation or interpretation, we can mention only a few here. Fairly early are Weber's essay *Über die Sūryaprajñapti* (1868) and Jacobi's translations of *Jain Sūtras* in the Sacred Books of the East (1884, 1895), which contain very informative introductions, and a correct appreciation of the position of Jainism, as regards its antiquity and independent status. L. D. Barnett's translation of the two Aṅgas *Antagaḍadasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo* (London 1907), is useful as a close rendering of the texts.

In 1907 Hüttemann published his thesis on the *Jñāta stories*, in which the stories were summarised with parallels from other literatures, and an attempt was made to elucidate the scheme of their classification. The *Mahāniśīthasūtra* (Berlin 1918), was analysed as regards its contents, authorship, language and dogmatic information by Schubring, and later he continued the studies in collaboration with F. R. Hamm in the *Studien zur Mahāniśītha* (Hamburg 1951), which also contains the text of chapters 6-8. Von Kamptz studied the older Prakīrṇakas in his thesis *Über die von sterbfasten handelnden älteren Paiṇṇa der Jain Kanons* (Hamburg 1929).

A. Sen collected in his article *Schools and Sects in the Jain Literature* (Viśhvabhāratī Qu. VIII), information on these topics mainly from the Sūtrakṛtāṅga ; and in his thesis *A Critical Introduction to the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāī* (Wurzburg 1936), he analysed this work as regards its contents, metres, Vedhas and other information to ascertain its genuine nature. M. V. Patwardhan has produced a detailed and comprehensive study of Dasaveyāliya in his *Dasaveyāliya—A study* (Sangli 1933), which touches upon many points in the history of the canon as a whole. Alsdorf attempts a critical interpretation of *Itthipariṇṇā,* a chapter from *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* in the Indo-Iranian Journal (1958), while Schubring has dealt with parts of the *Dasaveyāliyanijjutti* in the Festschrift for Kierfel.

33. Studies of Post Canonical Works

The post-canonical works of the Jains in the so called Jain Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit are extensive, and the most important task of Prakrit philology is to get them published in a critical form. Before 1900 much of it was unknown, and only some late and small works, exclusively of a narrative type, were edited and published.

One such work was Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen,* giving the stories of Jain prophets and other popular tales in easy prose, meant to serve as a first reader in the language. They were all taken from Devendra's commentary on the Uttarādhyana, and this source remains even today a favourite one for the preparation of elementary readers in Prakrit.

Fick long ago published the Legend of Sagara from this source and Jacobi edited the legend of the destruction of Dvāravatī in ZDMG (1888). This source was also used by Gune in his study of the Jain version of the legend of Pradyota, Udayana and Śreṇika (ABORI 1920) and Ghatage for his *Kahāṇayatigaṁ* *a Prakrit Reader* (Kolhapur 1951). Leumann studied the story of Citta and *Saṁbhūta* (WZKM 1892), and Pavolini translated a number of them in Italian (Roma 1892). Jinavijaya collected many of them in his *Prākṛtakathāsaṁgraha* (Ahmedabad 1921).

34. Critical editions of Post-Canonical Works

Similar stories from other works are also subjected to a critical analysis. Thus Alsdorf studied the story of *Agaḍadatta* as found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (NIA 1939), and he has also found traces of the lost Bṛhatkathā in the same work (*Eine neue Version der verlorenen Bṛhatkāthā des Guṇāḍhya*). The legends about the four Patyekabuddhas are studied in great detail by J. Charpentier in his work *Paccekabuddageschichten* (Upsala 1908).

Small works of independent nature but of similar contents are seen in the story of *Kālaka* published by Jacobi in ZDMG (1880), while two other versions of the same legend were edited by Leumann in 1883. A similar collections of stories and legends from the vast Āvaśyaka literature was begun by Leumann in his *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* (ZDMG 1897), but remained a mere fragment due to lack of sufficient Ms. material. The story of Kālaka in many of its Sanskrit and Prakrit versions was published by N. Brown (Washington 1937) in a luxurious volume. Two versions of the story of Jinadatta were published by Jinavijaya under the title *Jinadattākhyānadvayam* (Bombay), and R. Williams published two versions of *Maṇipaticarita* with English translation (London 1959). But much remains yet to be done in this field, and the material supplied by the Prakrit works is really over-powering.

35. Prakrit Works dealing with lives of Prophets, Kings and Legendary Figures

More voluminous works in Prakrit, dealing with the lives of the prophets, famous kings, or legendary persons were soon published. S. P. Pandit edited the Prakrit portion of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra under the name *Kumārapālacarita* (BSS 1900), with a complete word index and the Sanskrit commentary.

The Jain version of the *Rāma* story called *Paumacariya* of Vimala was edited by H. Jacobi, and published from Bhavanagar (1914). The work extends over 9000 verses, and is important on account of its age, which cannot be later than the third century A.D. It is to be regretted that the critical notes and the introduction of the editor were never published, and from his remarks in the introduction to *Bhavisattakaha*, it is clear that they are of great value for the language of the book. This work is issued in a second edition with an introduction of V. M. Kulkarni dealing with the various aspects of the legend in its Jain form (Varanasi 1962).

An anthology of Prakrit verses based on the model of the famous *Sattasaī* was composed by Jayavallabha and is edited by J. Laber in Bibliotheca Indica (1914), and the second part of it giving the critical apparatus and notes was issued years later. A romantic story called *Surasundarīcariya* of the poet Dhanapāla was edited by Muni Rajavijaya (Banaras 1916), with an elaborate preface in Sanskrit, and some good notes on difficult Prakrit words. In the same series appeared the voluminous work *Supāsanāhacariya* (Banaras 1918), edited by H. D. Seth in three parts, with its Sanskrit rendering throughout.

A big collection of interesting stories by Somaprabha called *Kumārapālapratibodha* (GOS 1920), set in the form of a dialogue between king Kumārapāla and Hemacandra was edited by Muni Jinavijaya from a single Ms., which rendered the work of the editor difficult, and has left many deficiencies in the text. The famous romance of Haribhadra called *Samarāiccakahā* in verse and prose was ably edited by Jacobi (BI 1926), with a summary in English, and an introduction dealing with the life, date and works of the author.

A book of vast dimensions, the prose work called *Vasudevahiṇḍī* attributed to Saṁghadāsa, was edited by Muni Chaturavijaya and Punyavijaya in two parts, and even then it remains a small part of the whole. The excellent story *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, important for its age and style, is published in a beautiful edition by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay 1959), and we are awaiting its critical study which is to form its second part.

The *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* a kind of Universal History of the Jains is now available in a good edition (Banaras 1961) by A. M. Bhojaka, and there is a close analysis of its contents which we owe to the labours of K. Bruhn, under the subtitle *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina Universalgeschichte* (Hamburg 1954).

An interesting work of Haribhadra called *Dhūrtākhyāna* was edited by Jinavijya, and subjected to a critical analysis by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay 1944). Recently Muni Punyavijaya has edited the collection of stories called *Ākhyānamaṇikośa* by Nemicandra (Banaras 1962), while a number of Prakrit works like the *Kathākośa-prakaraṇa* of Jineśvara, *Dharmopadeśamālā* of Jayasiṁha *Jambūcarita* of Guṇapāla are due to the labours of Muni Jinavijaya. Many more such works yet await publication; but what we know of them from indications of Mss gives us a better idea of the nature, and extent of Prakrit literature as a whole.

36. Prakrit Works dealing with Philosophy and Dogmatics of Jainism

Prakrit possesses a number of works dealing with the philosophy and dogmatics of Jainism, and we have good editions of a few works of this type. Long ago Leumann published the *Jitakalpa* of Jinabhadra, with the Bhāṣya of Siddhasena (1892); while Guérinot edited the small tract *Jivavicāra* of Śāntisūri in 1902. The famous *Sanmatitarka* of Siddhasena was published, with its big commentary by Pt. Sukhalal and Bechardas in six parts, and then a small epitome of the same in Gujarati (Ahmedabad 1932), which is a very useful work. K. V. Abhyankar has edited the *Viṁśativiṁśatikā* of Haribhadra mostly of dogmatic and polemic nature with excellent notes (Poona 1932).

One aspect of Jain philosophy which looms large in their dogmatic writings is the doctrine of Karman. A thorough study of it was given by Glassenapp in his thesis *Die Lehre von Karman in der philosophie der Jainas nach der Kramagranthas dargestellt* (Leipzig 1915). The introduction gives information about the different older *Karmagranthas* and the newer ones of Devendra, while the main thesis summarises the doctrine in all its details. The vast field of the commentorial literature, which has grown round the *Āvaśyakasūtras* and its Niryukti, has been well surveyed by Leumann in his postumous work *Übersicht über die Āvaśyakā Literature* (Hamburg 1934), which is edited by his pupil Schubring.

37. Prakrit literature of Digambaras

The Prakrit literature of the Digambaras is also considerable, but not so well known because of the absence of good editions.

Works of writers like Vaṭṭakera, Kundakunda, Nemicandra and others were published from Bombay, in series like Manikyacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamala, and Rayacandra Jaina Shastramala, with Sanskrit commentaries, and Hindi translations, and some of them were translated into English in the Sacred Books of the Jainas from Arrah (1917 foll).

Noteworthy among such editions is that of *Dravyasamgraha* by Ghosal and that of *Pancāstikāya* by Chakravarti. But the first really critical edition of a work in Jain *Saurasenī* was the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay 1935), which collects all the information about the author in an elaborate introduction, and adds a full English translation. A noteworthy feature of the introduction is its discussion of the language, and the propriety of giving it a separate name.

The vastness of the early Digambara literature is vividly brought to our mind, by the publication of the so called Āgama texts, like the famous commentary *Dhavalā* by Vīrasena on the Sūtras called *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* by Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, in sixteen volumes completed in 1959; the *Mahābandha* its last part in seven volumes (1953-58); and another large commentary called *Jayadhavalā* on the text called *Kaṣāyapāhuḍa* eight volumes of which are published to this date. All this work is due to the endless labours of Hiralal Jain who has spent the best part of his life in editing them and publishing them. The texts are accompanied with Hindi translation, and the introductory essays put together much valuable information. These works deal with the dry details of the Karma doctrine, but are interesting, as supplying many important linguistic facts and glimpses of earlier literature.

Another old work the Tiloyapannatti of Yativṛṣabha is edited by Upadhye, and published in two volumes from Sholapur (1943). The contents of this work are diverse, including cosmography and dogmatics. From the same series we have the editions of *Jambudvīpaprajñapti* and *Bhagavatīāradhanā* with the commentaries of *Aśādhara* and Amitagati. Yet many more important and old works of the Digambara sect are awaiting critical editions.

38. Technical literature in Prakrit language

In the field of technical literature, Prakrit appears to possess a number of works on metrics. H. D. Velankar has published a large number of them like the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* of Virahāṅka (JBBRAS 1929, 1932), *Gāthālakṣaṇa* of Nanditāḍhya (JBBRAS 1935), *Svayaṁbhūcchandas* (ABORI 1935), and more recently these are again edited in the series of Rajasthana Pracya Vidya Pratisthana with the additions of other smaller tracts like *Chandaḥśekhara* of Rājaśekhara, *Chandaḥkośa* of Ratnaśekhara, *Chadolakṣaṇāni* of Nandiṣeṇa and also the *Kavidarpaṇa* (Jodhapur 1960), which was originally issued in ABORI.

But the most valuable work on Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres remains the *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra, which is edited by Velankar in the Singhi Jaina Granthamala (Bombay 1961), with a number of useful and valuable appendices. The details of the subject are discussed by him in a number of articles, published from time to time. The other important work on metrics the *Prākṛtapiṅgala* is recently edited by B. S. Vyāsa (Banaras 1959), with many Sanskrit commentaries and Hindi translation, which makes the older editions of the work of less importance now.

39. Youngest Branch of Prakrit studies — 'Āpabhramsa'

The youngest branch of Prakrit studies is Apabhraṁśa. Its close connection with the modern Indian languages, and the excellence and extent of its literature make this study both important and fascinating. A few years ago, our knowledge of Apabhraṁśa was mainly confined to the rules of Hemacandra's grammar, and the verses cited by him. To these were added the Apabhraṁśa verses in the fourth act of *Vikramorvaśīya*, and a few verses quoted in the Alaṅkāra works particularly the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja. Pischel took stock of all this material in his work *Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa* (Göttingen 1902).

40. Beginning of Apabhramsa studies

But the real beginning of Apabhraṁśa studies must be dated from the time of the publication by J. Jacobi of his edition of the first extensive work the *Bhavisattakaha* of Dhanapāla (München 1918). The introduction to this work laid the foundation of all further studies in this field. Besides collecting information about the author, giving the contents of the story, and other related matter, Jacobi discussed thoroughly the nature of the language, and pointed out its importance for the growth of modern languages.

A few years later he published a part of Haribhadra's Nemināhacariu called *Saṇaṁkumāracariu* (München 1921) in which he supplied some more information about the language of this work, which differed from the earlier one; and thus, demonstrated that Apabhraṁśa literature showed dialectal differences.

Soon Dalal and Gune published another edition of *Bhavisadatakaha* (GOS 1923), which supplied some of the gaps of Jacobi's edition, but otherwise showed no great difference. In the introduction Gune gave a list of Apabhraṁśa works then known.

The extent of Apabhraṁśa literature was brought into prominence by Rai Bhahadur Hiralal in his catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss, in the Central Provinces and Berar (Nagpur 1926). Small poems in Apabhraṁśa were published by Gune (*Sañjamamañjarī* ABORI), Velankar (*Vairāgyaśataka* ABORI), and Modi (*Bhāvanāsandhi* ABORI). Three such works of Jinadatta were edited by L. B. Gandhi (GOS 1927) to which an introduction in Sanskrit was added by him, in which he discussed a number of points about the language.

Another type of Apabhraṁśa called the eastern dialect is represented by the Dohākosa of Kanha and Saraha, which were first discovered by Haraprasada Shastri, and edited later by M. Sahidullah (Paris 1928), which also contains a few ganas in Old Bengali. A newer edition of these works was prepared by P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta 1939).

41. Some important Apabhramsa Publications

The considerable Apabhraṁśa material in the *Kumārapālapratibodha* was studied critically by Alsdorf in his book (Hamburg 1928), and he later published the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* which forms a part of the extensive *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (Hamburg 1936). The edition gives with unsurpassed thoroughness, all the material about the language, and deals with the story in all the Jain versions in a comparative manner.

In 1931 Hiralal Jain founded two series at Karanja, for the publication of a number of Apabhraṁśa works, many of which were found in the Karanja Bhāṇḍār itself. Thus appeared the *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta (1931) edited by P. L. Vaidya, the *Sāvayadhammadohā* attributed to Devasena (1932), the *Pāhuḍadohā* of Ramasinha (1933), the *Karakaṇḍacariu* of Kanakāmara (1934), and the *Nāyakumāracariu of Puṣpadanta* (1933), all edited by H. Jain in good editions, supplying the necessary information about the books and other helps for their proper study.

The biggest Apabhraṁśa work is no doubt the *Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta,* which is published in three volumes by P. L. Vaidya (Bombay 1937 foll), which must have cost him infinite patience and labour. In the various introductory essays, the editor gives valuable information about the author, the composition of the work, and brief summaries of the contents.

Another important addition to the Apabhraṁśa literature is the philosophical poem of Joundu called *Paramappapayāsu* edited by Upadhye (Bombay 1937), who has written an exhaustive introduction dealing with Jain mysticism. In the appendix is published another small tract of the author, the *Yogasāra* of similar contents. A good reader in Apabhraṁśa is issued by M. C. Modi, the *Apabhraṁśapāṭhāvalī* from Ahmedabad (1935). Muni Jinavijaya has published the edition of *Saṁdeśarāsaka* (Bombay 1945), in collaboration with Bhayani. The interesting fact about this work is that it is written by a Mohamedan writer Abdul Rahman.

In the Singhi Series are also published the big Apabhraṁśa work *Paumacariu* of Svayambhu edited by H. C. Bhayani in three volumes (1953-60), with good introductions and critical material. He has also edited another small work called *Paumasiricariu* by *Ḍhāhila.* Quite recently Hiralal Jain has edited the allegorical poem *Mayaṇaparājayacariu* of Harideva (Banaras 1962), in two Sandhis.

And yet we know that there are many more Apabhraṁśa works, big and small, which need to be published, so that Apabhraṁśa studies can be based on a firmer footing.

ANCIENT HINDI LITERATURE

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"The mediæval period in Hindi Literature begins at about the middle of 1500 A.D., when various types of devotional poetry including that of Kabir, were written ... An attempt is made here to review the research work done on and about the Hindi Literature that was written before the middle of 15th Century.

1. Ancient Hindi Literature: Period Defined

Before reviewing the research work done on Ancient Hindi Literature during the past 75 years, ending in 1963, it appears necessary that the actual time limits of this period may be defined. In fact, from the advent of the mediæval period of Hindi Literature, clear currents of literary writings are available; but this is not so during the ancient period of Hindi Literature. In this period, the origin of various trends may be discovered, but they do not appear to have taken any specific form.

The mediæval Hindi Literature begins with the various types of devotional writings and Kabir is the first saint poet of this period. His time is roughly the beginning of 1500 Vikram Samvat i.e. about the middle of 1500 A.D. Therefore I shall confine my review to the works that have been done on and about the literature that was written before the middle of 15th Century A.D.

2. Contribution of 'Siddha Poets'

The other limit of the period has also to be defined. Although it is not so necessary for the present review, but there are certain confusions with regard to the beginning of this period. Scholars like Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityyan established that this period begins from 8th Century A.D., and he regards the *Siddhās* as the first poets of Hindi Literature; but actually in their writings certain old forms of spoken Hindi Language only are available.

The whole literature of *Siddhās* cannot be called Hindi Literature. They are rather Apabhramsha writings in which the form of Hindi can be seen. The fact appears to be that, since these writings are in the spoken form of Apabhramsha, they come quite near to the spoken form of Old Hindi. But the portion of Old Hindi in these works is rather much smaller than that of Apabhramsha. Therefore from my point of view, the writings of *Siddhās* cannot be regarded as Old Hindi writings.

3. Literature contributed by Nath Saints

The old literatary writings that can be definitely regarded as Hindi Literature are those contributed by the Nath Saints. We have *'Gorakh Bani'* as the first work of Hindi Literature. There is some controversy about the time of Gorakhnath, but mostly it is believed that he flourished about the 10th Century A.D. Since he became, later on, a sort of mythological figure, his association is claimed by some of the later writers like Kabir and his followers. But that cannot be taken as a historical fact. Gorakhnath existed earlier than *Nāmdeva and Gyāneshwar,* who belonged to 13th Century. Therefore in any case Gorakhnath flourished earlier than this period, because *Gyāneshwar* is said to be a follower of *Nāth-Sāmpradaya* and is regarded as the last Nath, according to one tradition.

Since Gorakhnath was the disciple of Matsyendranath, his time must be nearabout the time of Matsyendra. Matsyendra was contemporary of Jalandhar also, whose time is roughly the 10th Century A.D. Therefore, the time of Gorakhnath may be taken to be 10th Century, and as such from the point of view of literary writings, the ancient period of Hindi Literature begins from the 10th Century A.D. and continues upto the middle of 15th Century A.D.

4. Existence of Spoken Hindi Language before 10th Century A.D.

Of course, the Hindi Language in its spoken form existed much earlier. Evidences of the early existence of the spoken Language are found not only in Siddha writings, but in other Sanskrit works like '*Kundmālā Kathā*' and *'Ukti Vyakti Prakaran'* belonging to 9th and 11th Century respectively. Therefore this period covers roughly about 500 years of time.

5. Classification of Research Work

The research work done on and about the Literature that was written during this period can be classified into five categories which are :—

(a) Historical Studies
(b) Social, Cultural and religious studies
(c) Studies of Literary trends and poetic evaluation

(d) Linguistic studies
(e) Textual Works

I shall be taking these one by one. I may mention here that some of the works under review are submitted as Doctorate theses, while others are independent works.

6. History of Hindi Literature by Dr. Ramkumar Verma

The first research work on history of Hindi Literature for the Ph.D. degree of Nagpur University was done by Dr. Ramkumar Verma in 1940. This is critical history of Hindi Literature from 750 to 1700 A.D. This work covers the period of ancient Hindi Literature also. Though this is not the first work on History of Hindi Literature, the information contained therein regarding Ancient Hindi Literature is graphic and exhaustive.

7. 'Histoire de la Literatuer Hindoi et Hindostani' by Garcin de Tasse

It is interesting to note that the first History of Hindi Literature was written by a French Scholar named 'Garcin de Tasse'. His work on History of Hindi Literature is known as *Histoire de la Literateur Hindoi et Hindostani.* This work was published in Paris in 1868. Before this work, Tasse had written on Hindi Language and its literature from 1850 to 1868 and even after that he continued writing on Literary and Indological subjects, specially connected with Hindi and Urdu. The enlarged edition in three parts of this work was published in 1870. This work is full of much useful and rare information, although as a history of literature, much of the information given in this work is not authentic.

8. Dr. Grierson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan

The second work on the history of Hindi Literature was also written by a foreigner who is very well known for his interest in modern Indian Languages and Literatures. He is Dr. Sir George A. Grierson. His work — *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* was written in the form of a paper, and was read during the International Conference of the Orientalists at its Vienna Session in 1886. Later on, this paper was published in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in its enlarged form. Dr. G. A. Grierson also continued writing articles specially on Tulsidas in this journal and his great work, *Linguistic Survey of India* is a monumental piece of research.

The work of Dr. Grierson on the history of Hindi Literature is mostly based on *Shiva Singh Saroj*, which was an earlier compilation of Hindi works, with short notes on the life of poets written in 1883.

9. Shyam Bihari Mishra's 'Mishra Bandhu Vinod'

In 1913 A.D. Shyam Bihari Mishra published *'Mishra Bandhu Vinod'* in three volumes, which incorporated all the informations regarding Hindi Poets and their writings on the basis of search for Hindi manuscripts conducted by the Government from 1900 A.D. onwards.

Acharya Pandit Ramchandra Shukla made use of all the researches done so far and his history first published in 1929 became an authentic history of Hindi Literature, both for views as well as for information. This covers the ancient period also. Pandit Shukla agrees to call the Literature of Siddhas as *Apabharamsha.* He lays greater emphasis and more importance on the Raso Kavyas, as he regards these as the only literary writings of the period. He has not dealt much on the writings of Nath Saints; because, till that time much work was not done on this topic.

10. Histories of Hindi Literature by Pt. Ramchandra Shukla and Dr. Shyamsunder Das

Although these early works were important and form an important attempt on the History of Hindi Literature, they could not be regarded as authentic histories. Therefore, Pandit Ramchandra Shukla and Dr. Shyamsundar Das wrote their histories of Hindi Literature.

Shukla's history has been the basis on which many works on History of Hindi Literature have been written.

11. Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi's 'Hindi Sahitya Ka Adi Kal'

The other important work on History of Ancient Hindi Literature is *'Hindi Sāhitya Kā Ādi Kāl'* by Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi. This consists of five lectures delivered by Dr. Dwivedi in March 1952 in Patna, under the auspices of *'Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad'*.

In these lectures, the background and trends of ancient Indian Literatures have been very critically examined. Not only that, Dr. Dwivedi has also pointed out in these lectures that, Hindi Literature owes much for its material and form, to the Apabhramsha Writings. He has analysed the real spirit underlying the *RASO POETRY*. From this point of view, this work is very useful for proper understanding of the ancient period of Hindi Literature.

12. Some important publications of History of Hindi Literature

As a background for study of ancient Hindi Literature, mention may be made of certain very important publications, such as, '*Purātan Prabandha Sangraha*, — published by Singhi Jain Grantha Mala, Bombay; '*Purātatva Nibandhāvali*' by Rahul Sankrityayan and *Purāni Hindi* by Chandradhar Sharma 'Guleri'. By these writings real background was prepared for further research work on ancient Hindi Literature.

In this connection, a reference may also be made to *Hindi Sāhitya Ki Bhumika* by Dr. Harariprasad Dwivedi. In this work Dr. Dwivedi has not only given the full background of Hindi Literature but has also put forward a point of view which is very useful for the study of old Hindi Literature.

13. Rahul Sankrityayan's two important publications

Mention may also be made here of *Hindi Kavya Dhara* by Rahul Sankrityayan in which selections of poets of ancient Hindi Literature are given, along with critical introduction and explanatory notes. In this work, Shri. Rahulji has given selections from works of 47 Poets, who flourished during the period from 8th Century to 13th Century A.D. This includes mostly Siddha and Jain Poets, besides the few like Addahaman, Chanda, Jajjala, Hari Brahma and others. Shri. Rahulji's work gives an idea of the forms and language of poetry prevalent during this period, and it also provides the pointer towards the trends which pervaded them. Therefore it presents a very useful background study for proper understanding of the ancient Hindi Poets.

It is also necessary to refer to Dr. Sankrityayan's work entitled *Dakhani Hindi Kāvya Dhārā*. In this work, Rahulji has given almost a complete history of Dakhani Hindi Poetry from 1400 to 1840 A.D., along with useful selections from important writers representing various frends. This work is useful for understanding trends of Hindi Literature that had been current in South India, during this period. This book contains selections from 36 Poets, and three of them come within the limits of ancient Hindi Literature. They are Khwaja Banda Nawaz (1343 A.D.), Shah Meeraji Shamshulus-shaq and Ashraf. For manifold reasons this work is one of the basic works of Hindi Literature.

14. Some other Noteworthy Publications

In this connection, mention may also be made of a work entitled *Dakhani Kā Padya Aur Gadya* by Shri Ram Sharma, in which the life and selections of Poets and Writers have been given along with critical observations thereon.

On this topic, there is another work by Mrs. Vimla Baghrey entitled *Dakhani Ke Sufi Lekhak*, on which D. Phil. Degree was awarded by Allahabad University in 1954. In this work, the first three Chapters give the material connected with ancient Hindi Literature.

15. Hindi Sahitya Ka Brahad Itihas

Among the works of history of Hindi Literature, a very special mention is necessary of *Hindi Sāhitya Kā Brahad Itihas,* Part I. This is one of the seventeen volumes, in which a detailed history of Hindi Literature is being written. The first part, under reference here, has been edited by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey. This part has five sections, each comprising of many chapters. Each of these sections is written by an eminent scholar. This 783 page-volume deals elaborately not only with the literary trends of Hindi Literature during ancient period, but also with the historical, political, social, geographical and literary backgrounds; religious and philosophical trends; various artistic styles, and foreign contacts and enfluences which were responsible for determining the shape of Hindi Literature as it was. Therefore, it is almost a complete and upto date study of ancient Hindi Literature, so far as its background is concerned.

16. Other Works dealing with background of Hindi Literature

Among the works dealing with the background of Hindi Literature, mention may be made of a book entitled *Hindi Kāvya Ki Tāntrik Pristabhumi,* by Dr. Vishambharnath Upadhya. This work gives a religious background that prevailed in ancient period of Hindi Literature. This work was written for a Doctorate Thesis by its Writer.

Amongst the other works of similar nature, mention may be made of *Siddha Sāhitya* by Dr. Dharmaveer Bharti, which studies the literature of Siddhas from religious, philosophic and literary points of view. This work also presents the analysis of language, symbols, meteres, and styles used by Siddhas. On this work, D.Phil. Degree of Allahabad University was awarded in 1953.

On Nath-Sampradaya a very important work was done by Dr. Rangeya Raghava (T. N. V. Acharya) on *Gorakhnath and his age.* This is a very learned work. The author in it, not only has made use of all works available on the topic, but has also critically analysed the views of different scholars on various topics and problems connected with Nath Sampradaya. The writer has come to definite conclusions which are useful for further studies. On this work the writer was awarded Ph.D. Degree by Agra University in the year 1948.

There is another work entitled *Rājasthani Gadya Kā Itihas Aur Vikās* by Dr. Shiv Swarup Sharma which was written as a thesis for Doctorate Degree of Rajasthan University, in 1955. In this work, all types of prose writings available in Rajasthani language have been studied. It includes also the prose writings upto the year 1500 A.D. There are many religious and literary prose writings in Rajasthani language, which were written during the period ranging from 1300 to 1500 A.D. Therefore Dr. Sharma's work is very important one, so far as ancient Hindi prose is concerned.

Under this head of historical studies, I may also refer to a work entitled *Ādi Kāl Kā Jain Sāhitya* by Dr. Harishchandra Sharma. This work was completed in 1959 and the Allahabad University awarded D.Phil. Degree to its Author. This work makes a point that the contribution of Jainas to Hindi Literature during its ancient period is quite significant. From this point of view, the work is quite useful for studying the trends of Hindi Literature during this time.

17. Social, Cultural and Religious Study

Under this category, the works on social, cultural and religious topics may be discussed. Amongst these works there are many, which have been written as independent works. Under this head, may also be included works dealing with various religious sects that were prevalent in the country during the period.

18. Works on Nath Sampradaya

The most significant and important religious sects of the period was the Nath Sampradaya. Many important works have been written connected with this particular Sampradaya. Dr. Briggs wrote his famous book, *Gorakhanāth and the Kanphatā Yogis,* in which he describes the characteristics of Gorakha Nath and gives an account of the other disciples and followers of this Pantha. This is mostly a historical account of Nath Sampradaya.

Dr. Mohan Singh has written a book entitled *Gorakhanāth and Mediaeval Mysticism,* which attempts to analyse the mystical tendencies prevalent at that time and the influence of Gorakhnath on them. This work which was published in Lahore in 1937, makes a very valuable attempt to depict the background of mystical literature, that was written during the later periods.

In the same year that is 1937, Mahamahopadhyaya Visheshwarnah Reu published his *Nāth Charitra Ki Kathā* from Jodhpur, which presents biographical material along with mystical accounts of Nath Saints.

19. Other important works of Nath Panth

In addition to above, mention may also be made of the following works which attempt to throw light on the religious and devotional aspects of Nath Panth; —

(1) *Yogi Sampradāyāvishkriti,* by Yogi Chandranatha (1929, Ahmedabad).

(2) *Purātatva Nibandhāwali,* by Rahul Sankrityayana (1930, in Hindi).

(3) *Purātatvānka* of Ganga Magazine (in Hindi).

(4) *Baudha Gan O Dohā,* by Mahamahopadhyaya Hariprasad Shastri (Bangiya Sahitya Parishada, Calcutta; in Bengali).

(5) *Kaul Gyān Nirnaya* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (1934, Calcutta, in English).

(6) *Yog Pravāha* by Dr. Barathwal (1949, in Hindi).

(7) *Article* in English, by Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, published in Sarswati Bhavan Studies).

All these studies are utilised by Dr. Rangeya Raghava in his work, *Gorakhnath Aur Unka Yuga* and this was followed by Acharya Hazariprasad Dwivedi's *Nāth-Sāmpradāya,* giving the social and cultural background of the Sampradaya and analysing the religious and philosophical views of the same. *Nāth-Sāmpradāya,* may be said to be a very useful book on this particular topic.

20. Some unpublished works on Nath Panth

There is another unpublished thesis by Dr. S. P. Chandola entitled *Nātha-Sāmpradāya Ke Hindi Kavi,* for which Ph.D. Degree was awarded by the Lucknow University. This work gives an elaborate philosophical background of the Nath Panth, along with the examination of historicity of some of the important Nath-Saints. This work very successfully tries to evaluate Hindi Poems written by Nath-Saints, both from literary and cultural points of view. Although it is not published so far, it is an important work.

Another thesis on this topic on which Ph.D. Degree was awarded by the Gorakhpur University is the work entitled *Nātha-Pantha and its influence on the language and literature of the mediaeval period.* This work presents a descriptive study of the Nath-Panth and its literature, and attempts to analyse its influence on the contemporary society.

21. Two important publications on Religious Heritage of North India

Besides the studies of Nath-Panth mentioned above, there are other studies connected with social, cultural and religious backgrounds. Dr. Moti Singha has written a work entitled *Nirgun Kāvya Ki Sānskritik Prishthabhumi,* which was submitted as a thesis to Banaras Hindu University in 1958. This work critically analyses the backgrounds that were responsible for the writings of Saint Hindi Poetry.

Pandit Parasuram Chaturvedi has written a work entitled *Uttari Bhārat Ki Sant Paramparā* which is a very useful reference work, giving historical, biographical, cultural and religious accounts of the various sects that flourished in Northern India during the ancient times. Nearly 40 sects have been mentioned in this work. Pandit Chaturvedi has made full use of works like, *Religious sects of Hindus* by H. H. Wilson, *Sikh Religion* by Mecauliffe and *An Outline of Religious Literature* by J. N. Farquhar; yet he has much of the new material which is entirely his own.

22. Works on literary trends and poetic evaluation

In this particular category, many of the important works are published during the period under review. Dr. Indrapal Singh has written a work entitled *Ādi Kālin Hindi Sāhitya Ki Pravrittiyān*, in which he has attempted to study the various trends of literature, that prevailed during the ancient period. This work does not give much factual information, but tends to analyse the social, linguistic, religious and philosophical backgrounds. Dr. Singh was awarded Ph.D. Degree on this thesis by The Lucknow University in 1955.

Mention may also be made of the work entitled *Jain Sahitya during the ancient period* by Agarchand Nahta wherein Jain literary trends have been critically examined. Dr. Harikant Srivastava has written a book entitled Bhartiya Premakhyan Kavya, wherein an account of romantic Hindi narratives has been given.

In the work entitled *Dingal Padya Sahitya* by Jagdishprasad Srivastava, the study of Rajasthani Poetry in its various aspects has been made. Dr. Ambadutta Pant has written a book entitled *Apabhramsha poetry*, wherein a study of the tradition of the Apabhramsha poetry with special reference to Vidyapati has been made. Dr. Pant's work attempts to establish connection between the old Hindi poetry and Apabhramsha poetry. Dr. Pant was awarded Ph.D. Degree on this thesis.

23. Some important works on Prithviraj Raso

There are two important works written on famous Hindi epic, Prithviraj Raso, which may be included under this head. They are :— 1. *Chandra Vardai Aur Unkā Kāvya* by Dr. V. B. Trivedi, and 2. *Prithvi Rāj Rāso Ke Laghutam Samskaran Kā Adhyayan* Dr. Veniprasad Sharma. For these works, D.Phil. and Ph.D. Degrees were awarded in 1948 and 1958 by the Calcutta and Agra Universities respectively.

Dr. Trivedi in his work has thoroughly analysed the poetic merit of Prithvi Raj Raso from various points of view. His study of Alankaras and Chhandas employed in this poetic epic is specially important.

Dr. Veniprasad Sharma's work is basically a textual study of Prithvi Raj Raso. He attempts to analyse the story of Prithvi Raj in Chapter III of his work and examines the historicity of the narrative in Chapter IV of his work. In Chapter V, the poetic evaluation of the smallest edition of Raso has been made. In Chapter VI, the linguistic and grammatical study of the Raso has been presented. All this study forms the first part of the book, while the second part presents the critically edited work and the glossary of Prithvi Raj Raso.

24. Some important works on Braja Bhasha

The most important work regarding Braja Bhasha is that Dr. Shivprasad Singh entitled *Soor Purva Braja Bhāsa.* In this work the author has not only given the analysis of the Braja Bhasha, as it is available in the works written before Soordas, but he has also brought to light much new material to establish his thesis that Braja Bhasha was current as literary language, much before Soordas. The most significant part of this work is regarding the references of the works in Braja Bhasha, which were written by non-Hindi speaking authors. As this work sheds new light on the literary trends of the ancient period of Hindi Literature, it becomes one of the very useful reference book.

The study of Braja Bhāsa by Dr. Dhirendra Verma is a very important study in this particular branch. This work was originally written in French and the University of Paris awarded the D.Litt Degree on the same in the year 1935. In this work the first three Chapters are devoted to the historical development of Braja Bhasha, in which a study of its form prior to the period 1400 A.D. has also been presented.

Dr. Vishwanath Tripathi has written a work entitled *Jaisi Purva Awadhi* on which he has been awarded Ph.D. Degree by Banaras Hindu University. This work has not been published so far.

On the study of the form of language of Dakhani, Dr. Shri Ram Sharma wrote a thesis, wherein he has attempted to analyse Dakhani language on the basis of old literary works in this language.

A very important work sheding a new light on Braja Bhasha, is entitled *linguistic study of Hindi poetry of Namdeva.* This work written by Dr. R. N. Maurya, at Deccan College, Poona is based on about 150 Hindi Songs of Namdeva, which were found in various manuscripts. This study reveals that in 13th Century A.D., Braja Bhasha was used as a literary vehicle even by non-Hindi speaking writers for the countrywide circulation of their views. Although mixed with Marathi words, the Braja Bhasha form of the Hindi Padavali of Namdeva is quite noteworthy.

25. Dr. Grierson's Pioneer Work on various dialects of Hindi language

The first work on various dialects of Hindi language, along with other modern Indian languages, was done by Dr. G. A. Grierson in 1907-1908 under the title *Linguistic Survey Of India.* This has been regarded, for a long time, as an encyclopœdia of Indian languages.

26. Some important works on ancient Rajasthani Language

In the year 1913, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri published his report entitled *Operation in the search of the Bardic Chronicles,* in which he analysed the old Rajasthani language and discussed the problems which arose in the study of Prithviraj Raso.

Later on, in 1914 and 1916, the renowned Italian Scholar, Dr. L. P. Tessitory published his papers in the form of notes on the *Old Western Rajasthani,* with special reference to Apabhramsha, Gujarati and Marawadi. These papers were published in Indian Antiquary. In these papers, he has given historical background of old Rajasthani. He has also specifically analysed the characteristics of modern Indian languages with reference to Rajasthani and has tried to differentiate them from Apabhramsha. He has also given the tendencies of Gujarati and Marawadi languages, which differentiate them from old Western Rajasthani Language. For all these original points of view the work of Dr. Tessitory is extremely important. Later on, other works of Rajasthani language based on its old literature were completed.. In this connection reference may be made to three lectures delivered by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, in 1947 under the auspices of Rajasthan University. These lectures are extremely important from the point of view of the study of old Rajasthani language.

Similarly in the introduction of *Dholā Maru ra Duhā*. a historical development of Rajasthani Hindi has been presented. In this work, Rajasthani has been said to be the oldest of all other dialects of Hindi, and it has been called the eldest daughter of Saurseni Apabhramsha.

27. Study of other Regional Dialects

Dr. Baburam Seksena has written a very important book entitled *Evolution of Awadhi*, in which while presenting a systematic study of evolution of Awadhi, he has given the glossary of old Awadhi Texts in the Appendix of this work. Dr. Seksena was awarded D.Litt Degree on this work by Allahabad University in the year 1931.

Dr. Shivaprasad Singh has presented a study of *Kirtilatā* written by Poet Vidyapati from linguistic point of view. In this work the author has analysed the form of Avahatta Bhasha, which is very near the form of old spoken Hindi. He has also written another work entitled Kirtilata Tatha Avahatta Bhasha, which is also important work in this particular context.

In this connection, mention may also be made of a work entitled *Hindi Ke Vikās Me Apabhramsha Kā Yog* by Dr. Namvar Singh. In this work, the author has been able to show how Apabhramsha forms the source from which various currents of Hindi Language have come down. It is very interesting to note that many of the old forms of Hindi, got wide currency in the works of Apabhramsha.

28. Some important works on Hindi Grammar

In the contest of study of ancient Hindi language, mention may be made of some of the important work on the grammar of

Hindi language. Mention is made here of the grammars which have made use of ancient Hindi Literature:—

(1) *Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India*— By J. Beams (London, 1875).

(2) *A grammar of Hindi Language*—By S. H. Kellogg (London, 1893).

(3) *A comparative grammar of the Gaudian Languages*—By R. Hoernle (London, 1880).

In these works, the old form of Hindi has been analysed either for special or comparative study.

29. Textual Studies

Under this Head can be included, the works in which the critical studies of the various versions of the particular texts are published and also those works which are rare and are published on the basis of a single manuscript that could be available to the scholar. This latter type of work is very important because their publication forms the basic material for future study. Roughly the research publications in this category can be divided into four classes :— (1) works on devotional poetry; (2) works on Raso Poetry; (3) works on Romantic narratives; (4) other poetic works.

30. Works on devotional poetry

In this class, can be included three important research publications. The first is *Gorakhabāni* edited by Dr. P. D. Barathwal. This was published in 1942 by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad. Dr. Barathwal edited this work on the basis of 9 manuscripts. The oldest of these manuscripts is dated 1658 A.D. The other manuscripts are of subsequent dates. In Dr. Barathwal's work, Gorakhabani has been divided into 13 topics, including Sabadi, Pad, Sisyadarshan, Pransankali, Nar-vaibodh, Atmabodh, Abhaimatrajog, Pandratithi, Saptawar, Machhendra Gorakhbodh, Ramawali, Gyantilak and Panchamatra, besides three appendices giving other material.

Dr. Barathwal's work so far has been taken as a basic work in this particular branch. Dr. Barathwal intended to edit and publish the complete works of Nath Sampradaya in two parts. Out of this the first part was *Gorakhabāni* and the second was proposed to be called *Jogesuribāni.* Due to the early demise of Dr. Barathwal the second part in this series could not be completed. It is also not known what research work he had carried out for this particular volume.

The second important work in this category is *Bānis of Nāth-Siddhās* edited by Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi and published by Nagaripracharini Sabha, Kashi in the year 1957. In this work, there is a small introduction of 25 pages along with the Banis of 28 Nath Saints. The work has been edited on the basis of three manuscripts that are available in Nagari Pracharini Sabha. These manuscripts are dated 1714 A.D., 1779 A.D. and 1798 A.D. This means that they belong to 18th century A.D. For this reason, many saints belonging to later periods have been included. Almost all the saints who have flourished upto 15th century and wielded long standing influence on the society have been included in this work. Although the tradition of Nath Saints continued afterwards also, the saints mentioned in this work are of much greater importance.

The third work in this category is entitled *Hindi Padāvali of Nāmdeva,* edited by Bhagirath Mishra and published by the University of Poona. This work has been edited on the basis of six manuscripts obtained from different places viz. from Patiala (Punjab), Ghoman (Punjab), Nagaripracharini Sabha (Varanasi), Pandharpur, Poona University (Poona) and Sarbangi (Jaipur) and also on the Padas found in Gurugrantha Sahab.

The oldest manuscript found is dated 17th century. In this work, it is evidently clear that Namdeva, the famous Marathi Saint Poet, wrote in Hindi also. The Hindi Padas of Namdeva are influenced by the Nirguna Philosophy, probably for several reasons. The first reason was the influence of Gyaneshwar and Visoba Khechar on Shri. Namdeva. The second reason was Shri. Namdeva's stay in the Punjab, where his contact both with Hindus and Muslims warranted him to write not on the Sagun form of God, but on His Nirgun form, which was acceptable to both the religions. The third reason might have been his own conviction and realisation of all pervading formless God, during the later period of his life.

Any way about 230 Padas that are preserved in this book are of immense importance for the study of origin of the Hindi Saint Poetry. Surprisingly the basis of the language used in these Padas is Braja Bhasha, with generous assimilation of words from Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Sanskrit and Persian. It may be mentioned here that so far the scholars knew about 61 Padas of Shri. Namdeva that are included in the Gurugrantha Sahab. Therefore, this work is much revealing from that point of view as well.

31. Works on Raso Poetry

The greatest attempt for textual study in this particular branch is that concerning the work of editing of *Prithvi Raj Rāso*. This work is available in three versions — the big, the medium and the small. The big version was published by Nagaripracharini Sabha and was edited by Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandya. This edition contains 10,709 Rupakas.

Prior to that the work of editing the authentic edition of *Prithvi Raj Raso* was taken up by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the project which was later on given up, due to controversy about the historicity of the original work.

Since then Prithvi Raj Raso has been published in many versions. The medium versions of *Prithvi Raj Rāso* contain 3400, 1200 and 1100 Rupakas according to the various versions published so far. The smallest versions contain 19 Cantos and 522 and 422 Rupakas according to different versions.

In certain versions the Cantos are known as Samayas, while in others they are called Khandas. It cannot be said definitely that the smaller versions are authentic ones. The facts that go against historical findings are found in smaller versions also. But this type of unhistorical material is found more in bigger versions.

All smaller versions of *Prithvi Raj Rāso* are not alike. They have been edited in their various forms by Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi, Dr. Mataprasad Gupta and Dr. V. P. Sharma. These editions are useful for the study of Raso from cultural, poetic and linguistic points of view. Specially noteworthy amongst all these editions is that which has been edited by Dr. V. B. Trivedi. This is called

Revatata Samaya of Prithvi Raj Raso. This edition makes use of many manuscripts and contains elaborate introduction also.

32. Other important Raso Works

Another important Raso work is entitled *Beesal Deva Ras* written by Narpati Nalha. This work has been edited by Satyajiwan Verma, Dr. Mataprasad Gupta and Dr. Tarakhnath Agarwal. Out of these, the editions edited by Dr. Gupta and Dr. Agarwal are more important from textual point of view. In these editions the text of the original work has been critically examined and the editors have made use of all the manuscripts that are at present available.

33. Works on Romantic Narratives

The tradition of romantic narratives in Hindi comes from foreign influence, according to some Scholars; but that is not a correct view point. We have long and old tradition of Indian Romantic stories, some of which are written by great authors and which have come down from Sanskrit through the medium of Prakrit, Apabhramsha languages to Hindi language. But it may be admitted that the influence of Persian Sufi Romantic narratives brought great influence on Hindi Romantic Literature, of which beginning was made in ancient period. But a large number of such narratives were composed in mediæval times.

First of such works is entitled *Chandāyan,* which was written by Mulla Daud of Dalmau (U.P.) in 1255 A.D. This work is based on a folk story named Chanaini, which narrates the romantic tale of Lorik and Chanda. This work has been edited by two Scholars, viz. Dr. Mataprasad Gupta and Dr. P. L. Gupta. Out of these, Dr. P. L. Gupta has been able to make use of the manuscript of Chandayan that is available in India Office Library, London. This work is in old Awadhi and is the first of romantic narratives that are found in Awadhi dialect. The other important romantic narrative in Awadhi is *Padmāvat of Jayasi.*

The other work in this category is entitled *Lakhamsen Padmāvati Kathā* by Damo which was written in 1459 A.D. Not much is known about Damo. This work of Damo is written in Vastu, Duha, Chaupahi and Narach meteres. Lakhamsen Padmavati has been edited by Narmadeshwar Chaturvedi on the basis of manuscript dated 1612 A.D. Although Shri Chaturvedi has not been able to make use of several manuscripts available of this work, still his edition can be called an important and rare publication.

In addition to above, mention may also be made to *Dholā Marura Duhā* edited by Narottam Swami. This is famous folk story current in Rajasthan. Although originally it was a folk poem, it was collected, edited and composed by Jain Poet, Kushal Labh near-about the end of 15th Century A.D. Narottam Swami's edition contains an important introduction and as such it sheds valuable light on this work.

34. Collections of Vidyapati's Poetry

Vidyapati's poems have been edited by two authors viz. by Sharda Charan Mitra and Nagendra Nath Gupta. Since then *Vidyapati Padavali* has been edited and published by various authors. The pioneering effort in this section was that by Shardacharana Mitra. Later on in the 1881, Dr. G. A. Grierson collected 82 songs of poet Vidyapati from various singers. Subsequently Nagendranath Gupta edited Vidyapati Padavali in Bengali, on the basis of Nepal Manuscripts. Afterwords Ram Vriksha Sharma "Venipuri" edited *Vidyāpati Padāvali* which was published by Pustak Bhandar, Lahariya Sarai, Patna.

But the largest edition of *Vidyāpati Padāvali* so far published is that of K. N. Mitra and V. B. Majumdar who utilised all published and unpublished material while bringing out this edition. The authors have also written an elaborate critical introduction to the work in the Bengali language. The Hindi translation of this work was subsequently published from Patna.

In the year 1954, Dr. Subhadra Jha published from Varanasi a new collection of Vidyapati Poems entitled the *Song of Vidyāpati*, along with critical introduction. This is also an important collection. All these editions of Vidyapati's poems give an idea of language and devotional trend of literature in ancient period of Hindi Literature.

35. Poet Rode's Rawul Vail

Another important publication in this particular category is entitled *Rawul Vail* edited by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta. This work is based on *Nakha-Shikha* (Description of physical duty) by a poet named Rode. Poet Rode's work is based on an ancient inscription, which is at present stored in Prince Of Wales Museum, Bombay. The work according to the editor was composed in 11th century A.D. In this work, Dr. Gupta has discussed the original inscription, the place of its origin as well as the topics contained therein and also its authorship. He has also presented an elaborate analysis of the language of Poet Rode's work. Dr. Gupta's edition is also appended with a glossary of words found in this work as well as their Hindi translation. From all these data, it appears to be one of the oldest works in Hindi, and also the unique work which is completely based on an inscription. Therefore, it becomes one of the most significant works of Literature during the ancient period of Hindi Literature.

36. Epilogue

This is just a brief review of important work done on and about Ancient Hindi Literature during the last 75 years, on the basis of data that is available with me. There may be many other significant research publications left over uncovered in this review, due to limited time at my disposal and non-availability of all the research publications from Hindi region at a distant place like Poona, for which I crave indulgence of scholars.

ANCIENT MARATHI LITERATURE

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Though much has been done, much remains to be done in the field of Marathi Literature. Institutional efforts are not lacking and with the creation of linguistic state of Maharashtra, new enthusiasm have filled the minds of research workers. But mere enthusiasm is not enough. Unless a wellorganised effort is made, researches in Marathi literature will not develop properly. For, as everyone knows, stray research rarely takes us anywhere.

1. 'Mhaibhata' — First Researcher in Marathi Literature

The history of researches in Marathi Literature goes back to its early days when *Mhāibhaṭa* undertook, and completed the work of collecting and editing the *Līḷās* or Memoirs of Cakradhara, the founder of the *Mahānubhāva* cult.

After the passing away of Cakradhara in 1272, A.D., his disciples naturally needed an authentic and extensive account of the life and teachings of their master, which task was successfully carried out by *Mhāibhaṭa* in the form of his well-known work *Līḷā-Caritra* which belongs to about 1280 A.D. This collection of about a thousand memoirs and anecdotes of Cakradhara can be called research in the sense that, it has the form of a kind of a critical edition of the details about the biography of Cakradhara, as narrated by his various disciples. Apart from the task of collecting this material from the scattered sources, *Mhāibhaṭa* has taken great pains in verifying it and recording the different views held by different disciples of Cakradhara regarding certain details by mentioning their *vāsanas* or opinions.

Smṛtisthaḷa, another prose work of the early period of Marathi literature, gives the following graphic account of how *Mhāibhaṭa* laboured towards the composition of his '*Līḷā-caritra*'—

"म्हाइंभट अटनविशेषें खेइभटांचेआ गावां गेले : तेथ तयांसि भेटि जालीः म्हाइंभटा हेतुः जें गोसावियांचिआ लीळा शोधावीयाः तवं खेइभट कृषी करावेआ जाति : तेयांसरिसे म्हाइंभटहि जाति : खेइभट कृषीकर्म करीति :' आणि म्हाइंभट तया मागां मागां गोसावियांचिआ लीळा पुसति : खेइभट सांघति : तिया म्हाइंभट नमस्करूनि घेति :" (Smr. No. 140)

The above account proves that *Mhāibhaṭa* was not only a biographer, but a researcher as well, and that too the first in the field of Marathi literature.

2. Contribution of Eknatha in compiling a critical edition of 'Jnanesvari'

The second researcher is *Ekanātha,* the well-known poet-saint of the sixteenth century. After searching out and renewing the shrine of saint *Jnāneśvara* at *Āḷandī, Ekanātha* set himself to the work of restoring the text of his great work, namely, *Jnāneśvarī,* which had become very much corrupt during the course of about three hundred years, since its creation in the year 1290 A.D. The corruption of the text was due mainly to its being transmitted in the form of different manuscript copies, the scribes of which were not necessarily faithful to the original. Errors of various types had crept into the text of *Jnāneśvarī,* neither the autograph nor the immediate copy of which was available.

Thus *Ekanātha* had to reconstruct the entire text by collecting the different readings, and selecting one that would satisfy the requirements of form and content. As to how he proceeded and what method he used is not known. But when he says in his Post-script that this work which was very pure originally has become adulterated on account of the variant readings that had crept into it, and that he amended them in order to establish a correct text, we can get a faint glimpse at least of the comparative method that he must have utilised.

Eknatha says —

ग्रंथ पूर्वींच अतिशुद्ध । परि पाठांतरीं शुद्धाबद्ध ।
तो शोधूनियां एवंविध । प्रतिशुद्ध सिद्ध ज्ञानेश्वरी ॥

Thus, though not a critical editor in the strict sense of the term, *Ekanātha* can be said to be a researcher in the field of textual criticism, who carried out the great work of supplying a fairly authentic edition of *Jnāneśvarī,* in 1584 A.D.

3. Contribution of Mahipati — famous Marathi Biographer

The last researcher belonging to the older times is *Mahīpati* (1715-1790 A.D.), the famous Marathi hagiographer. It is true that he was by nature a devotionalist, who spent his whole life in singing the glory of God and his devotees. But slowly *Mahīpati* did acquire the sense of history, and his later works bring him out as a meticulous biographer of Saints, working hard on his canvas, revising his previous attempts, filling the gaps, retouching and at times recreating the entire portraits.

He has thus himself re-written the life of *Tukārāma* in the *Bhaktalīlāmṛita,* which had appeared earlier in a rather scrappy manner in his *Bhaktavijaya. Mahīpati's* admission that the lives of saints cannot be grasped at one sitting, and that these have to be studied over and over again, is amply proved by his own works, major portions of which are revisions of his earlier works. As Bhāve says, *Mahīpati* was a laborious worker, working day and night on the details of his subjects, and bringing together in volume after volume the material thus collected.

Naturally, his works lack the quality of unity, but they do show him a close student of the lives of saints, who had engaged himself throughout his life in searching out the facts pertaining to them. Thus, notwithstanding the fictitious element present in his works, it is these works of *Mahīpati,* which are the main source of our present-day knowledge of old Marathi authors, especially the poet-saints.

4. Beginning of Nineteenth century Marathi Research

With *Mahīpati* ends the traditional line of research, howsoever short and broken it may be, in the field of Marathi studies. The nineteenth century Marathi research opened rather late with the publication of *Navanīta,* the famous anthology of old Marathi poetry, by *Parśurāma-tātyā Godbole,* which enthused some ardent admirers of Marathi literature to conduct an organised search, and bring to light its hidden treasures. The series entitled *Kāvya-saṁgraha,* which was edited by Oak and Kelkar is an illustration in point. It unravelled the works of many a forgotten author, the example of which was later followed by the *Mahārāstra-Kavi* as edited by Bhāve, the author of *Mahārāstra-Sārasvata,* the well-known classic in the histories of old Marathi literature.

5. Contribution of Rajvade to Marathi Research

Bhāve and his co-workers in this field had before them a genius like *Rājvāḍe,* who was a great researcher himself, working simultaneously in different branches of history. As regards Marathi literature, he seems to be the pioneer of quite a number of studies which later took a definite shape. For it was *Rājvāḍe* who established the tradition of bringing out the text of any literary work as faithful as possible to its original, by critically editing an edition of *Jnāneśvarī* in the year 1909 A.D. This work of his had to face much adverse criticism as it was done in a rather slipshod manner; but when all is said, its place along with its historical Introduction, in the realm of Marathi researches, is beyond doubt.

The science of textual criticism was probably not known to *Rājvāḍe,* and yet his efforts in this direction proved fruitful in the succeeding generation which has given us some fairly good critical editions of works like *Jnānadevī,* Ch. I (by R. G. Harshe), *Mukteśvara's Ādiparva* (by A. K. Priolkar), *Vivekasindhu* (by K. P. Kulkarni) and the like.

Rājvāḍe also brought to light quite a number of hidden authors and their works, and thus added substantially to the pages of the history of Marathi literature. He also tried to ascertain the dates, the lineages and other details about the lives of earlier writers, and thus enriched our knowledge of their biographies. He also tried to decipher the secret code, used by the writers of the *Mahānubhāva* cult, which was responsible for keeping their literature out of reach to the common reader for some centuries.

But *Rajvāḍe's* chief contribution to Marathi researches lay in his tireless endeavour to ascertain the origin of Marathi language, on the strength of inscriptional records, which he searched out and edited in different journals. Although his conclusions in this direction were refuted by scholars like Guṇe and Bloch, it must be said to *Rajvāḍe's* credit that, he laid the foundations of Marathi research, on which his successors have built up a structure all their own.

6. Research workers belonging to Rajvade school

Rājvāḍe was like the sun that gave light to many. *Pāṅgārkar, Deo, Potdār, Deshpāṇḍe, Chāndorkar, Bhāve* and many others drew their inspiration from *Rājvāḍe,* and contributed their quota to the cause of Marathi Literary research. Of these, the name of S. S. Deo, the founder of the Manuscript library housed in the *Samartha Vāgdevatā Mandir,* Dhulia, stands supreme. In fact, this institution is a permanent monument of the single-minded and life-long devotion of Deo for research in the field of

Marathi literature, especially that belonging to the sect of *Rāmdāsa.* This library containing over two thousand Marathi manuscripts can best be compared with a similar collection housed in the *Sarasvatī Mahāl* at Tanjore.

7. Bhave's contribution to Marathi research

Bhāve's 'Mahārāstra-Sārasvata' has been already referred to above. His research contribution lies mainly in the field of *Mahānubhāva* studies, where he deciphered their different secret codes, and accordingly published a list containing about five thousand entries of the titles of their literary works, two of which (*Śiśupālavadha* and *Vachāharaṇa*), he edited for the first time.

8. Contribution of Vidarbha to Mahanubhava researches

The thread was picked up by scholars residing in Vidarbha. Taking advantage of the vicinity of *Ṛddhipura,* centre of the activities of the *Mahānubhāva* cult, researchers like *Y. K. Deshpāṇḍe* and *Nene* concentrated on this branch of Marathi literature, the former giving us its brief yet well-connected history, and the latter bringing out its earliest specifications. Scholars life *Kolte* and *V. N. Deshpāṇḍe* are carrying on the work started in this direction and have added considerably to our knowledge of the literature of the *Mahānubhāva* cult.

9. Contribution of Bombay School to Marathi researches

Just as Nagpur became the centre of *Mahānubhāva* studies, Bombay took the lead in the search and study of another sectarian literature, namely, that of the European missionaries. The *'Christian Purāṇa'* of Fr. Stephens was already introduced to the Marathi world as early as in 1906 A.D. by *Rājārāmashāstri Bhāgvat;* but it was left to *Prioḷkar* and his band of young research scholars to go deep into this vast literature, and bring out a few selected gems.

The *Marathi Saṁshodhana Maṇḍaḷa* of Bombay, with Priolkar as its Director, has done great work not only in this branch of research, but in other branches as well, e.g., dialect studies, critical editions, Muslim Marathi literature, and etc.

10. Other notable centres of Marathi research

The *Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahāl Library* has also done some work in this direction by publishing a few works written by the Tanjore poets. The institution at Dhulia mentioned above, alongwith its sister-institute, *Rājvāḍe Saṁshodhana Maṇḍaḷa,* is however in a state of lethargy since the death of Deo, its founder, and it is necessary to rejuvinate these two bodies into active research societies. The same has to be said about the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁshodaka Maṇḍaḷa,* of Poona, which has done great work in the past under the leadership of *Rājvāḍe* and his colleagues.

Some new research institutions are coming up instead at places like Pandharpur and Aurangābād, but unless they pool their resources and organise themselves on solid foundations, not much can be expected from them.

11. Contribution of Universities to Marathi research

The Universities of *Mahārāsṭra* have also played some part in the field of Marathi researches. This they could do in two directions : independent research, and research for the Doctorate. As regards the first, it is only the Poona and the Marāṭhwāḍā Universities that seem to be somewhat active, as they have separate Departments of Marathi, engaged mainly on research. The old Marathi Texts Series of the former, and the plan for complete edition of *Gītarnava* of *Dāsopanta,* the voluminous Marathi poet of the sixteenth century, of the latter, can be mentioned here in this context.

As regards research for the examination of Doctorate, the quality of the same is seen to vary considerably, and although much of it is more of the nature of re-interpretation rather than research, in some cases at least the latter element is found to be present. But unless we change our notions about the Ph.D. thesis radically, no fruitful research work in this direction can be expected.

12. Contribution of Individual Research workers

Just as single individual researchers like *Potdār* and *Kānole* worked in the past and unravelled a number of forgotten literary pieces, to-day also we have enthusiasts like *Doḷke, Āwaḷīkar, Paṭhāṇ, Pohnerkar* and many others with their doyen in *Dhere,* the Editor of *Indrāyaṇī,* and a very promising researcher, who are devoting themselves to the cause of their language and its literature. Some of the problems that beset students of the last generation are now being showly solved, and a clearer picture of the history of Marathi literature is being presented to us with every research paper published by the members of this band.

The date problem of *Mukundarāja,* the earliest poet of Marathi, for example, is now fairly solved by *Doḷke,* though the same thing cannot be said about the place problem of this poet attempted by the same scholar. Similarly, the story of the *Nāthas in Mahārāṣṭra* is now fairly well-told by *Ḍhere* in his treatise on *Gorakhnāth,* and that of the Veershaivas by *Āwaḷīkar,* in his introduction to *Vivekachintāmaṇi,* jointly sponsored by the Poona and the Karnatak Universities. At the same time, some new problems are coming up because of recent researches. Dhere's work on the lineage of *Mukundarāja,* for example, has presented quite a new problem to the scholarly world, namely, the possibility of any distant connection between the *Nāthas* and the *Mahānubhāvas.*

13. Need of sound organization to guide individual research workers

Thus, much has been done, though much remains to be done, in the field of Marathi literary research. Institutional and individual efforts are not lacking, and with the creation of the linguistic state of *Mahārāṣṭra,* new enthusiasm seems to have filled the minds of a few at least from the younger generation. But mere enthusiasm does not suffice, as it is likely to fade out in the absence of proper guidance and scope for work.

It must be said, therefore, in conclusion that unless a well-organised effort is made, researches in Marathi literature will not shape as they should, and the seeds of research scattered all over may die out, or at least not develop properly, in the absence of a sound organisation to support and guide these sporadic efforts. For as it is said, stray research rarely takes us anywhere.

ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN LITERATURE

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Dravidian group of languages constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. An attempt is made here to delve into ancient literature of South and to see what efforts are made presently to understand the same.

I

DRAVIDIAN GROUP OF LANGUAGES

1. Dravidian Languages defined

Dravidian group of languages constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. With the exception of Orissa and those districts of Western India and the Deccan in which the *Gujarāṭi* and *Marāthi* are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, from the Vindhya mountains and the river Narmada to Cape Comorin, is peopled by different branches of one and the same race, speaking different dialects of one and the same language — the language to which the term 'DRAVIDIAN' is generally applied. Brahui, spoken in Baluchistan, also belongs to Dravidian family of Languages (See — Denys Bray, The Brahui Language (Calcutta, 1909).

2. Four important Dravidian languages

According to Bishop Caldwell, Dravidian group of languages, consists of nine languages of which following four are important:

(1) **Tamil:** It is the oldest, the richest, and most highly organised of the Dravidian languages and thus can be called the representative language of the family. It includes two dialects, the classical and the colloquial, or the ancient and the modern, called respectively the *Śen-Tamiḷ* and the *Koḍun-Tamiḷ*. The Tamil language is spoken mainly through the present linguistic Madras state. It is also spoken in northern part of Ceylon, where Tamilians commenced to form settlements prior even to the Christian era. The majority of Hindus found in Peru, Penang, Singapore and in other Far Eastern countries are *Tamiḷians* and thus they can be called the most enterprising and persevering of the Dravidian races. Tamil literature dates back to even to pre-christian era, according to some.

(2) **Telugu :** The Telugu in respect of antiquity of culture and glossarial copiousness, ranks next to *Tamiḷ* in the list of Dravidian idioms, but in point of euphonic sweetness it claims to occupy the First place. The Telugu is the Andhra of Sanskrit writers, and is mentioned as such by Greek geographers. At present Telugu language is restricted to linguistic province of Andhra Pradesh; yet formerly it appears to have been spoken as far north as the mouth of the Ganges. This appears both from geographical limits, which are assigned by the Greeks to the territory of Andhras, and also from the many place-names mentioned by Ptolemy as far as the mouths of the Ganges being found to be Telugu. The Telugu branch is the most numerous of the Dravidian race, and it includes such well-known families as—*Nāyaks, Nāyadus* and *Reddis,* who are the descendents of those soldiers of Fortune who subverted *Pāṇḍya and Çola kingdoms.*

Telugu literature dates back to 500-600 A.D. Telugu has a basic affinity with Tamil and Kannada, whereas literary idioms in the language depend largely on Sanskrit. In the beginning Telugu had much in common with *Kannaḍa,* since *Pampa* and *Panna* two of the earliest Telugu writers came from *Karnāṭak.* Telugu had originally a script called *Vaṭṭeḷuttu,* which was discarded and a new script evolved based on Tamil-grantha.

(3) **Kannada :** This is the language of the linguistic Province of Mysore State. The word Canarese is derived from a Sanskrit word *Karnāṭak,* which was first corrupted by Canarese people into *Kannaḍa* or *Kannara,* and this was further corrupted by the English into Canarese. The earliest work in Canarese is of 800 A.D.

(4) **Malayalam :** This is the language of the linguistic province of Kerala. Before the advent of linguistic provinces, this was the language of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar coast. Though the Malabar coast was occupied for many centuries by Phoenician, Arab, and Greek traders, *Malayālam* people have remained to be most superstitious and exclusive of the Dravidian races.

Malayalam is the last of the South Indian languages to develop separate existence. The earliest extent literature in Malayalam is of 1200 A.D.

With this background of Dravidian group of languages in mind, we shall now delve into the ancient literature of the south, and see what kind of literature was produced in those times, and what efforts are made presently to understand them and make them known to people within the country and outside the country as well.

3. Literary culture of Dravidian languages

It must be emphasised at the outset that the *Tamiḷ* the *Malayālam,* the Telugu and the Canarese have each a distinct and independent literary culture. And each of the three former — the *Tamiḷ,* the Malayalam and the Telugu — has a system of written characters peculiar to itself. The Canarese character has been borrowed from that of Telugu, and differs but slightly from it; but the Canarese Language differs even more widely from the Telugu than it does from the *Tamiḷ ;* and the ancient Canarese character is totally unconnected with the character of the Telugu.

II

EPICS

4. Ramayana Works in Tamil

The earliest available Ramayana in Tamil is one that was written by Kampan, which is called *Kampa-Rāmāyaṇam.* Kampan flourished in the reign of *Çola* king Kulottunga III (the 12th century A.D.). S. Vaiyyapuri Pillay says in the *History of Tamil language and literature* (1956) that Tamil Rāmāyaṇa in poetic form was available in the 7th century A.D. but that work is at present not available.

B. M. Gopalkrishnachariar has brought out an edition of *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa,* wherein it is stated that *Oṭṭakūttan,* had originally written Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil but after listening to *Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa* he tried to burn his work, and thus *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Oṭṭakūttan Rāmāyaṇa* was only saved. Kampan's poem carries the story of Rama upto his return to Ayodhya and his coronation as the king; *Uttara Kāṇḍam* of his work is the work of another hand.

5. Importance of Kampa Ramayana

Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa. is read even today with great reverence in every Tamilian house. Though the author modestly states in the beginning of his work that he follows Vālmīki, like all great poets, he imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of *Kośala* is an idealised account of his own *Çola* country: Many times he yields to somewhat rigid canons of Tamil poetics. For instance, he has described that Sita was not touched by *Rāvaṇa* but she was actually lifted by Ravana along with the Earth on which she was standing. Valmiki on the other hand says that Sita was carried in his arms and then deposited in the chariot. Many a sensitive scholar who has studied both the works of *Vālmiki* and Kampan have vouchsafed that Kampan was no less a genius than Vālmīki, to say the least; but what is more, there is clear evidence that, Kampan had most delicately and subtly effected an improvement within a finer artistic frame of reference.

An index of words in *Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa* is being prepared by the Research Department of Annamalai University. The Tamil Research Department of the same University is bringing out an authorised edition of *Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa.*

6. Ramayana works in Telugu

The earliest Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu — *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa* or *Dvipāda Rāmāyaṇa* — was composed by poet *Ranganātha* in the 13th century, who was protege of poet Konabudha Raju and to whom credit of this composition is given by the author. This work is composed in popular *Dvipāda* metre and very simple and sweet. The *Uttarkāṇḍa* of this *Rāmāyaṇa* is composed by Konabudha Raju's sons Kachbudha and Vithal Raju (P. Chenchia — History of Telugu literature.)

Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa has been translated and published by Bihar Rastrabhasha Parisad, Patna.

The two more works on Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu are done by Tikkam Yagvi called *Nirvacanottar Rāmāyaṇa* (13th century) which tells *Rāmā's* story after coronation and the other by *Hullakki Bhāskara.* It was composed in the 14th century A.D. and represents Telugu translation of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* with great preponderance of Sanskrit words. Apart from these *Molla Rāmāyaṇa,* composed by Kumbar woman Molla in 16th century, and *Dvipāda Rāmāyaṇa* by Katta Varadaraju (17th century) are also noteworthy. Madras University has published a monograph entitled *Shri Rāmāyaṇa* of Katta Varadaraju in 1950.

7. Ramayana works in Malayalam

The earliest Ramayana in Malayālam is *Iramacarita* or *Rāmācaritam* which is a long metrical work composed, consisting only of *Yuddhakānda* of *Rāmāyaṇa.* In 17th century Ejutatchan translated *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* into Malayalam. This is the most popular Rāmāyaṇa work in Malayālam and C. A. Menon has written a monograph Ejutatchan and his age (1940, University of Madras.)

Among the later works on *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu, may be mentioned *Raghunāth Nāyakar's Vālmīki Caritam* and *Rāmāyaṇam,* which were written at Tanjore. Apart from these Ayyipillai Asan has written '*Rāmakathā-Pāṭṭu*' which belongs to 14th century and narrates *Rāma-Rāvan* war. In the latter part of 15th century Kannasa Pannikar wrote *Kannasa Rāmāyaṇa* which narrates whole story of *Rāmāyaṇa.*

8. Ramayana works in Kannada

The earliest Rāmāyaṇa work in Kannada is a Jain work, Pampa *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Rāmcandra Carita Purān,* (11th century) which was composed by Nagacandra, who calls himself Modern Pampa. Apart from these are *Kumudēndu's Rāmāyana* (1275 A.D.), *Dēvappa's Rāmāvijayacarita* (16th century), *Dēvacandra's Rāmakathavàtar* (18th century), *Candrasāgar Vāsni's Juna Rāmāyaṇa* (19th century) which all afford Jain version of Rāmāyaṇa story and are based on *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa.*

The Brahmanical version of *Rāmāyaṇa* was presented in Kannada language in 16th century by poet Narkavi, who calls himself *Kumār Vālmiki.* Narkavi's *Rāmāyaṇa* is in Torave dialect of *Kannaḍa,* that is why it is called *Torvave-Rāmāyaṇa.* Poet *Lakṣmiśa* in the 16th century has translated into Kannaḍa Sanskrit *Jaimini Bhārat,* an epic giving story of Sita's *vanavāsa.*

9. Mahabharata works in Tamil

The earliest Tamil work based on Mahābhārata is *Bhāratam* written by Tamil poet Perundevanar. Only a small portion of this work has survived. *Villiputturār Bhāratam* is also popular, but it is no where near magnificent Kampa *Rāmāyaṇa*, in aesthetic excellence. Tamil possesses two versions of *Bhāgvatam*. One by Sevvaaiccuduvar of *Vembaṟṟūr* in Madura district, and the other by Varadaraja Aiyangar of Vellinagar (1543).

10. Mahabharata works in Kannada

The earliest and most famous Kannada work on Mahābhārata in Kannada is poet Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* or *Pampa Bhārat,* which contains Pampa's own version of *Mahābhārata* story. The poet makes Arjuna the hero of the poem and identifies him with the patron *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king *Arikēsari,* and introduces into the narrative many interesting details of contemporary history. Critics have unanimously held Pampa as most eminent among ancient Kannada poets. Another important work on Mahābhārat in Kannada is poet Ranna's *Sahasra-Bhīma-Vijaya* or *Gadāyudhya* (982 A.D.), which gives the story of the epic, with particular reference to fight with clubs between *Bhīma* and Duryodhana.

Kumudendu, a Salva court poet of a petty prince of Konkan produced a Jaina version of the Bhārata, perhaps meant to rival to the *Kṛshna Rāya Bhārata,* which was a Vaiṣnava version. Kumar Vyas has written Kannada *Bhārata* (*Nāranappa*) which is a translation of Sanskrit *Mahābhārata.*

11. Mahabharata works in Telugu

The Telugu literature actually begins with Nannaya's translation of *Mahābhārata* (1019-1061) in the reign of Rajaraja Narendra. *Mahābhārata* was translated into Telugu by Yerrapatagada. *Rāghava-Pāndavīya* (Pingali Suranna) dealt with the story of both the *Ramāyāṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The translation of Mahabharata in Telugu was undertaken by the great Telugu poet Tikkana. He started with the *Virāṭa Parva* as he did not wish to start where Nannaya's work had been interrupted. Tikkana's work is complete in respect of the portion of Bharata. The gap in Vana-Parva between Nannaya's and Tikkana's works was filled by Terrapragada (1280-1350). The three translations were called Kavitraya.

The *Bhāgavata* of *Pōtana* deserves also to be specially mentioned here, as it is not a translation like those mentioned before.

Research into these works is being carried on at Annamalai University, the Mysore University, the Kerala University and a score of other institutions mentioned elsewhere under Institutions which do research work on Dravidian languages'.

III

SANGAM LITERATURE

12. Importance of Sangam literature

The Saṅgam represents one of the richest literary traditions of Tamil literature. It is claimed by the supporters of *Saṅgam* tradition that, this literary institution or academy (Sangam= Buddhist *Saṅgha*) flourished for thousands of years with its seat at the capitals of Pāṇḍya country, the latest of which was Madura. Under the auspices of this literary academy, and under direct patronage of Tamil kings including Çolas and Çeras, some of the finest literature known to Indian literary history was born. History and contribution of Saṅgam Literature has been ably discussed by V. R. Dikshitar in his *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (1930), and by K. Nilakantha Shastri in his *History of South India* (1952).

13. Three periods of Sangam literature

According to traditions contained in famous commentary of *Iṛaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* the works of First, Second and Third *Sangam* are as follows :

First Sangam : *Paripāṭal, Mudunārai, Mudukurugu, Kaḷariyvirai.*

Second Sangam : *Kurugu, Vendali, Viyalamali, Akaral.*

Third Sangam : *Naṟṟiṇai*, Kurumtokai, *Ainkurunūṟu, Paripāṭal, Akanānuru.*

Out of this, most of the works contained in First and Second *Sangam* are lost. Most of the works of III *Sangam* are available, which belong to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D.

The entire available collection includes 2,279 poems of lengths varying from four or five lines to over 800 by 473 poets (including some women). At the end of each poem are notes giving the name of its author, the occasion of its composition and other details. A college of Tamil known as Tamil *Sangam*, consisted of many poets and was under Royal patronage. It is also said that there were three *sangams* in succession. It consisted of many poets, kings, and a few Gods as its members.

14. Some important Sangam works

The theme of Kalittokai, an important work of 3rd *Sangam*, is Love. The *Paripāṭal* takes its name from the metre employed in the poems. The collection consists of songs of different deities. *Tirumāl*, Muruga and the river Vaikai form the themes. During 500-850 many Sanskrit words enter the poems and they were not easily understood outside a narrow learned circle.

450-500 may be suggested as the best date for the *Kuṛaḷ* of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*. It contains 1,330 distichs divided into 133 sections of ten distichs each, the first 38 on ethics (*Aṛam*), the following 70 on political and economic topics (*Poṛuḷ*) and the rest love (*Iṉpam*). It is often considered that it had belonged to the Sangam age. English translation of *Kuṛaḷ* is now available.

Karnarpadu is a Love-poem in which love-lorn lady is supposed to describe the dreadful approach of rainy season in the absence of her lover. Works such as Tirikadukam, Aindinai, Tinai-malai-aimbadu, Kainnilai Ēlādi, Tāṉaimālai-nurraimbadu, Sirupançamūlam, Priyanarpadu and *Ācārakkovai* belong to the period 650-750.

The Madras University is engaged in the preparation of a monograph on the various *Sangam* works from the point of view of historical materials. A study of Sanskrit loan words in Sangam classics was done by Dr. S. Vaidyanathan at Deccan College, Poona.

15. Some more Sangam works

Apart from the traditions contained *Iṛaiyaṉār* Akapporul, we have other traditions which mark the following anthologies as *Sangam* literature :

(1) *Eṭṭuttokai,* (2) *Pattuppāṭṭu,* (3) *Patiṉeṇkiḷakkaakku.*

Out of this Ettuttokai consists of eight collections :

(1) *Naṟṟiṇai* which contain the poems of 175 poets and is mainly devoted to love. It has been edited by P. Narayanaswami Ayyar with his own commentary (2) Kuruntokai contain the love lyrics of 205 poets, and has been edited by Pt. Rangaswami Aiyyangar of Vaniyambadi with his own commentary. (3) *Ainkurunūṟu* contains 500 Akaval verses and are written by poets, Orambogiar, Ammūvaṉār Kapilar, Ōḍḍalāndaiyar, Pēyaṇār respectively. (4) *Patiṟṟuppattu* is an anthology of enormous inportance, as it gives valuable information regarding Chera kings. It has been edited and published by Dr. Swaminatha Ayyar, (5) *Paripātal* is a poetic work of third Sangam period and has been edited and published with ancient commentary of Parimēḷalager by Dr. Swaminatha Ayyar, (6) *Kalittokai* is a collection of love-lyrics, contains valuable information regarding marriage customs prevalent in ancient Tamilnad. It has also been published along with the commentary of *Naccinārkkiṉiyar,* (7) *Neduntokai* an anthology of love-lyrics written by 154 poets is edited by V. Rajagopala Ayyangar (8) *Puṟanāṉūṟu* contains poetic works ranging from First Sangam to post-Sangam period. It has been edited by Pt. Swaminatha Aiyyar.

16. 'Pattupattu' an important anthrology of ten poems

Pattupāṭṭu (Ten Idylls) is a collection of poems compiled in third Sangam era. It contains ten poems, of various subjects like politics, history, Foreign trade, love and one on different manifestations of War God Muruka. T. A. Ramlinga Chettiar has written an article on *'Age of Pattupāṭṭu'* in Tamilian Antiquary (9.49-72), which discusses the antiquity of this work.

17. 'Patinen'-kilk-Kanakku' — anthrology of eighteen poems

Another important Sangam work is *Patiṉeṇ-kiḷk-Kaṇakku,* which contains eighteen poems dealing primarily with morals

(Tamil — **aram**, Sanskrit — **Dharma**). Out of this 'Tirukkuṛaḷ' with scholarly commentary by Manakkudayar has been brought out by Arumuga Navalar. Nāladiyār dealing with three pursuits of human life, and *Nāṉmaṇikkaçikai,* have been edited by V. Rajagopala Ayyangar, Madras. *Kaḷāvaḷi-Nārpatu*—a war poem devoted to means and methods of war has been brought out by Pandit Venkataswami Nattar, (South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Society, Tinevelly 1924). The *Innā-nārapatu,* enumerating 164 unpleasant things in life and, Karnarpatu, a love poem has also been edited by Pt. Venkataswami Nattar (1925). Another *Nīti* poem in the series, *Iṉiyavai-Nārpatu* has been brought out with commentary by R. Raghava Ayyangar (Madura, 1920). Tinaimoliaumpadu — a love poem has been edited by Pt. Tirunavukkarusu Mudaliar and published by Saiva Siddhanta Society. The Elāti which compares six medicinal articles to six worldly truths pertaining to life of ascetics, has been edited by Pt. Govindaraja Mudaliar with commentary by Vidvan Rajgopal Pillai (Madras 1924). T. Selvakeśvarāya Mudaliar, Madras has edited *Paḷamoḷi-Nānūṛu,* a jain devotional poem and the *Mudumoḷikkani* a niti poem.

18. Some noteworthy research in Sangam classics

The Tamil (Arts) Deptt. of Annamalai University through S. Dandapani Desikar has prepared an index of all the words in *Sangam* classics together with meanings as given in the ancient commentaries. The first volume of this work consisting of words beginning with vowels has been printed and published by one of the famous Saiva Mutts viz., Tiruvatuturai Mutt. *Patiṉeṇkīḷkkaṇakku,* the eighteen ethical literary works in Tamil have been indexed by the post-graduate students. At present these students are engaged in preparing an index of the words in *Nālayirattivyapprapantam* of *Āḷwārs.* These are verses in praise of *Viṣnu,* since these *Āḷwārs* were *Viṣnu-Bhaktas.* These Prapantas are in Manipravala style.

19. Some important research in Tamil classics

Both in the south and at Deccan College, Poona *Nālāyirattivyp-prapantam* is being investigated. It is to be noted in this connection that songs in praise of *Viṣnu* were sung by the Āḷwārs, whereas songs in praise of Śiva were sung by the *Nāyanmārs* such as *Mānikka-Vaçakar,* Appar, Siruttonḍar and Agastya.

The study of *Tirukkuṛaḷ* and Tirumantiram, the latter being the earliest tantra works in Tamil, is being studied by the Research department of the Annamalai University. A history of Saiva literature is also being undertaken by the department. The *Tiruppanantāḷ* Mutt is patronising scholars specialising in Tamil grammar and Tamil works on Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. A research publication in the form of literary criticism was published by the research wing of the Presidency College, Madras. Tamotaram Pillai was responsible for editing *Vīraçōḷiyam, Iṛaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ, Tolkāppiyam, Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* and other classics.

IV

GRAMMAR

20. Tolakappiem oldest grammar in Tamil language

Tolkāppiyam, a work on Grammar was composed during the time of second and third Sangam period and hence the oldest. It is divided into following three athikāras (or books):— (1) *Eḷuttatikāram*—dealing with Phonology, (2) *Collatikāram* : dealing with accidence, syntax and (3) *Poruḷatikāram* : dealing with Puram, Akam, Prosody etc. The whole work contains 1276 sutras.

Out of this, *Eluttatikāram* has been published with commentary of *Iḷampūrnar* by Vidvan Subbarayya Chettiar and with a gloss of *Nacciṉārkkiniyar* by Saiva Siddhanta publication.

Collatikāram has been edited and published along with the commentary of the following three commentators : (1) *Iḷampūraṇar* by Pt. C. R. Namaccivaya Mudliar, (2) *Cēnāvariyar* by Damodaram Pillai, (3) *Nacciṉārkkiṇiyar* by Damodaram Pillai (Teyvaccilaiur Tanjore Karandai edition).

While the *Eḷuttatikāram* and *Collatikāram* are interesting from linguistic and philological points of view *Poruḷatikāram* is valuable, as it gives us a glimpse of the political, social and religious life of the people of the period. This work has been edited with commentaries by Diwan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai. Dr. P. S. Subramaniam Sastri has also written commentary in Tamil.

Apart from this, the works like Akattiyam, Majneranam, *Iśainuṇukkam,* Budapuranam, which belong to second Sangam period are devoted to Grammar.

21. Other works on grammar

Nambi Akapporul is a work on grammar composed and published by Narkavirajanambi under *Kulaśekara.* Paranjyoti, the son of *Tirumalai-nāthan,* explains the conventions governing the composition of different types of prabandhas. A similar work worth mentioning is that of *Navanīta Nātan* entitled *Navanītappaṭiyal.* In the field of Tamil grammar, *Yāpparuṅgalam* and Yāpparungalakkārigai, two authoritative works on prosody were composed by *Amitasāgara,* a Jain ascetic on the close of the tenth century. The *Yāpparuṅgalam* offers an exhaustive treatment of the metres in Tamil and the *Kārigai* is its abridgement. Virajendra, a great Tamil scholar has written a book effecting a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit system of grammar and comprises all five sections of a complete treatise—*Sandhi* (*eḷuttu*), *Col, Poṛuḷ, Yāppu and Alaṅkāra* (*aṇi*). A commentary has been written by one of his pupils Shri *Perundevanār.* The *Daṇḍiyalankāram* treats mainly with figure of speech and is modelled on the famous Kāvyādarśa of Dandin. The name of the author is not known.

The *Naṇṇūl,* work of Pavandi, Jain grammarian treats only of *eḷuttu* and col. It is the beginners' handbook of Tamil grammar. In Kannada the son of Kesiraja (1260) the son of Mallikārjuna wrote *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (mirror of word jewels) which is standard grammar in Kannada. The first Telugu grammar was written by Nannaya entitled *Andhra-Śabda-Cintāmaṇi* which systematised the language by standardising words and their usage. Another Telugu grammar was written by Vemulavada Bhima Kavi (Kavijanasaraya).

22. Caldwell's comparative grammar of Dravidian Languages

Rev. Caldwell's "A comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages" or "South Indian family of languages" (1856) was, perhaps the first attempt made during the recent times to study this subject. This book was also translated into Tamil. A study of Tamil verbs has been undertaken by the Research Centre in the Presidency College, Madras.

23. Research in Dravidian Linguistics

All the work done by modern scholars all over the world in the field of Dravidian Linguistics upto 1956 is covered by Kamil Zvelebil in his able paper "One hundred Years of Dravidian comparative Philology" (Tamil Culture 9, 1961, pp 181-201). Prof. Kamil Zvelebil's following observations may be worth mentioning here :— "the Universities of Berkeley in California U.S.A. and in Oxford, England, lead in contemporary Dravidian studies, besides the third centre, Poona (Deccan College) in India. The third important centre, Poona (Dravidian Philology Deptt., Deccan College), in India, is characterized by some interesting works in phonetics and phonemics, and, chiefly by two very important works dealing with the historical aspect of Dravidian philology: *Gai's* historical grammar of *old Kannada;* published in 1948 and *Sekhar's* work *Evolution of Malayalam* (1953)."

C. R. Sankaran has given, what is acknowledged by the scholars all over the world, his unique contribution on the *Āytam*—phenomen of *Tolkāppiyar* in its more mathematically generalized form C. R. Sankaran has also presented in modern of art the biophysical aspects of speech in **Tolakāppium** the most ancient grammar of the Tamil language (cf C. R. Sankaran, Process of Speech, Deccan College Monograph series 27. 1963 pp. 12, 28 and 36 - 45; cf also C. R. Sankaran Phonemics of Old Tamil, Deccan College Monograph Series 7, 1951.)

Dr. Krishnamurthy's thesis on Telugu verbs is also worth mentioning here. *Andhra Vyākarana Samhita Sarvasvam, Vyākaraṇa Pārijātamu* and *Drāviḍa Bhāṣa Parisastamu*—all publications of the Andhra University are expositions on the grammatical principles of Telugu. The French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry is publishing the Agamas, sources for the study of the Saiva Siddhanta which is considered as the finest product of Dravidian intellect.

V

DICTIONARIES & BIBLIOGRAPHIES

23. Publication of encyclopædia

The Tamil (Oriental) Department of the Annamalai University is preparing a literary biographical dictionary. Immediately after independence the then Educational Minister of Madras State (Undivided) put forward a scheme of publishing Encyclopaedias, in the first instance in Tamil and in Telugu, more or less on the model of Encyclopœdia Britannica. Academies were formed for both these languages for the preparation of publication of the various volumes of the Encyclopœdia, with the help of the Madras Government, the Central Government and public subscriptions. The work is now completed as far as Tamil is concerned. The Telugu Encyclopœdia which was later taken over by the Andhra State is in progress.

24. Publication of Dictionaries

The Linguistics Deptt. of the Annamalai University is entrusted with the preparation of bilingual dictionaries with English as link language for Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. The Kerala Government is attempting the publication of a Malayalam Lexicon. It has more or less been completed. Dr. Krishnamurthy, Tagore Memorial Professor in Osmania University has compiled a dialectical dictionary of the occupational terms in Andhra. The Andhra Parishad in Hyderabad is responsible for publishing a list of verbs, proverbs etc. in Telugu. The Andhra University has a project for preparing an etymological dictionary of the Telugu language. Dr. Andronov of U.S.S.R. has published a Russian-Tamil Dictionary. A French-Tamil dictionary for the Cankam classics is prepared by the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry.

The Mysore University has published the English-Kannada dictionary. The Kannada Sahitya Parishad will be publishing a Kannada dictionary to supplement Kittel's dictionary.

25. Publication of Bibliographies

The National Library and the Sahitya akademi are publishing annual bibliographies and general bibliography respectively. The Madras Government is trying to consolidate the list of works published in Tamil. In this connection, mention should be made of the project for preparing a bibliography on various aspects of Dravidology sponsored by the department of the University of Malaya. Tamil scholars in India are collaborating in this project, started by the University of Malaya.

VI

MISCELLANEOUS

26. Research on Dravidian dialects

Colloquial Tamil, Tigala dialect (a dialect spoken by the cultivators in and around Bangalore) were undertaken by the Deccan College, Poona. The Anthropological Deptt. of the Govt. of India is interested in the study of the tribes speaking Dravidian languages. The Tribal dialects are particularly studied by Shri Bhattacharya of the Deptt. who has produced monographs on Ollari and Konda languages. The dialects of Irula tribe has also been studied by him. In collaboration with Prof. Burrow he has written a book on Naiki and Kui. Prof. Emenau has studied the Toda language and has written a paper on this subject which is published by the Annamalai University, Madras. Kota and Kondugu languages are also being studied by Emeneu and an Indian student under him respectively.

27. Research on Folk-songs

Folk songs are enshrined in dramas, (*Terukkūttu*), religious dances (karakam) with pots on heads, nātyams and dances (*Bharata Nātyam*); Nava sandhi, *Kuṛavañci, poy-k-kāl Kutiri* dance (the dummy horse dance), and Kathakali (the dance of Kerala). Scholars are interested in collecting folksongs and stories in the various Dravidian languages. The Saraswathi Mahal Library of Tanjore has published a selection from Macween's collections of folk songs. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Saraswathi Mahal Library contains mostly palm leaf manuscript collections.

The Attakartha or Kathakali of Kerala is a variety of dance drama believed to be of recent origin, not older than the 17th century. However, the Raman Attam of Kotarakkara Tampuran (to be completed in eight performances) is now established of the 15th century.

28. Microfilming of important Manuscripts

The Govt. of Madras with the help of the Govt. of India started a scheme for collecting, microfilming and publishing rare manuscripts of great importance in the Dravidian languages. This had brought to light not only Tamil works of great importance like the commentary by Kallatar on the earliest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram,* the valuable commentary viz. *Yāppa-runkāla Virutti,* an Encyclopædic work on Tamil prosody, Cuntara Pandyam, religious epic of mediaeval times and other miscellaneous Tamil works, like Kappal (ships) Sastram, etc., but also Telugu works of literary value produced at Tanjore court.

29. Researches in music

The Tamil (oriental) Deptt. of the Annamalai University is famous for researches in ancient Tamil music. Paripāṭal is a work set to music and belongs to musical Tamil known as *Iśai Tamiḻ.*

The pioneering work called *Yāḻ Nūl* of Swami Vipulananda (Karantai Tamil Sangam) as well as the modern Acoustical studies due to C. R. Sankaran which specially point out to the basic identity of speech and music richly deserve mention here (See C. R. Sankaran, Process of Speech, Deccan College Monograph Series 27, 1963, p 38 and also pp 27-28).

30. Research in Mathematics

Mallana translated into Telugu verse a mathematical treatise of *Mahāvīrācāryulu* (Sanskrit) containing theorems on mensuration, fractions and theory of numbers. The Prakirna Ganita was translated from *Lilāvati of Bhāskara* by Eluganti Pedanna.

31. Scholarships and awards

The Madras Govt. (undivided) proposed to confer post Laureatship in each one of the Dravidian languages. There was also a scheme for giving annual prizes for the best books in various subjects written in regional languages. The various Mutts (Tamil) have also established several schemes for giving scholarships.

32. Lectures on Dravidian languages

Series of lectures on various topics of Dravidian languages are delivered in various Universities of India as well as in Foreign Universities like Moscow, Cambridge etc. Dravidian languages are taught in such Universities. In this connection mention may be made of C. R. Sankaran who was Richard-Merton Visiting Professor in the Institute for Phonetics and communications Science at the University of Bonn (West Germany) in 1960.

33. Publications of cheap editions and translations of ancient classics

Efforts are being made to publish a cheap edition of certain ancient and modern classics like Tirukkural, Nālaṭiyār etc. This may induce the ordinary people to know more about the classics. Many scholars like Dr. Varadarajan and others have paraphrased *Tirukkuṛaḷ*. The linguistics deptt. Tamil wing of Kerala University is preparing an index of Caṅkam classics and an index of words in *Puranāṉūṟu* with English and Tamil meanings. Mysore University has published apart from literary classics a number of popular books in Kannada.

The south Indian languages book-trust working under the grant from the Ford Foundation initiated a scheme for publishing books simultaneously on all Dravidian languages and which are meritorious. The UNESCO has sponsored a project for translation of the classics in the various languages. Under this scheme the Ayotyākāṇṭam of Kamparāmāyaṇam has been translated into English by Rajaji and the ancient Cilappatikāram has been translated into French. A novel attempt at literary criticism on *Çilappatikāram* by Professor D. Singaravelu, Reader in Tamil, Osmania University at Hyderabad deserves a special mention here.

Translations from modern and ancient Tamil literature into Czech has been published by Dr. Kamil Zvelebcl of Czechoslovakia. The University in U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. are deeply interested in the study of Dravidian languages.

34. Institutions engaged in research of Dravidian languages

Osmania University at Hyderabad, the newly started Shri Venkateswara University at Tirupatti, the residential Tamil University at Annamalainagar, the old Madras University which has an additional post-graduate centre at Madurai and which is likely to become another University, the Kerala University, the two Universities of Mysore, one at Dharwar and one at Mysore, the Thiruvaduturai Mutt near Mayavaram are some of the institutions doing research work on Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

The Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha has started courses and lectures on the various classics and authors in Dravidian languages of the south. The Annamalai University is working on the history of Dravidian languages and a history of Telugu language. An index of words found in Bhāṣa Kauṭilīyam in Malayalam has been prepared.

Among other learned bodies doing research mention should be made of the Andhra *Sāhitya* Parishad, the Andhra branch of *Sāhitya* Akademi, the Kerala *Sāhitya* Pariṣad, Grantha Sala Sangham, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣad, Pulavur Kulu (Madras), the Madras provincial Tamil Caṅkam, the Madurai Tamil Caṅkam and the Karantai Tamil Sangam.

35. Institutions outside Southern states engaged in Dravidian studies.

The Deccan College Research Institute is also engaged in the study of Dravidology. There is a separate department for the study of Dravidian linguistics. Monographs on the history of Malayalam and Kannada were prepared. The phonetics laboratory prepared a thesis on the "Distribution of the Characteristics of speech elements in Tamil" (by Dr. Ganeshsundaram). Training is being given here to many scholars in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada.

Section II

ANCIENT
INDIAN
HISTORY

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
Dr. S. B. Deo

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS
Dr. P. M. Joshi

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

DR. S. B. DEO

Deccan College, Poona

A new consciousness regarding the presentation and concept of History is the notable characteristic of the recent works of Indian History. . . . There is more emphasis on cultural history than merely on chronological history. Thus history as it is understood today is taken to be a record of development of various forces, physical, natural, religious, economic etc., which have created Indian pattern of life.

PROLOGUE

Introduction

It is indeed a fitting occasion to take a survey of the work done in Ancient Indian History at the present juncture. This is because, during the last three quarters Indian History has made great strides so far as the publication of the varied data and the writing of books pertaining to Indian History is concerned. In the post-independence phase in India a new consciousness of approach to the study of Indian History and historical material has emerged. Barring a few exceptions which are the outcome of extreme outlooks, Indian History as a whole is being presented in a more objective way.

During the last few decades, there is a marked change in the conception of History of late. Readers will agree that in recent books on history there is relatively more notable emphasis on cultural history than merely chronological history.

Dr. K. M. Munshi has aptly expressed this viewpoint in his introduction to 'History and Culture of Indian People', in the following words(1):—

'Any work to be called History in the true sense of the word, the work must be the story of the people inhabiting a country. It must be a record of their life from age to age presented through the lips and achievements of men whose exploits become the beacon lights of tradition; through the characteristic reaction of the people to physical and economic conditions, through political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions which operate upon life; through characteristic social institutions, beliefs and forms; through literary and artistic achievements; through the movements of thoughts which from time to time helped or hindered the growth of collective harmony; through those values which the people have accepted or reacted to and which created or shaped their collective will; through efforts of the people to will themselves into an organic unity. The central purpose of a history must be therefore to investigate and unfold the values which age after age have inspired the inhabitance of a country to develop their collective will and to express it through the manifold activities of their lives."

Thus Indian history as it is understood today is taken to be a record of the development of the various forces, physical, natural, religious, economic etc., which have created the Indian mind and consequently the Indian pattern of life.

1. Ancient period defined

All these factors, however, cannot be suitably summarised in a brief survey like the present one right from the Vedic times to the end of the mediæval period. It has been thought, therefore, proper to limit the present survey between the incoming of the Aryans in India to about 1000 A.D. This is thought to be proper on account of two reasons.

Firstly, after 1000 A.D. the beginning of the so called mediæval age starts and the Ancient ends. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar says(2), "In the case of India there is no general agreement on this subject, but the onslaught of Islam, accompanied by a marked decadence of culture and the disappearance of the creative spirit in art and literature, seems to mark 1000 A.D. as the beginning of the mediæval age".

Secondly, the history of the period upto 1000 A.D. though documented here and there by literature, legends, inscriptions, coins and archæological monuments is replete with numerous controversies, lacunæ, divergences of interpretation and lack of chronicles — the last so typical of the Muslim period in India. Therefore, no one would grudge the efficacy of this survey being limited to 1000 A.D.

2. Scheme of review article outlined

The survey of the research work done in the field of ancient Indian History will be presented here under three or four heads. Firstly the research work done pertaining to the varied sources for the history of this period, during the last seventyfive years will be set forth. Secondly, a survey of the works done pertaining to history of a comprehensive and general nature will be taken. Then books and articles pertaining to different dynasties will be reviewed and lastly some problems of Indian history pertaining to the period set forth above will be presented.

It will be appreciated that in a limited space a detailed and comprehensive treatment is not possible, as hundreds of articles have appeared on this subject in scores of journals of history. Moreover the impetus given to the study of history during the last century has resulted in the publication of a vast volume of articles in the proceedings of the Indian History Congress, the journals of various Universities and Research bodies and the different publications of the various State Historical Societies. It will be agreed, therefore, that the present brief survey is not expected to aspire to refer to each and every view advocated. It aspires to take a very broad general survey. If, therefore, a reference is not found to all or even to reasonably wellknown articles or books it need not be interpreted to mean that the present reviewer underestimates them. The aim of this survey is mainly to take a factual account of the problems tackled and untackled.

II

RESEARCH ON VARIOUS SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

3. Critical editions of source books of Ancient Indian History

Right from the middle of the last century, a time synchronising with the establishment of firmer links with India by the British a greater impetus towards the study of Ancient Indian Literature and the writing of the history of India, materialised. As far back as 1848, Benfey edited and translated *Sāmaveda*. Roth and Whitney (1856) edited the *Atharvaveda*, followed by the translation of *Ṛgveda* by Grassmann (1876). This attempt to study Ancient Indian culture, through the publication of the critically edited data for Indian history, was followed by several other Indian and Western scholars. The process of scientifically studying Indian literature continued unabated, though with casual gaps, till the end of the first quarter of the present century. During these seventy-five years most of the Vedas, *Upaniṣads, Brāhmaṇas* and Sūtras were edited and quite a number of them translated into English. It is not necessary here to quote all these works, as most of them are too wellknown to scholars. Yet a mention must be made here of the remarkable work done by scholars like Max Müller, Oldenberg and Bühler in the publication of the series called *Sacred books of the East.*

4. Contribution of Indian scholars

In spite of the galaxy of Western scholars who wholeheartedly participated in the publication of original source-books, it need not be supposed that Indian scholars were silent spectators. The names of Shamashastri who edited the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (1920), the edition by Messrs Vidyabhushan and Mitra of *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1872), the edition of *Pañca vimśa Brāhmaṇa* by Vedantavagisa (1869-74), that of *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa* by Mitra (1855-70), and that of *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* by Nene (1926) are worth quoting. It will, therefore, be agreed that German, British and Indian scholars have contributed their mite towards the study of Ancient Indian Religious literature, which even now contributes a major data to Indian history.

5. Some noteworthy Histories of Ancient Indian literature

This flux of studying the Indian literature also resulted in the writing of histories of literature of Ancient India. As far back as the third quarter of the last century. Max-Müller brought out the *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.* Similar attempts were made by Weber (Second edition 1882), Fraser (1898), Macdonell (1900), Oldenberg (in German 1903), McHenry (in French 1904), Pischel (in German 1906), Farquhar (1920), Winternitz (1927) and Vaidya (1930). These histories of literature brought to the fore the magnitude of immense literary data which is even now being tapped by different scholars towards the building up of a cultural history of India.

6. Pargiter's contribution to analysis of Ancient Literary data

The most significant landmark from this point of view in the attempt of systematic study and analysis of the ancient literary data materialised in Pargiter's two monumental works, *The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of Kali Age (1913)* and *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition (1922)*. A little prior to that D. R. Bhandarkar (Carmichael lectures, 1918) had emphasised this aspect of gleaning the historical truths from the ancient literature of India. This consciousness of sifting historical material from literature resulted in the attempt by Mr. Pradhan to lay out *The Chronology of Ancient India* (1927). The chronology as advocated by Mr. Pradhan may not appear acceptable to all.

7. Biased approach of Foreign Historians

However against the background of such a vast and rich data the early books dealing with the history of India as produced by Western scholars, though in a sense pioneering attempts, unfortunately seemed to lack the balance and objectivity of a true historian. The Oxford and Cambridge (1922) histories of India certainly appear to be "almost invariably viewed through the spectacles of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries".(3) It cannot be forgotten by scholars writing the history of India, that Indian history, culture, religion and society have all through the centuries presented a linked phenomenon. This was always lost sight of by early Western historians, with the result that these early books appear to be incomplete and biased as R. C. Majumdar rightly observed(4)—

"Smith . . . never concealed his anxiety to prove the beneficence of the British Raj by holding before his readers the picture of anarchy and confusion which, in his view, has been the normal condition in India with rare intervals. To him, as to many others before and after him, Ancient Indian history after the death of Harshavardhana was merely a pathetic tale of political chaos and internecine struggles pointing to the inevitable moral: Such was India and such it always had been till the British established a stable order".

Thank God the inspired Indian Civil Servant did not condescend to pronounce the same judgment regarding the history and culture of India of pre-Harshavardhana period!

8. Decipherment of Ancient Indian inscriptions

In spite of such biased histories the work of the collection and decipherment of the varied data for Indian history continued unabated. Besides literature there were vast treasures of inscriptions, coins, legends and folklore. So far as the inscriptions were concerned, there was a plethora of them. However, it was only between 1834-37 that the earliest records of Ashoka Maurya could be deciphered due to the genius of Princep. Since then during the last century and a little over hundreds of inscriptions are brought to light and published mainly in the Epigraphia Indica, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and scores of other journals. This has resulted unlocking of a type of data which has contributed during all these years to erect the edifice of Indian history on a more secure foundation.

In recent years separate volumes dealing with the inscriptions of Ashoka;(5) the inscriptions of the Guptas,(6) Kalacuris(7) and others have appeared to facilitate the proper study of individual dynasties more precisely.

Apart from the study of inscriptions from the palæographical point of view, quite a new emphasis has been brought to bear upon the study of inscriptions so as to know the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of particular regions or dynasties from their epigraphical records. The credit of sponsoring this type studies goes to Sankalia, who first initiated it regarding the epigraphs of Gujarat.(8) During the last ten or fifteen years similar study pertaining to Deccan, Karnatak,(9) Madhya Pradesh and Berar,(10) Rajasthan,(11) Tondaimandalam(12) — the heart of Pallava empire — and Uttar Pradesh have been completed, which have contributed a lot mainly to the cultural history of these regions.

9. Research on coins

Similar is the story of coins. Hundreds of coins and scores of hoards have been brought to light dating right from the 5th-6th centuries B.C. to the end of the period under review. The importance of these cannot be exaggerated. The catalogues by Gardner (1886), Cunningham (1891) Rapson (1897), Smith (1906), Whitehead (1914), Valentine (1921), Brown (1922) and Allen (1936) are notable.

The interpretation of old numismatic data from literature resulted in the monumental work by Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures on *Ancient Indian Numismatics, 1921)* and by Chakravarty *(A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, 1931)*. During the last twentyfive years several Indian scholars have made a significant contribution towards the study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. The most notable among these being those by Durgaprasad, Bidya Binod (1923), Herzfeld (1930), Paruck (1924), Altekar, Narain Sircar, Mirashi, Sohoni, Rama Rao, Gupta and others.

10. Some more histories of Ancient Indian literature

Studies in literature, inscriptions and coins also gave an indirect impetus to the study of cultural and social history in addition to political history. Works on histories of Indian literature by Indian scholars during the last fifty years, like Dasgupta and De (1947), Krishnamachariar (1937), *History of Pali Literature* by Law (1933), Histories of Jain Literature by Weber,(14) Barodia(15) (1929), Kapadia,(16) Jain J. C.; *Studies in Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas* independently by Hazra, Patil, Dikshitar; *Studies in south Indian literature of the Sangam age* by Dikshitar (1930), Silappadikaram (1939), Pillai M. S. P. (1929), Pillai V. K. (1904) and Shastrri K. A. N.; and lastly the monumental work by M. M. Kane on the *History of Dharma-śāstras* (1930-46) have added significantly to the cultural background of Indian political history.

11. Accounts of Foreign travellers

In addition to the sources from Indian literature, coins, epigraphs etc., several foreign sources pertaining to the accounts of travellers from Megathenes to Hiuen Tsiang were published in the period from 1846 to 1927. Besides these Greek, Latin, Chinese and Tibetan sources were also tapped.

12. Some noteworthy studies of authors like Panini etc.

In recent years a number of significant contributions towards the interpretation of the cultural and the political data from the works by *Paṇini, Patañjali, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa ;* Jain and Buddhist books — canonical and non-canonical — have been tapped thoroughly by Agrawala, Puri, Upadhyaya, Jain J. C., Mehta R. N. and others.

On the basis of such vast material studies in Ancient Indian History have made great strides, as this vast material enamoured the Indian scholars to attempt not only relatively comprehensive histories but also histories written in a more objective way. The recent projects of Indian history sponsored by Indian History Congress, and those by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, are indeed the most uptodate, unbiased and objective works.

13. Research on Greater India

In addition to All-India-Histories, beginning from the Vedic period onwards, several histories pertaining to various regions and dynasties have been published. One more remarkable feature is emphasis given on the study of Greater India. Without going into details at this stage it may be noted that as early as 1893 Indian contributions to Tibet were emphasised by Shri Das. However, it is only during the last twenty five or thirty years that books dealing with India's cultural contribution to the South-East-Asian countries have been published.

In the context of this vast data that has been published during the last seventy five years, the emphasis given on unbiased objective history and the growing consciousness of linking up political history with cultural history, that we have to take up brisk survey of the work done from about 1500 B.C. to about the end of A.D. first millennium.

III

HISTORY OF THE ARYANS

14. The Aryan problem

Indian history in the real sense of the term may be said to begin with the Aryans in India. It may be noted here that even though the art of writing seems to have been known to the Indus Valley people, supposed to be pre-Aryans by most of the archaeologists. Still it is controversial whether the writing as practiced by Indus Valley people, can be called in the sense of the word as understood normally. Indus Valley civilisation is generally designated to the realm of protohistory as their seals have not been yet deciphered properly.

The case is different with the Aryans. They have bequeathed to us a vast literature, though it has been passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition. Thus the availability of written records, which is supposed to be the criteria of historical period makes the Aryans the starting point of Indian history.

The Aryan problem has been one of the most controversial problems in Indian history. Both their original homelands and their data have given rise to considerable controversies and hence lot of literature.

15. Original home of Aryans

So far as their original home is concerned opposite theories have been proposed. Whereas scholars like Hirt propose, that the Indo-Iranians entered Asia from Europe over the Caucasus, Meyer, Oldenberg, Keith and others say that the point of dispersal of the Indo-Iranians was the region of the Pamir; while Herzfeld advocates Russian Turkestan, as the homeland of the Aryans. The pendulum swings to the other extreme when Tilak suggests the arctic home for the Aryans. Jha(17) pins them down to India, while Triveda and Kalla follow suit in suggesting Multan, Kashmir and the Himalayan region as the possible homelands of the Aryans.

As pointed out by Max Müller, (18) the controversy regarding this point seems to have been started as early as the last quarter of the last century. We are not concerned here regarding the interpretation of all the data regarding the original home of the Aryans in all its complexities. Giles in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the entries on Aryan religion, thought & culture in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* have been quite comprehensive.

16. Date of the Aryans

Similar is the position regarding the date of the Aryans. Widely divergent views on this point also have been advocated. Whereas Tilak places them in the 4th-5th millennium B.C., the conscientious of opinion settles round the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. This date has been arrived at on the basis of the study of the *Boghazköi* accounts, the study of the language of the *Ṛgveda*, and the supposed end of the Indus Valley civilization. It is interesting to note that, during recent years archæological data from Harappa and Navdatoli (Central India) seems to support the date of cir. 1500 B.C., as the period for the incoming of the Aryans into India.

17.. Life and times of the Rigvedic Aryans

The publication of the bulk of Vedic and later Vedic literature in the last quarter of the last and the first quarter of the present century, also initiated the study of the Aryan problem in all its facets, particularly in the field of culture and the development of Aryan contacts in various regions in India, consequent on their migration from West to the East. A comprehensive picture of the life and times of the Rigvedic Aryans can be had in the *Ṛigvedic India* by Das (1921). The process of the aryanization of India has been dealt with by Dutt in his work published in 1925. However, the study of the Aryans from the objective viewpoint of an archæologist and ethnologist is found embodied in the work of Childe as early as 1926.

Problems concerning the onward march of the Aryans towards eastern India have also been dealt with by a number of scholars. Chakaldar,(19) Dikshitar(20) and Bhandarkar(21) have contributed significant articles on this point.

Problems concerning the relations of the Aryans with the non-Aryans and the position of the supposed indigenous inhabitants of India have been dealt with by Banerji Shastri(22) and Bagchi.(23)

18. Research on culture of Aryans

The culture of the Aryans has also been studied in great details. In this sphere by Bhandarkar's *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture,*(24) Jayaswala's *Hindu Polity* (1924), Ghoshal's *History of Hindu Public Life* (1945), Sircars' *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* (1920), *The Study of Ancient Economic Structure*(25) by Das and Aiyangar,(26) Altekar's monograph on *Education in Ancient India* (1944), and Apte's *Social and religious life in the Gṛhyasutras* (1939), are significant contributions. A more comprehensive treatment of Aryan civilization can be had in Radhakumud Mookerji's *Hindu Civilization.*

19. Aryan problem — an Enigma

It is not possible to mention even with a reasonable thoroughness the vast literature on the history and culture of the early Aryans. Yet in spite of the vast literature available and the various theories propounded, the origin and the homelands of the

Aryans yet remain an enigma. It is possible that the solution of the problem of these items, along with the proper understanding of the relations of the Aryans with the Indus valley civilization might be possible only with extensive and intensive archæological work. The position regarding the Aryan problem is, thus that in spite of a vast data indicative of a sort of fullness in several aspects, the basic problems of date and home yet remain inconclusive.

IV

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

20. Collection of cultural data from Puranas and the epics

The problems pertaining to the post-vedic history are also manifold. As mentioned earlier, critical editions of most of the Purāṇas and the Sūtras were published during the latter half of the last century and the process still continues. Similar is the case with the epics.

The main difficulty regarding this type of data is that it is full of interpolations, and its original matter seems to have been mixed with interpolations belonging to various strata at various periods. However, the standard critical editions of the *Mahābhārata and the Ramāyaṇa* respectively have now been published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda. In addition to this, the encouraging trends of subjecting the various Purāṇas and Sūtras to the collection of Cultural data as done by Patil,(27) Agrawala,(28), Hazra,(29) Dikshitar(29)-a and others have definitely contributed to making a history of this period in all its aspects clearer. However, speaking from the point of view of political history and chronology, Pargiter still reigns supreme.

21. Two main controversies regarding traditional history

Yet there are lot of controversies regarding two main points pertaining to the history of India as based on the traditional literary sources of the period under review. The first pertains to the date of Bharata war and the second to the various kings of different dynasties and their period of rule.

22. Date of Bharata war

The importance of the fixation of the date of Bharata war cannot be overemphasised. Actually the entire history from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of the *Bārhadratha* dynasty hinges on the fixation of the date of the Bharata war. There are more than one views regarding the date of this great event. It is futile to go into the detailed discussion of the various arguments forwarded in this controversy. Suffice it to say that, whereas some of the Indian scholars advocate very high antiquity for the event, opinion has veered round Pargiter's date of 1950 B.C., though the date of circa 1400 B.C. is also gaining more supporters. Thus right from the 3rd-4th millennium B.C. to about the first millennium B.C., wide divergencies of opinion still exist regarding this event of phenomenal importance.(30)

The present reviewer is inclined to accept the date of about 1400 B.C. for the Bharata war, as this goes well with the occurrence of another great event the great flood, which can be put to about 3100 B.C., which again comes close to the date of the same event, as arrived at in Mesopotamia on the basis of the records there.

23. Five main periods of Traditional history

The history of Ancient India from the period of Manu Vaivasvata onwards has been divided rightly into five main phases by Pusalkar.(31) These main periods are the *Yayāti period* (circa 3000-2750 B.C.), the *Māndhātṛ period* (circa 2750-2550 B.C.), the *Parśurāma period* (circa 2550-2350 B.C.), the *Rāmacandra period* (circa 2350-1950 B.C.), and the *Kṛṣṇa period* (circa 1950-1400 B.C.).

It is quite understandable that, there should be difference of opinion regarding the proposed phases by Dr. Pusalkar. However, it also may be conceded that within the limits of reasonable probabilities, phases as suggested by Dr. Pusalkar appear to be convincing.

24. Some problems connected with Traditional History

The vast medley of the names of various kings and dynasties present really a problem of historic concordance, and for want of any other but the literary data, the problem has left immense scope for extreme opinions regarding the chronology.(32)

Besides these problems of chronology this period of Indian history has many other problems pertaining to the nomenclature of some dynasties, problems pertaining to a dynasty being solar or lunar, the life story and history of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Pāṇḍavas*, problems pertaining to some dynasties like the *Ikṣvākus*, and true significance of Janamejaya's Sarpasatra etc.

In spite of the vast literary data and more and more attempts at presenting a connected account of this period the history of India after the *Bārhadratha* dynasty has remained less precise and controversial. Critical editions of the *Purāṇas*, a correct interpretation of the various legends and archœological spade might make the picture clearer.

25. Traditional history after the accession of Parikshit

The history of the period from the accession of ***Parīkṣit*** to the end of *Bārhadratha dynasty* the picture of Indian history is relatively more clear than that of the period preceding the Bharata war. The main source of this period however, still remains the list of kings as given in the *Purāṇas*. The field is dominated by the Pauravas and the *Ikṣvākus* of Kosala. In spite of the great details as found in the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas, there is a great confusion regarding the succession of various kings and their fields of influence, till we come to the period of the 6th Century B.C., when Northern India was claimed by the suzerainty of the sixteen great kingdoms.

It is impossible here to refer to the vast array of contributions pertaining to the history of this period. The problem is much more difficult because of the disagreement in the various lists, found in the **Purāṇas.** Numismatics and archœlogical data is every day bringing to light new names of kings not mentioned in the Puranic lists.

V

HISTORY AT THE TIME OF SIXTEEN JANAPADAS

26. Period of sixteen Mahajanapadas

The Pauravas, the Kosalas, Magadha, Pañcāla, Śūrasena, Avanti, Videha, Aṅga and others seem to have held a place of importance in the history of India in the period ending with the *Bārhadrathe* dynasties. It appears, therefore that the period of about five hundred years after the Bharat war, was a period of several states ruling petty parts of Northern India. The same state of affairs seems to have continued till one comes to the Nandas, who consolidated the regime into a vast empire.

27. Literary data from Jain and Buddhist sources

One significant feature of the history of this period is that it is equipped with vast literary data from the Jain and Buddhist sources. And a number of works have been produced which give us a clear insight into the political, social, religious and economic conditions of the time. The most notable among these are those by Law,(33) Mehta,(34) Agrawala(35) and Jain J. C.(36)

28. Some problems connected with the period

The history of the sixteen *Māhājanapadas* is essentially the history of the smaller states of Northern India closely related to the life of Gautama the Buddha and Mahavira. Yet, there is no unanimity regarding the names of these sixteen *Māhājanapadas* as given in the Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical literature. Moreover some of the *Māhājanapadas* are also connected with the problem of the extent of Aryan influence. For example, whereas the *Aṅga* Janapada was essentially Aryan according to Jain sources, the Mallas have been referred to as the *Vrātya Kṣatriyas* by Manu. This is significant in the light of the fact that, Jainism and Buddhism had a profound impact on them.

In spite of the fact that there is a lot of literary data pertaining to the period of the sixteen *Māhājanapadas*, the problems of the precise chronology pertaining to the various kings and wars are rather not clear. Several of the kings of the *Māhājanapadas* were associated with the Buddha and *Mahāvīra*. They fall round about the sixth century B.C. However, their reminiscences seem to have survived till fourth century A.D. as epigraphic records of that period testify. It seems, therefore, that the various clans associated with these *Māhājanapadas* lingered on for a pretty long period.

29. Required concerted history of the period

A concerted history of the period of the sixteen *Māhājanapadas* in all its aspects along with the history of the autonomous clans like the *Śākyas,* the Moriyas, the *Licchavīs* and the others is yet a desideratum. With a lot of archælogical data, a study of stūpa sculptures and a critical study of Jain and Buddhist sources, it should not be impossible to have a comprehensive history of this period

VI

HISTORY OF VARIOUS DYNASTIES

30. Rise of Sisunagas

With the rise of the *Śiśunāgas,* we come more or less face to face with a clearer picture of Indian history. However in spite of the Puranic and the Buddhist accounts, several problems pertaining to the history of *Śiśunāgas,* still remain unanswered. Bhandarkar is inclined to distinguish between the Śiśunāgas and the Great *Nāgas.*(37) According to him Bimbisara belonged to the Great *Nāga* dynasty.

31. Bimbisara and Ajatasatru — two important Sisunaga kings

Regarding the accession of *Bimbisāra,* and his relation with the *Śiśunāgas,* there is a wide divergence of opinion between the Puranic and Buddhist accounts.(38) According to the *Purānas, Bimbisāra* was the successor of the three kings, who followed *Śiśunāga* king of Banares, where as the *Mahāvaṁśa* holds exactly opposite position. However, scholars are inclined to believe that *Śiśunāga* succeeded and not preceded *Bimbisāra.*(39) The most important king of this period, however, was *Ajātaśatru,* who has been referred to extensively by both the Jains and the Buddhists.

He is also immortalised in one of the sculptures of Bharhut paying homage to the Buddha, as the label shows. He seems to have made significant contributions both in war and peace, as indicated by his conquest of the Eastern Indian confideracy of the thirty six republican states, and his defeat of the *Licchavīs*.(40) His contribution of peaceful nature are testified with his association with the first *Saṇgīti* of Buddhist monks, and his repairs to several *Vihāras* in Rajagṛha, and his construction of Pāṭaliputra.

32. Successors to Ajatsatru

The history of the successors of *Ajatśatru* is full of uncertainties, and the Purānic and Buddhist traditions cannot be satisfactorily reconciled. However among them, Udayabhadra equated with *Udāyin* of Purānas, seems to have been more notable and has been immortalised by Jain tradition as devout Jain.(41)

33. The Nandas — first Emperors of India

The Nandas were the first Emperors of India, as under them the whole of North India, and part of the Deccan was unified under great empire. However, no independent books on the Nandas have so far come out. The problems associated with the Nandas are no doubt manifold. They pertain to the origin of the founder of the dynasty, his name, the interpretation of the word 'Nava Nanda', their rise to power, their extent of empire, and the achievements of the various kings of the dynasty. All these have been referred to in some detail by Nilakantha Shastri.(42)

The relation between the nine Nandas, whether as father and sons, or whether as brothers is yet a controversy. Regarding their rise also the Buddhist sources hold that they managed to carve out a kingdom for themselves by associating with a gang of dacoits, while Purānas hold *Mahāpadma*, as the second *Paraśurāma.*

Regarding their extent of empire scholars are not unanimous some advocating their rule as far south as north-western part of Mysore. It is a pity indeed that in spite of their being the first Emperors of India, and in spite of varied sources regarding the different achievements of the dynasty not much work has been done on them.

34. Date and chronology of Nanda dynasty

The problem of the date chronology of the Nanda dynasty is tied down to the consideration of the date of the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. There are two divergent dates regarding this event, 544 B.C. on the basis of Simhalese evidence, and 486 B.C. according to Chinese evidence. A number of articles pertaining to the date of the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha have been published,(43) and most of the scholars accept the latter date. If that is so then the dates advocated for the Nanda dynasty viz. 364-324 B.C. should also appear acceptable.

35. Invasion of Alexander the Great

While the Nandas ruled, an event, the achievements of which have been grossly exaggerated by the Western historians, and yet which failed to ruffle the tranquillity of the empire of the Nandas, took place; and that was the Macedonian invasion under Alexander. All early histories of India written by Western scholars, especially the Cambridge(44) and Oxford histories(45) have given independent chapters covering all phases of the march and the withdrawal. This eulogy started as early as 1883, when von Sallet wrote about Alexander, and his contacts with Bactria and India.(46) This was followed five years later by *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1889) by Budge. The details of the invasion as given by Greek and Latin writers were published by McCrindle in 1896, and as given by Arrian by Rooke. Details regarding Alexander's route to the Indus has been dealt with by Stein.(47)

Tarn brought out the full life of Alexander in 1950,(48) whereas his exploits with Pourus have been dealt with by Pearson.(49)

36. Reassessment of historical importance of Alexander's invasion

This overemphasis on the so called conquest of Alexander in India naturally met with a reappraisal at the hands of Indian scholars. This was observed in the approach of Tripathi,(50) who presented a revised study of Alexander's invasion, while B. Prakash(51) has given us a new estimation of Porus and the battle of the Vitasta.(52) In spite of the military achievements of Alexander in Punjab, which display his genius for war tactics, he failed to ruffle even the margins of the mighty Nanda empire, and in spite of the fact that the invasion created a consciousness of political unification, in the regions of Punjab and North-west frontier, and opened up cultural contacts between Greece and India, it cannot boast of any other achievement. Radhakumud Mookerji, while pointedly summarising this event says —

> "In spite of the halo of romance that Greek writers have woven round the name of Alexander, the historian of India can regard him only as the precursor of these recognised scourges of mankind (i.e. massacre, rapine and plunder)".

37. Rise of the Mauryas

With the Mauryas we really enter the realm of history proper; for it is with this dynasty that we have not only the abundant literary data, but also records engraved on rock going under the name of the *Edicts of Aśoka.*

With such an abundance of data for building up a historical account, it is no wonder that the historians have the Mauryas to be favourite theme. This does not mean however, that all the problems pertaining to this imperial dynasty have been solved. For instance, the very name of the dynasty and the early career of its founder Candragupta, and a chronology of the dynasty, have been rather unclear and controversial. Similar is the case with the caste and the end of Candragupta. However, in spite of these drawbacks we have fuller information regarding the times, the social life and the administrative pattern as embodied in the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭalya* and the account of Magasthenes.

38. Research on Candragupta Maurya

On the basis of these, two remarkable contributions may be noted. They are by Bhargava(53) and Mookerji.(54) The chronology of Candragupta period based on the Puranic evidence has been discussed by Bhargava,(55) whereas the problem of his original home and family has been discussed by Ojha.(56) Lot of controversy regarding his relations with the Nandas, his date of accession, his supposed meeting with Alexander and his death have been current. According to the Jain tradition, Candragupta is supposed to have died by fast-unto-death in the south. Though no contemporary evidence is available, inscriptions of 9th-10th century A.D. corroborate the tradition. This type of death naturally implies the giving up of normal duties. The possibilities of Candragupta's abdication are discussed by Dr. Chhabra in a separate article.(57)

39. Ashoka — greatest of the Mauryas

It is however with *Aśoka,* that the Maurya dynasty reached its climax of prosperity. This prosperity had a pleasant tone lent on it, by the humane personality of the Emperor. His records which have been published by a number of writers beginning with Senart (1881), followed by Sharma (1915), Bhandarkar and Majumdar (1920), Woolner,(58) Hultzsch (1925), Barua (1946) and several others. Based on the various information from his own record, a comprehensive picture of the king and the person has been attempted by Mookerji,(59) Bhandarkar, (60) Macphail and Thomas.(61) Interesting views have been expressed regarding the effect of Kalinga war, and the consequent renunciation of all wars by *Aśoka.* His abjuring all wars has been held by some as hyprocrisy, whereas hailed by others as a sincere expression of his remorse. His advocacy of no wars has been interpreted by some as the cause of the downfall of the dynasty, while others do not agree to this.(62)

The history of the *post-Aśoka period* is rather confused, and the lists as found in the *Vāyu,* Matsya and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* do not agree.

40. Research on the Sungas

The successors of the Mauryas were the *Śuṅgas.* We have a reasonable information regarding their rule from **Patañjali**, ***Yuga-purāṇa***, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and **Bāṇa.** The most controversial event during the regime of the *Śuṅgas* was the Yavana invasion. Scholars have tried to identify the Yavana either with Demitrius, Minander or Eucratides. On the other hand, some have doubted the magnitude of it.(63) A fuller treatment of *Puṣyamitra* in regard to his military achievements, his religion and nature of his rule have also been dealt with by a few writers, as according to the Buddhist sources he was anti-Buddhist.(64) An estimation of the *Śuṅga* dynasty has been attempted by Bhattacharya,(65) while the conditions of the life of the people as evidenced from the sculptures at

Bharhut has been masterfully described by Barua, and similar one depicted in the *Mahabhāṣya of Patañjali* by Puri.(66)

41. Research on the Satavahanas

The *Sātavāhana* dynasty which held its sway mostly over the heart of the Deccan with extensions in the north, north-east and south in the Deccan, have also been controversial. Their early history, name, chronology, relations with Khāravela and the western *Kṣatrapas,* all have been controversial and given rise to a number of articles at the hands of scholars like Sircar, Mirashi, Przylusky, Katare and several others. The only book dealing with the entire history and polity of the *Sātāvahanas* is by Gopalachari.(68) However, his assessment has been rather out of date.

In recent years a number of coins of the kings of this dynasty has given rise to the propagation of various theories regarding their home, name, date and the reference to new kings not found in *Purāṇa* lists. So far as their chronology is concerned, there is divergence of opinion. One group advocating the 2nd-3rd century B.C., while another(69) advocating the first century B.C. as the date of their emergence.

In spite of the exhaustive treatment of the dynasty at the hands of Bhandarkar and Gopalachari, lot of difference of opinion regarding the origin of the Andhras,(70) identification of *Śri Sātkarṇi* referred to in the *Khāravela* record,(71) the relations of the later kings of the dynasty with their rivals the western *Kṣatrapas*(72) yet remain a matter of controversy.

Regarding the original home of Sātavahānas, Mirashi, advocated central portion of Hyderabad State,(73) Sukhathankar the Bellari region,(74) some the Paithan area,(75) Joglekar the western part of Poona district.(76)

In spite of a vast mass of coins, inscriptions, and literary data problems pertaining to the name of the dynasty, the number of kings bearing the name Sātavāhana, the reconciliation of the different number of kings in various *Purāṇas,* and the problem of the kings not mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, but testified to by coins remain unsolved. There is also no precise knowledge regarding the end of the dynasty, though it appears that the Pallavas were responsible for the eclipse of **Sātavāhanas.**(77)

42. Date of Kharavela

Allied to the *Sātavāhanas,* the problems of the date of *Khāravela* also hinges on the consideration of the date of *Sātavāhanas.* Since there is a mention of *Sātakarṇi* in the inscriptions, the problem has to be considered in relation to *Sātavāhanas.* This also has not been satisfactorily solved.(78)

43. Research on Foreign dynasties

From about the 1st century B.C. contacts of the Greeks, Parthian, Scythians became more close, especially in the Northeast and the Punjab region of India. So far as these dynasties are concerned, most of the material belongs to the field of Numismatics. Tarn's treatment(79) of these kings though exhaustive when he wrote it, is now rather out of date. A masterly survey of the Indo-Greeks is embodied in Narain's remarkable book *The Indo-Greeks.*(80)

It is well known that the so called Yavana contacts have a fair antiquity in India, though these contacts were strengthened by the beginning of Christian era. This is a period of uncertain regional dominations, but certain cultural assimilation.

So far as the numismatic data is concerned, typical material has been incorporated in the Narain's book, while Bühler 'Cunningham, Whitehead and Rapson have brought out independent monographs on the coins of the period. A fine summary on the successors of Alexander has been incorporated by Rapson.(81)

44. Scythian period of Indian history

The Scythian period of Indian History has also evoked keen interest among the scholars. The most up-to-date is the contribution by Van, Lohuizen, De, Leeum.(82) Though as early as 1896, *Lévi* has reviewed the Indo-Scythians,(83) other contributions have been by Herzfeld,(84) Banerji,(85) Fleet(86) and Rapson.(87)

Since one has to depend so much on coins of this period, they assume a great importance. In this respect Banerji's notes on the Indo-Scythian coinage are remarkable.(88) The problems of the chronology of the *Śakas* had been admirably dealt with by Jayaswal(89) and Konow.(90)

Among the *Kuṣāṇas,* Kaniska occupies a unique place. In spite of his cultural and religious contributions, his date remains controversial.(91)

45. Problem of Vikrama and Saka era

The problem of the Vikrama and *Śaka* eras, has also contributed to the production of quite a number of articles. The Vikrama, who is supposed to be the founder of this era, has been identified by various scholars in different ways. The most notable contributions are however by Altekar,(92) Bhandarkar,(93) Dvivedi,(94) Majumdar(95) and Sircar.(96)

As is the case with the Vikrama era, there were also two opinions regarding the initiator of the *Śaka* era. There was a group of scholars who held that Kadphises II started the *Śaka* era. However, it is now beyond dispute that Kaniṣka initiated ***Śakakāla.***(97)

46. Period of Western Ksatrapas

Like the *Sātavāhanas,* the period of western *Kṣatrapas* also is full of various problems, pertaining to their chronology, their relations with the *Sātavāhanas,*(98) the use of the title *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahā-Kṣatrapa,* (99) and the cojoint rule in some cases. Even though a number of coins of the *Kṣaharātas* and the *Kārdamakas* are known,(100) and the record of the dynasty published, these problems have not been finally solved. However a survey of the fortunes of these two houses can be found in a joint article by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Rapson.(101)

47. Gupta-Vakataka period of Indian History

The *Gupta-Vākāṭaka period* is remarkable in Indian history for the all round progress. Moreover quite a plethora of data in the form of inscriptions, monuments and literature is available pertaining to the political and cultural history of the period.

So far as the Guptas are concerned, it is needless to give a list of all the publications. Suffice it to say that, the Guptas have attracted vast number of scholars. Independent monographs on Gupta history and polity have been numerous. Aiyangar(102) (1928), Banerji(103) (1933), Upadhaya(104) (1939) Dandekar(105) (1941), Saletore(106) (1943), Majumdar(107) and Altekar(108) (1946), and Dikshitar(109) (1952) have more or less unanimously eulogised the glory of the Guptas. However a somewhat iconoclastic attempt in shattering the veil of this eulogy has been made by Shembavanekar in his refreshing monograph.(110)

The problems confronting the writers on Gupta history are principally, the original home of the Guptas,(111) Kāca Gupta(112) (now no longer a problem), the identification of king Candra of Mehrauli inscription,(113) the various kings mentioned in the *praśasti* of Samudra Gupta, the chronology of the later Guptas,(114) and the magnitude of *Kuśāna* influence on Gupta numismatics.

48. Research on Hunas

The *Hūṇas,* who during the Gupta regime gave headache, though failed to make a permanent impression of their contribution to Indian history and culture, had once vast territories under their suzerainty having come as far as U.P. A proper assessment of their role in Indian history and of their conquest has been done by Aiyangar.(115) Similarly Jagan Nath deals with their problem.(116)

49. History of Vakatakas

The history of the *Vākāṭakas* has been dealt exhaustively in the volume by Majumdar-Altekar referred to above. However credit must go to Mirashi for dealing with various aspects of the *Vākātaka* dynasty. He has more or less successfully outlined most acceptable views regarding their chronology, home, relations with the Guptas and the capitals of the *Vākāṭakas.*(117)

50. Life and times of Harsavardhana

Next to the Guptas, *Harṣavardhana's* empire in the 7th century A.D. may be taken to be a landmark in the history of Ancient India. His all round achievements and personality have been the subject of independent monographs by different authors like Sampurnananda(118) 1917), Panikkar(119) (1922) Mookerji(120) (1926), Vaidya,(121) and Chatterji(122) (1938). As early as 1906 Ettinghausen estimated him as an Emperor and a poet.(123)

The important points from the life of *Harṣavardhana*, which have arrested the attention of the scholars are the date of *Harṣa-Pulakeśin* war (A.D. 610-612),(124) the accession of *Harṣa* and the *Harṣa* era,(125) the chronology of the campaigns of *Harṣa*,(126) extent of his empire,(127) and his relations with *Śasānka*, king of Bengal.(128) The estimates of *Harṣa* as an author and patron of learning have been attempted by Tripathi,(129) while a masterly depiction of the rich cultural life of his times as embodied in the Harsacarita is presented with a unique thoroughness by V. S Agrawala.(130)

51. Chalukyas of Vengi

The *Cālukyas of Veṅgī, Badāmi and Kalyāṇī* have left their impress on the history and culture of Deccan. A number of records and monuments have helped to have a better picture of their achievements. So far as the eastern *Chālukyas* are concerned independent treatises by Ganguly(131) and Venkataramanayya(132) are now available. The problems of their chronology have been discussed by Fleet,(133) Sharma,(134) and Rao.(135)

The western *Cālukyas* meet a treatment at the hands of Fleet,(136) while the problems pertaining to their original home,(137) name(138) and the reasons of their collapse(139) have also been dealt with by various scholars.

52. Achievements of Rastrakutas

Like the *Cālukyas* the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, also have left a deep impress on the history and culture of the Deccan. A comprehensive picture of their achievements has been presented to us by Altekar.(140) Various other aspects of their reign like their early ancestors,(141) original home,(142) family name,(143) the exploits of *Kṛṣṇa* III,(144) problems pertaining to Dhruva(145) and Dantidurga,(146) the chronology of the campaigns of Govinda III,(147) and the various subsequent families of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* have been attempted by various scholars.

53. Research on Greater India

We have so far surveyed the history of North India and the Deccan about the end of A.D. 1st millennium. The most significant feature of this period is the expansion of Indian culture beyond the boundaries of India. Reference has already been made to the data from the Greek and Latin sources, and the western Asiatic contacts right from the times of the Mauryas. These contacts continued and extended to different regions through the bonds of Buddhism.

However it was during the 8th century A.D. that Hinduism made strong cultural inroads in South-East-Asia, which pertains to the period of the *Śailendra* empire. It will not be possible to take a stock of the details of this impact. It will suffice here to say that, enough work has been done which assesses the details of this cultural expansion.(148)

54. Early dynasties of South-India

No history of India can be complete without mention of the assessment of the contribution made by the early South Indian dynasties, like the Pallavas, Ceras and Kadambas.

So far as the history of the Pallavas is concerned, outstanding works by Gopalan,(149) Meenakshi(150) and Father Heras(151) are in the field. In spite of abundant epigraphic material in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil there are several problems which are still unsolved pertaining to their chronology.

Similar is the case with Ceras. Two notable contributions regarding this dynasty are those by Sesha Aiyar(152) and Varma.(153)

The contributions, which south India made to Indian culture by the dynasties belonging to the period under review, are to be found in Pillai's work. *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago* referred to earlier. This takes into consideration the picture of South India as depicted in the Sangam literature. The picture of Kadamba history has been admirably presented by Moraes,(154) and the problems of their chronology discussed by Gai.(155)

Though the period of the *Pāṇḍyas* and Colas does not fall entirely within the limits of this review, it may not be out of place here to mention the monumental works of Nilakantha Sastri on the *Pāṇḍyas* and Colas.(156) These may be taken to be the last words on the history and times of these dynasties.

55. Epilogue

The above survey has tried to take a brisk survey of the work done pertaining to major dynasties of Ancient India. The reviewer is conscious of the fact that a more detailed survey, which includes the consideration of the tribal republics, and the voluminous literature pertaining to the Maukharis and the Pālas, the Pratihāras and the Cālukyas could have been possible, but for the limitations of space and the deadline set for this review.

Along with this it has been emphasized that a new consciousness regarding the presentation and concept of history is the notable characteristic of the recent Indian works on Indian history. India being a virtual store of the data for historical and cultural studies, it is hoped that Indian scholars will utilise it with full realisation regarding the duties, and the approach of true historian in the years to come.

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(131) **The Eastern Chalukyas,** Banaras, 1937.

(132) **The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi,** Madras 1950; see also Sircar, D. C., **Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan,** Calcutta, 1939.

(133) **IA,** Vols. XX-XXI.

(134) **JOR,** Vol. IX, pp. 17-45.

(135) **JAHRS,** Vol. IX, pp. 1-32.

(136) **BG,** Vol. I, part 2, pp. 335-381.

(137) Krishnarao, **PIHC,** Vol. III, pp. 384-410.

(138) Mankad, **BV,** Vol. VI, pp. 107.

(139) Raychaudhari, G. C., **Ind-Cult,** Vol. XV, pp. 184-189; for an estimate of Satyasraya Chalukya, see Dikshit, G. G., **PIHC,** Vol. X, pp. 241-244.

(140) **Rashtrakutas and Their Times,** Poona, 1934. Refer also Venkataramanayya "Rashtrakutas of Malkhed", **PIHC,** Vol. VIII, pp. 85-90.

(141) Reu, **AIOC,** Vol. X, pp. 411-418.

(142) Fleet, **EI,** Vol. VII, pp. 223.

(143) ibid, pp. 214.

(144) Shastri, K. A. N., **JOR,** Vol. XVI, pp. 155-158.

(145) ibid, Vol. XV, pp. 9-12.

(146) Mirashi, **JOI,** Vol. I, pp. 31-38.

(147) Deoras, **ABNHS,** Vol. VI, pp. 67-75.

(148) Stein, M. A., **Ancient Khotan,** Oxford, 1907; **Nepal,** London, 1928; Das S. C., **Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,** Calcutta, 1893; Bose, P., **The Hindu Colony of Cambodia,** Adyar, 1927; Chatterji, B. R., **Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia,** Calcutta, 1928; Majumdar, R. C. **Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East,** Lahore, 1927, (Dacca, 1937); Muckerji, P. K., **Indian Literature in China and the Far East,** Calcutta 1931; Bagachi, P. C., **India and China,** Calcutta 1944 (Bombay, 1950); Shastri, K. A. N., **History of Srivijaya,** Madras, 1949; **South Indian Influences in the Far East,** Bombay, 1949.

(149) **History of the Pallavas of Kanchi,** Madras, 1928.

(150) **Administration & the Social Life under the Pallavas,** Madras, 1938.

(151) **The Pallava Geneology,** Bombay 1931; see also **Studies in Pallava History,** Madras, 1933; Sircar, D. C., **The Early Pallavas,** Lahore, 1935

(152) **Chera Kings of Sangam Period,** London, 1937.

(153) Varma R. R., Supplement to **JMV,** Vol. I, 1942, p. 33 ff.

(154) **Kadambakula,** Bombay, 1931.

(155) **JOR,** Vol. XVII, pp. 39-45.

(156) Shastri, K. A. N., **The Cholas,** Madras, 1925, 1937; **The Pandyan Kingdom** London, 1929.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

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The accounts of Greek and Roman, Chinese, Arab and European scholars regarding Ancient Indian History and geography supplement the historical data available in this country. They give a wealth of information on social, religious and economic matters, of which Indian sources many a times make very little mention. Hence the records made available by Foreign travellers to India, since 4th century A.D. become one of the most fascinating and important branches of Indian history and geography.

I

EARLY GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS.

1. Herodotus and Sennacherib, pioneer chroniclers

From times immemorial India has attracted the attention of the outside world. Herodotus (Circa 481-431 B.C.) told his people of the marvels of India where "they do not grow wool on sheep as we do. They grow their wool on trees." Herodotus further states that in India "they don't get their sugar from bees, they grow their sugar in reeds." Indeed the word for sugar in all Indo-European languages is derived from the Sanskrit word Sharkarā.

India, which produced "wool that grows on trees", was known to outsiders, even before Herodotus mentions her, and the Assyrian Emperor Sennacherib (705-680 B.C.) describing how he has gathered rare plants and herbs for a garden planned by him, mentions with much admiration that for this garden he had got from India that amazing plant that grows wool on it. Both Herodotus and Sennacherib were referring to Indian cotton which we may infer, was India's gift to the world.

2. Scylax of Caryanda — early explorer of the coast of Sind

India's contact with the outside world goes much further back than the period of Sennacherib. But travellers' accounts of this early period, if composed, are not available. Scylax of Caryanda was one of the early explorers of the coast of Sind, when about 510 B.C., under orders from Darius the Great, he sailed down the Indus river to its mouth and made his way to the Red Sea. Scylax followed the old route of the Phoenicians, and his account of his adventures was most probably used by Herodotus.

3. Pythagoras of Samos

Pythagoras of Samos was born about a hundred years before Herodotus, and his biographer Iamblichus records that he had travelled widely "studying the esoteric teaching of the Egyptians, Assyrians and even the Brahmans." Pythagoras believed in the transmigration of the soul. Herodotus traces this to Egypt. But "it is more likely that Pythagoras was influenced by India than by Egypt. Almost all the theories, religious, philosophical and mathematical taught by the Pythagoreans, were known in India in the sixth century B.C., and the Pythagoreans, like the Jains and Buddhists, refrained from the destruction of life and eating meat, and regarded certain vegetables, such as beans as toboo.(1)" We do not know whether Pythagoras left an account of his travels, but his teaching and philosophy show distinct Indian influences.

4. Ktesias of Knidos

Ktesias of Knidos who was physician to the Achaemenian king of Persia, Artaxerxes Menemon for twenty years (418-398 B.C.), collected travellers' tales about the wonders of the East and wrote a treatise on India. Such of its fragments as survived were translated by McCrindle in the *Indian Antiquary,* Volume X (1881), and this translation was also published separately at Calcutta in 1882. Ktesias is now not rated high and Vincent Smith considered his account as "of very slight value.(2)" McCrindle himself within three years of his publication of Ktesia's *Indika* described it as "full of old wives' tales not to be trusted.(3)"

5. Followers of Alexander the Great

It was the followers of Alexander the Great, who compiled the early accounts of India, which give a reasonably accurate picture of such portions of the country as were then known to them. It is known that the conqueror carried in his train scholars and scientific men, primarily to chronicle his achievements. These men later produced memoirs relating to India such as those of Baeto, Diognetos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, Kallisthenes and others. The accounts of India compiled by them are all lost, but they are used by later writers like Strabo, Pliny and Arrian.

6. Account of Megasthenes

The most important of these early Greek writings on India was the account of Megasthenes, who was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta Maurya by Seleukos Nikator of Syria. This work, the famous *Indikā,* no longer exists, but in its time it was considered as of great authority, and it formed the principle source for information about India to subsequent writers. Dr. E. A. Schwanbeck has assiduously collected all the fragments of the *Indikā,* of Megasthenes that have been anywhere preserved, and in his introduction to his edition published in 1846, he tells of the knowledge the Greeks had acquired of India before Megasthenes, and this is followed by an examination of the passages in ancient works from which we derive all the information known to-day of Megasthenes and his Indian mission.

Among these ancient writers Dr. Schwanbeck enumerates Eratosthenes, Hipparchos, Polemo, Mansoes, Apollodoros, Agatharchides, Alexander Polyhistor, Strabo, Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy among the Greeks, and P. Terentins Varro of Atax, M. Vispasanius Agrippa, Pomponius Mela, Seneca, Pliny and Solinus among the Romans.

7. Dr. McCrindle's contribution to study of Greek travellers

Dr. McCrindle had made use of all these earlier works and by his scholarly efforts, has given us a full picture of all that was known of India to ancient Greek and Roman writers. The significance of these early writings about India particularly that of Megasthenes is made clear by him, and it would not be out of place to quote here one of his footnotes to his edition of Megasthenes.

"The discovery that the Sandrakottas of the Greeks was identified with the Chandragupta, who figures in the Sanskrit annals and the Sanskrit drama was one of great moment, as it was the means of connecting Greek with Sanskrit literature, and thereby supplying for the first time a date to early Indian history, which had not a single chronological landmark of its own."

Of course much new data has come to light after Dr. McCrindle did his pioneer work. It is not here necessary for us to enumerate the works of other scholars on Greek and Roman writers on India. Dr. McCrindle's books listed at the end of this section give all information about these. The Loeb Classical Series has published excellent modern translations of some of the successors of Megasthenes (Strabo, 1919 Arrian, 1929; Diodorus, 1933; Pliny, 1942 etc.).

8. Dr. Majumdar's edition of McCrindle's Megasthenes

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his edition of McCrindle's Megasthenes has given useful footnotes, where the new translations show a divergence from McCrindle's text. Dr. Majumdar has also shed lustre on Indian scholarship by bringing together all this early body of knowledge about India in one volume entitled *"The Classical Accounts of India"* published in 1960.

9. Periplus of Erythraean Sea

The *travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Circa 43-44 A.D.) and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* by an unknown writer are two important travel accounts about India done at the beginning of the Christian era. Apollonius, if he at all visited India, moved in north-western India. "He had correct information on certain points, which has been confirmed by modern researches.(4)"

The importance of the *Periplus* is far greater. Indeed it is a source book of unmatched information for the trade of the Indian ocean, and for the economic history of ancient India. The author of the *Periplus* was an Egyptian Greek engaged in trade who had personally made the voyage to India, and had visited the western coast and also parts of the eastern coast. His record thus covers far more portions of India, than the records of his predecessors not excepting Megasthenes.

The value of the *Periplus* consists in the trustworthy account of the trade of the Indian Ocean and of the settlements around its shores, of the ports of the Indian Coast, and the glimpses it gives of political, social and economic conditions prevailing there, concerning which very little was known till this valuable source book came to light. The text was first printed and published in 1333. English, German and Italian translations appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The translation most in use today is that by Schoff.

10. Christian Missionaries in India

In the early centuries of the Christian era, some missionaries visited India among whom the most prominent was St. Thomas. It is not necessary to go into the legend of St. Thomas here; that he preached in India and carried his mission to the South is by no means impossible. An exhaustive study of this problem is made by Placid in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Congress, Ninth Session, 1937 (709-772). An earlier investigation of this tradition will be found in *The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India* by W. R. Philipps in *The Indian Antiquary* XXXII, 1903, 1-15, 145-160.

The first certain evidence of Christian activity in India is provided by the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Syrian monk of the 6th century, who has given us an account of his travels and adventures. He refers to churches in Malabar and Ceylon presided over by Nestorian priests, who had a bishop at Kalliana identified by some scholars with modern Kalyan near Bombay, and by others with Cochin. It is these missionaries that were responsible for spreading the Christian doctrine in South India.

11. First record of Englishman visiting India

It would be interesting in this connection to refer to the first record of an Englishman visiting India as given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. There we are told that in 884, King Alfred sent an emissary to visit the tomb of St. Thomas in India. "It is pleasant to picture the brave English cleric, . . . telling the Chola King, through Arab and Tamil interpreters, of King Alfred's battles with the Danes, and King Alfred several years later, listening to the envoys account of the wonders of India and sampling the rare spices of the Tamil land.(5)"

(a) Some Important Publications

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

— **The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk.** Translated from the Greek and edited with notes and Introduction by J. W. McCrindle. Hakluyt Society, London, 1897.

— **The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes.** Edited with Geographical notes by E. O. Winstedt, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1909.

HENRY, R.

— **Ctesias la Perse, l'Inde, les Sommaires de Photins.** Collection debegue No. 84. Brussels, 1944.

MAJUMDAR, R. C.

— **Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian being a translation of the fragments of the Indika of Magasthenes collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, and of the first part of the Indika of Arrian,** by J. W. McCrindle . . . with introduction, notes and a map of Ancient India, Revised Second Edition. Chuckerevertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1960.

– **The Classical Accounts of India** (Being a compilation of the English translations of the accounts left by Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Aelian and others with Maps, editorial notes, comments, analysis and Introduction). Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960.

McCRINDLE, J. W.

— **Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.** London 1876; Calcutta, 1926.

-- **The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraen Sea.** Being a Translation of the Periplus Maris Erythraei by an anonymous writer and of Arrian's Account of the Voyage of Nearkhos, from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. With Introductions, Commentary, notes and Index by J. W. McCrindle. (Reprinted with additions from the Indian Antiquary). Calcutta Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay, Ed. Soc. Press; London, Trubner & Co., 1879.

— **Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian** being a translation of the abridgement of his **Indika** by Photios, and of the Fragments of that work preserved in other writers by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., M.R.A.S., Late Principal of the Government College, Patna, Late Fellow of the University of Calcutta, Member of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh. With Introduction, notes and Index. Reprinted (with additions) from the **Indian Antiquary,** 1891. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay, B. E. S. Press; London, Trubner & Co., 1882.

— **Ancient India as described by Ptolemy . . .** By **J. W.** McCrindle (Reprinted from the **Indian Antiquary,** 1884) Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay, B. E. S. Press; London, Trubner & Co., 1885.

— **The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch and Justin.** Being Translation of such portions of the works of these and other classical authors as described Alexander's campaigns in Afghanistan, the Punjab, Sindh, Gedorosia and Karmania. With an introduction containing a life of Alexander, copious notes, illustrations, maps and indices by J. W. McCrindle. Westminster, Archibald Constable Company, 1893.

New Edition. Bringing the work up-to-date 1896.

— **Ancient India as described in Classical Literature.** Being a collection of Greek and Latin Texts relating to India, extracted from Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Aelian, Philostratus, Dion Chrysossom, Porphyry, Stobaens, the itinerary of Alexander the Great, the Periegesis of Dionysius, the Dionysiaka of Nonnus, the Romance History of Alexander and other works. Translated and copiously annotated by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., LL.D. With introduction and copious Index. Westminster, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1901.

SHASTRI, S. M.

— **McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.** A facsibilie reprint edited with an introduction, notes and an additional map by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, M.A., Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1927.

SCHOFF, WILFRED H.

— **The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea.** Travels and Trade of the Indian Ocean by a merchant of the first century. Translated from the Greek and annotated by W. H. Schoff. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1912.

— **Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax,** an account of the overland trade route between the Levant and India in the first century B.C. Philadelphia, 1914.

— **Periplus of the Outer Sea by Marcian** of Heraclea. Philadelphia, 1927.

SMITH, V.A.

— **The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana.** ZDMG, 1914.

(b) Some Important Research Papers

JOHNSTON, E. H.

— **Two Notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India** (JRAS), 1941, 208-222).

— **Ctesias on Indian Manna** (JRAS, 1942, 29-35, 249-250).

PERUMALIL, A. C.

— **The India of the Early Greeks and Romans from the time of Alexander's Invasion till the fall of Alexandria,** 326 B.C. to 641 A.D. (JBORS XXVIII, 1942, 225-265).

Another scholary work that will repay study is **Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia** by G. E. Gerini, published in London in 1909 (Asiatic Society Monographs).

II

CHINESE TRAVELLERS

12. Earliest contact of China with India

Buddhist missionaries from India are said to have made their first appearance in the Chinese capital about 217 B.C. under the Tsin dynasty. In the early stages of this contact between India and China, the movement was more from India to Central Asia and China. With Buddhism catching the imagination of the Chinese, many scholars from China looked up to India for spiritual guidance and religious knowledge, and wended their way towards this "western land", which was the term most often used by the Chinese for India.

Chinese traders from South-West China and Central Asia had been doing business with northern India at least from the first century B.C., if not earlier, and it is also possible that during this period the Chinese from south-east China were exploring the possibilities of a sea-route to India via Sumatra and Malaya. Echoes of this very early contact are but faint in Chinese and Indian sources. Hiuan-Tsang tells us about certain Chinese Princes, who were sent to Kanishka as hostages after he had defeated the Chinese in Central Asia. Certain territories were allotted to these princes for their maintenance, which came to be known as *China-Bhukti*. Hiuan-Tsang records his visit to this place, which is to-day identified with a village called Chiniyari near Amritsar. These Chinese Princes were responsible for introducing in the Punjab two fruits, the peach and the pear; and Hiuan-Tsang tells us that in the Punjab peaches were called *Chinani* and pears were called *Chinarajputra*.(6)

Chinese traders coming into India by way of Central Asia brought us many articles of commerce. It is from this contact, that we got our word *Chinamshuk* for silk, which was one of the most prized commodities in India. Vermilion or *Sindur* is also from the Chinese word *tsin-tung* or "China Red". For bamboos growing in the hills there is Chinese name in Sanskrit — *kichaka* derived from the Chinese *ki-chok*.(7)

13. Shi-tao-an's travels to the Western lands

Chinese scholars started visiting India for purpose of study, and for paying reverence to places sacred to Buddhism from the third century onwards. It is reported by I-tsing in the seventh century, that twenty Chinese monks had come to India in the middle of the third century by the Yunan-Burma road. But nothing further is known about any travel accounts that may have been left by them. In the fourth century a scholar by name Shi-tao-an (d. 385) wrote a work of his travels to the "western land" (an expression used to denote India), which is supposed to be lost.

In 1948 His Excellency Chia-Luen-Lo read before the Delhi session of the Indian Historical Records Commission an interesting paper(8) on *Chinese Sources for Indian History* in which he refers to an essay by Prof. Liang Chi-Chao entitled *Chinese Students going abroad 1500 years ago and Afterwards.* This paper should be instructive and informative, but the present writer was unable to lay hands on it.

14. 187 Chinese scholar-pilgrims who visited India

Prof. Liang in his *Study of Chinese History* tells us something about visitors from China to India. He says, "It has long been my endeavour to trace out the ancient cultural relations between China and India; and to discover a stream of these Chinese scholar-pilgrims who went to India to cultivate such relations. Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang are, no doubt, well known names. But my final findings among historical records and individual biographies cover 105 scholar-pilgrims, whose names can be established and 82 others whose names are in oblivion. Anyway, for all we know, as many as 187 of them visited or attempted to visit India at different times."

"At first, I confined my research to Hui Chiao's *Kao-Seng-Chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Buddhists), and I-Tsing's *Ta-Tang-Hsi-Yu-Chiu-Fa-Kao-Seng-Chuan* (Biographies of Westward Pilgrims), and I was overjoyed when I had collected therein the names of 67 scholar-pilgrims. My continued efforts in several months brought the total to 187, who I classified according to their respective periods, places of birth, routes they took from China to India, scholastic achievements, and so on. These findings, I believe, will serve to throw some light upon Sino-Indian relations in the olden days, and the interactions of the Indian and Chinese arts, literatures and philosophies."

15. Two important Chinese works on India

Prof. Liang further tells us that of these 187 scholar-pilgrims from China to India, two came in the later part of the third century, five in the fourth and as many as sixty one in the fifth century. In the sixth century the number was fourteen, in the seventh fifty six and in the eighth thirty one. Quite a few of the large number of these Chinese pilgrims did write books, many of which later perished.(9) The Encyclopaedia Brittanica(10) mentioned two Chinese works on India. *The Itinerary of Fifty-six religious Travellers;* compiled and published under Imperial authority in 730, and *The Itinerary of Khi-Nie,* who travelled (964-976) at the head of a large body of monks to collect books etc. Neither of the above two have been translated from the Chinese.

16. Hwei Chao's Wan-wu-Tieu-Chu-Kuo-Chun

Many scholar-pilgrims came from China to India to spend some time at Buddhist seats of learning like Nalanda or Valabhi, and to visit places sacred to their religion like Sarnāth, Bodh Gayā or Kapilavastu. Though some of these visitors left no records or reminiscences, quite a few of them did write books, many of which later perished. One such account, considered as lost, was discovered in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, Tuan Huang, Kansu Province, when a sealed chamber in that cave was opened by Sir Aurel Stein of the Archaeological Survey of India. This was Hwei Chao's *Wan-Wu-Tieu-Chu-Kuo-Chun* — Travel in Five Parts of India written in early eighth century.

The most famous of the scholar-pilgrims from China known in India are Fa-Hsien or Fa-Hien, Hiuan-Tsang or Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. But accounts of a few other Chinese travellers are also available in translation.

17. Travels of Fa-Hien

Fa-Hien came to India by way of Central Asia in 399, and returned in 414 by sea from Tamralipti via Ceylon and Java. His journey from the Chinese capital to India was full of hazards and very thrilling. Passing the Great Wall, he crossed the "River of Sand" or the Gobi Desert, that home of "evil demons and hot winds," where the only way-marks were the bones of the dead, where no birds appeared in the air above, no animals on the ground below.

Arriving at Khotan, the traveller witnessed a great Buddhist festival; here, as in Yarkand, Afghanistan and other parts, later so thoroughly Islamised, Fa-Hien found Buddhism prevailing in great strength. In India Fa-Hien visited all important centres from Peshwar to Patna. He refers to India as **Jambu-dvīpa**, and this name occurs also in the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing. According to Hiuen-Tsang the Chinese knew India variously as *Tieu-chu*, *Sheu-tu* or *Hien-tu*. I-tsing states that the natives called their country *Arya-desa* or *Madhya-desa.*

18. Travels of Hiuen-Tsang

Hiuen-Tsang left for India in 629 via Central Asia and the Hindu Kush. He first arrived in Kashmir, where he studied for two years. From there he went on to ***Mathurā, Thāneshwar, Kanauj*** and various other places. He spent two years at the Nalanda University, studying and copying sacred texts. After fifteen years of stay in India, he returned to China by way of Kabul in 645.

He became a friend of Shri Harsha of Kanauj, about whom he writes with much admiration. His account of Harsha is one of the main sources for the history of that Emperor.

19. Fruits and food-crops mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang

He tried to give a general account of India, and he frankly confesses that "it is impossible to enumerate all the kind of fruit". But he specially mentions the mango, the tamarind, the wood-apple (Kavatha in Marathi), amalakas of many types, the *udumbara*, the myrabolan, the cocoa-nut, the jack fruit, the plantain and various other fruits. Pears, peaches, apricots and grapes he found in Kashmir, and he records pomegranates and sweet oranges as growing all over the country.

He also gives us interesting information about food-crops. "There is much rice and wheat and ginger", he tells us, also "mustard, melons, pumpkins and Kunda. Onions and garlick are little used, and people who eat them are ostracised." Hiuen-Tsang indicates the areas cultivating sugar-cane, barley, wheat and rice.

I-tsing also tells us about the food-habits of the people. "In the north wheat-flour is abundant; in the western district, baked flour (rice or barley) is used above all; in Magadha wheat-flour is scarce, but rice is plentiful. Ghee, oil milk and cream are found everywhere".

20. Travels of I-Tsing

I-tsing arrived at *Tāmraliptī* on the mouths of the Ganges by way of Java and Malacca in 673, and returned from the same port in 695. He found Sumatra as a great centre of Sanskrit learning, and he recommends Srivijaya as a centre where Chinese pilgrims using the sea-route should undergo preliminary orientation in Sanskrit. Both Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing found paper not much in use in India for sacred texts, and the latter records that he had to send for supplies to China.

21. Other ancient pilgrim scholars from China

Other pilgrim scholars of this period up to the eighth century were Song Yun (518-522), Wang Hiuen-Tse, who arrived in the wake of Hiuen-Tsang, and On-K'ong (751-790). The accounts left by them and others have now been studied and they have helped considerably in reconstructing the history of India in the later ancient period. These accounts throw considerable light on social, economic and religious conditions of our country and in themselves they are intensely human documents.

22. Chinese travellers of eighth century

Even after the eighth century Chinese pilgrims continued to visit India in large number. But with Islam spreading to Central Asia, and Northern India coming under Muslim rule this flow came to an end. The last of these pilgrims have left inscribed records of their visit to Mahabodhi, and five Chinese inscriptions found sometime ago at Gaya(11), recording visits of Chinese pilgrims, bear dates from 990 to 1033.

23. Chinese travellers of eleventh century

After the eleventh century Chinese interest in India was mainly commercial. First evidence of this is found in the writings of Chou Ku-fei (1178), a Chinese official, who in his books has much interesting matter on the southern sea trade of China, and states than in his time this trade was in the hands of Arabs.(12)

One of the most valuable notices of India of this period is the account of Chau Ju-Kua, the Chinese inspector of foreign trade, who compiled his work *Chu-fan-chi* (A description of barbarous Peoples or Records of Foreign Nations) about 1225. In his notes he has "placed on record much original matter, facts and information of great interest. The large percentage of clear and simple matter-of-fact data we find in his work . . . gives him a prominent place among the mediæval authors on the ethnography of his time, a period particularly interesting to us, as it precedes by about a century Marco Polo, and fills a gap in our knowledge of China's relations with the outside world extending from the Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the days of the great Venetian traveller".

Interesting also is the *Tao i chi lio* (Description of the Barbarians of the Isles) by Wang Ta Yuan, who visited a number of foreign countries for purposes of trade between 1330 and 1349. Rockill gives an account of this, as well as the voyages of Cheng Ho as recorded by Fei Hsin in his *Hsing cha Sheng* (Description of the Star Raft), and also of Ma Huan, the Chinese Muslim sailor who visited Bengal and other parts of India, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Pelliot too deals with the fourteenth and fifteenth century Chinese accounts of India in one of his papers.

24. Account of Bihar by Tibetan monk Dharmasvamin

An important item in this group is the account of Bihar by a Tibetan monk named *Dharmasvāmin*. He was in Bihar in 1234-1236, and he describes political unrest and social and religious conditions in that area in much detail. The work is of great cultural and historical importance. It is for the first time that an account about India, from the pen of a Tibetan pilgrim, has been made available. Dharmasvamin's account is valuable and interesting, as it tells us of the effects produced by the Muslim conquest in Bihar. Bakhtyār Khalji's bands had overrun the country, but the conquerors had not yet succeeded in establishing any stable administration. *Dharmasvāmin* records that in Bihar, there were several Hindu or Buddhist princes who lived in a precarious independence. They were too weak to fight back the Muslim invaders, but were able to re-establish their rule, when the marauding armies had passed. We do not get reference to Muslim administrative machinery except at Bihar Sharif, where there was a Muslim military headquarters.

Bands of Muslim soldiers were roaming about the country spreading consternation among the people and indulging in loot and exactions. *Dharmasvāmin* records his encounter with two such soldiers. He draws a grim picture of the life of the people, constant fear, lack of all safety, despoiling of temples and shrines. Dharmasvamin lived at Nalanda for six months. The great University was desolate, and a mere ghost of its former glory. Thousands of monks belonging to the establishment had fled away, but the chief abbot Rahula-Sri-Bhadra, a venerable old scholar of 90 stuck to his post. In 1235 during the summer, a band of Muslim soldiers descended on Nalanda. There were 70 monks in the University at that time. Rahula-bhadra advised them to leave. "If you do not flee away, you would be killed", he told them and they went away. Only Dharmasvamin, the Tibetan disciple, was left with the abbot. Eventually they too left, the pupil carrying the Guru on his shoulders. After seeing that the teacher was beyond harm, *Dharmasvāmin* wended his way back to Tibet.

(a) Some Important Publications

CHAU-JU-KUA

— His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, entitled **Chu-fan-chi.** Translated from the Chinese and Annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill. St. Petersburg, Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911.

DHARMASVAMIN

— **Biography of Dharmasvamin** (Chag lo tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal) **A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim.** Original Tibetan Text deciphered and translated by Dr. George Roerich, M.A., Ph.D., Professor and the Head of the Department of Philosophy, Institute of Oriental Studies, The Academy of Sciences, Moscow, U.S.S.R. With a historical and critical Introduction by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute. K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959.

FA HIEN

— **Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account of the Chinese monk Fa Hien's Travels in India and Ceylon:** translated and edited with map etc. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1886.

— **The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms.** Re-translated by H. A. Giles. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1956 (Second Impression. First published by the Cambridge University Press, 1923).

HIUEN TSANG[13]

— **Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World.** (Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang A.D. 629.) By Samuel Beal. 2 Vols. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1906 (Trubners Oriental Series).

— **On Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.** By Thomas Watters. Edited, after his death, by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell. 2 Vols. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904-05 (Oriental Translation Fund).

— **Chinese Accounts of India.** Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal. 4 Vols. Sushil Gupta (India) Limited. Calcutta, 1957-58 (New Edition), First Indian Edition, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi 6, 1961.

I-TSING

— **A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago** (A.D. 671-695) by I-tsing. Translated by J. Takakusu. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

— Memoir compose a lepoque de la grande dynastic Tang sur Religieux eniments qui alleront chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occident. Par I-Tsing. By Chavannes, Paris, 1894.

— Deux Chapitres Extraits des Memoires D'I-Tsing Sun Son Voyage dans L'Inde, Par M. Ryauon Fujishima. JA, XII, 1888, 411-439.

MA HUAN

— **Yin-Yieh-Shen-Lan** (Scenes beyond the Seas). Tr. G. Phillips JRAS, 1895, 523-535 (Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengal and Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX, XXI.

— **Ma Huan Re-examined.** By J. J. L. Duyvendak. Amsterdam, 1933.

ON-K'ONG

— **Itinerary of On Kong** (751-790). By Dr. Sylvain Levi and E. Chavannes: a translation by Phanindranath Bose. (The Calcutta Review, July-September, 1922, 188-193, 486-498).

— **La Itineraire de On-Kong (751-790)** tradnit et annote par M. Sylvain Levi et E. Chavannes. JA, 1895, 341-384.

PELLIOT, P.

— Deux Itineraire de Chine en Inde a la fin da VIII^e Siecle, 1904.

— Encore a propos des voyages des Tcheng Tuo. TP, XXXII, 1936, 210-222.
— Les grands voyages maritimes au debut du XVe Siecle TP, XXIX, 1933, 237-452.

PETECH, L.

— **Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu.** (Serie Orientale, Roma, II.) Instituto Italiano Per il Medio et Estremo Oriente, Roma, 1950.

ROCKHILL, W. W.

— **Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during he fourteenth century.** TP, XV, XVI.

SONG YUN

— **Voyage de Song Yun dans L'Udyana et le Gandhara** (518-522 A.D.), Traduit par M. E. Chavannes. BEFEO III, 379-441.

LAMA TARANATH

— **Lama Taranatha's Account of Bengal.** By Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. The Indian Historical Quarterly, XVI (1940), 219-238. (Based on the German translation of Taranath's **Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien** by A. Schiefner.)

WANG HIUEN-TSE

— **Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen-Tse dans L'Inde.** Par M. Sylvain Levi. (JA, XV, 1900, 401-468).

Baghchi's excellent study already mentioned in footnote (7) may be supplemented by **India Through Chinese Eyes** by S. Sen. (University of Madras, 1956). Extracts from the writings of Chinese travellers will be found in **Foreign Notives of South India, from Megasthenes to Ma Huan** by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (University of Madras, 1936). This book partially covers all the four sections of this paper.

(b) Some Important Research Papers

LEVI, S.

— Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde. **BEFEO** X, 1905

MILLS, J. V.

— Notes on Early Chinese Voyages. **JRAS**, 1951, 3-25.

III

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS AND TRAVELLERS

25. Arabs — great admirers of Indian culture in mediæval times

The greatest of admirers and imbibers of Indian Culture and Knowledge in mediæval times, from the eighth century of the Christian era onwards, were the Arabs. From ancient times Western Asia had close cultural and trade relations with India, and accounts of the civilization, wealth and culture of India had been handed down from generation to generation in Arab lands.

26. Severus Sebokht — a Syrian scholar

Writing about 662, Severus Sebokht, a Syrian scholar, hurt by the arrogance of certain Greek scholars, retorted by stating that the Greeks did not have the monopoly of brilliant intellectual achievements, and he mentions the Hindus by way of illustration, —

"I will omit all discussion of the science of the Hindus, a people not the same as the Syrians, their subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy, discoveries that are more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Babylonians; their computing that surpasses description. I wish only to say that this computation is done by means of nine signs. If those who believe that because they speak Greek, that they have reached the limits of science should know these things, they would be convinced that there are also others who know something.(14)

Sebokht, it will be noticed, was talking of Hindu numerals which later were taken to Europe via Spain by the Arabs. They were known in Europe as Arabic numerals, though the Arabs have called them *Hindsa* or Hindu numerals. al-Khwarzami, the Arab mathematician, writing in the first half of the ninth century, was the first scholar, who recognised the superiority of these numerals over letters. He called them *Hindi* indicating their Indian origin and he used them, along with the zero, in all his works.(15)

27. India's contribution to Arab knowledge of Arts and sciences

This was one of the more significant results of contact between the Arabs and India. Later, in the ninth century, India made another important contribution to Arabic mathematical science, the decimal system. Many medical books from India were studied and translated in Baghdad and other seats of learning. Many animal and fairy stories from India assumed Arabic garb, and legends of the Buddha were absorbed as part of Arabic folk-lore as can be seen in the *Kalela wa Dimna* (Karatak and Damanak of the original body of stories, which later grew into the Panchtantra) and the *Kitab al-Budd* (the Book of Buddha), and *Kitab Budasaf* both of which where translated from Pahlawi.

28. Commercial incentives of Arabs

This cultural awareness about India among the Arabs encouraged and impelled many Arab travellers to visit India and write more about it. The Arabs had been sailing in the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea long before the rise of Islam. They came to India as merchants and sea-farers. Till the advent of the Portuguese in Indian waters, the trade between India and the ports of the Persian gulf and the Red Sea was mainly in the hands of the Arabs. Added to this commercial incentive, was the intellectual curiosity of these people, to whom Islam had given great earnestness of purpose; and from the ninth century onwards many Arab travellers and geographers either visited India in persons or wrote about that country from the knowledge they had acquired from persons who had.

29. Sulaiman Saudagar, first Arab traveller to India

The first Arab traveller to India whose account has come down to us is Sulaiman Saudagar or Sulaiman Tajir (Sulaiman the merchant), who lived about the middle of the ninth century. Engaged in commerce, he moved between Iraq and China, visiting many Indian coastal trading centres in the course of his voyages. He mentions the rulers of Gujarat, Konkan and other parts of the mainland; and describes the manners, customs and food habits of the people of these parts. He states that the religion of China (Buddhism) originated in India, and he gives high praise to Indian knowledge of medicine, astrology and philosophy. He speaks with much admiration of the superfine quality of cloth produced in various parts of India. Mentioning one centre of the textile industry, Sulaiman states, "No place can weave cloth as is woven here. It is so thin that a whole manufactured piece of this fine cloth can easily pass through a ring. I have myself seen this type of cloth(16)".

Sulaiman writes respectfully of the Rashtrakuta rulers.(17) "The Balhara is the most eminent of the princes of India . . . The representatives sent by the Balhara to other princes are received with the most profound respect — among all the kings there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the Balhara(18)". This friendliness of the rulers of the Deccan and Konkan coast to Arabs is mentioned also by other Arab writers like Masudi and al-Maghribi.

30. Various editions of Sulaiman's travels

The account of Sulaiman's travels known as *Silsisilat-ut-Tawārīkh* was first edited and published in 1811 by Langles. This was later rendered into French by Ferrand under the title *Yoyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine.* The other title by which these travels are known is *Akhbar as-Sin wa l-Hind,* and under this title it was published a few years ago and has been listed in the bibliography appended to this section.

31. Ibn Khurdadhbeh — another important Arab geographer

Sulaiman was the pioneer of a galaxy of Arab travellers and geographers writing on India. Contemporary with him was Ibn Khurdadhbeh, an officer in charge of Ports and Secret Service at Medina (Sahib al-Barid), under Abbasid Caliph al-Mutamid (869-892), a position which undoubtedly helped him in collecting information and geographical data about countries and places in contact with Baghdad. He is the author of one of the earliest geographical works written in Arabic, the *Kitab al-Masaïik wa-al-Mamalik* (Book of Roads and Countries), used as a source of information by several later geographers. Ibn Khurdadhbeh never visited India, but he gathered much information about that country in the course of his official duties.

The Dutch savant M. J. de Goeje in the monumental work *Bibliotbeca. Geographorum Arabicorum,* edited by him, has published the accounts of most of the geographers and travellers who followed Sulaiman and Ibn Khurdadhbeh. This series covers eight volumes and is published from Leiden in Holland by Brill (1879-1938).

32. Yaqubi's 'Kitab-al-buldan'

Another writer of the ninth century was Yaqubi, who collected his information by enquiry and systematic questioning of travellers. His book *Kitab-al-Buldan* (book of countries) struck a new note in emphasizing topographical detail and describing economic products. "His information on South India is vague and meagre, but his Fragment gives information on products(19)".

33. Arab writers of Tenth century

Other Arab writers on India of the tenth century are Ibnul Faqih, Ibn Rusta, Abn Zaid Sairafi who continued the work of Sulaiman the Merchant as *Kitab as-Sani man Akhbar as-Sin wa l-Hind* (The Second Book of the Reports on China and India), Abul Faraj, *Ishtakharī*, ibn Hauqual, Muqdisi and others.

34. Al Masudi — Herodotus of Arabs

The most famous writer on India who spent sometime in this country and wrote about it in his great work *Muruj az-Zahab wa Maadin al-Jawhar* is Abu al-Hasan Ali al-Masudi known by his last epithet al-Masudi. He is referred to as "Herodotus of the Arabs"(20).

Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille have published both the Arabic text and a French translation of the *Muruj* in 9 volumes in Paris. Only one part of the English translation by A. Sprenger of this great work containing al-Masudi's account of India was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1841 under the engaging title *Meadows of Gold*. This volume now also is unobtainable.

The Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh, published in 1960 an *Al-Masudi Millinery Commemoration Volume* edited by S. Maqbul Ahmed and A. Rahman.

Masudi gives information of colonies of Arabs settled in Chaul, Thana and coastal places in Gujarat and Konkan, adding that they had perfect freedom of worship and trade, and that they occupied an honourable position among the people with whom they lived. He speaks with great admiration of the Indian peacock. He also says "oranges and lemons are the specialities of India. These were brought from there to Arab lands in the third century of the Hirji era by way of Oman and Iraq, and their cultivation and use spread all over Syria and Egypt. But the Arab variety of oranges and lemons", regrets Masudi "do not have the same flavour as those of India".

35. Ibn-al-Nadim, the stationer

An important Arab writer of the tenth century was Ibn-al-Nadim, known as al-Warraq (the stationer). A stationer's shop in Abbasid Baghdad was a place where men of learning and culture gathered; it was a centre of learning.

To al-Nadim goes the credit of preparing a monumental catalogue of existing Arabic books, the famous *al-Fibrist* (composed 988). In this work are recorded the names of writers, who translated Sanskrit texts into Arabic with notes on the contents of these books.

al-Nadim quotes from a document written by Yaqub bin Ishaq Kindi, the Arab philosopher. This document is dated 349 A.H. (960-61). In it is recorded the fact that Yahya ibn-Barmak, the vazir of Caliph Harun al-Rashid had sent a scholar to India to collect information about Indian religions. A catalogue of this information was prepared and a summary of it under the heading "Indian faiths and religions" included in the Kitab al-Fihrist.(21) It may be stated in the passing that Yahya's grand-father was originally a Buddhist priest in Balkh and that it was Khalid ibn-Barmak, Yahya's father, that was taken to Baghdad by the Caliph. Here he embraced Islam. The Barmikids rose to great eminence under the Abbasids.(22)

36. al-Biruni, Greatest Muslim writer

The greatest of Muslim writers on India was al-Biruni (973-1048) whose full name was Abu al-Raihan Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Biruni. He is an Arabic author of Persian origin, who spoke Persian, Arabic and Turkish and was master of Sanskrit, Syriac and Hebrew. Known as al-Ustad because of his deep and wide learning, he was a physician, astronomer, mathematician, physicist, geographer and historian; altogether "the most prominent figure in the phalanx of those universally learned Muslim scholars who characterize the Golden Age of Islamic Science(23)". al-Biruni came to India with Muhammad of Ghazna, and saw the country and its people, to the study of whose history, culture and civilization he had devoted much care and attention.

Among the books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic are *Samkhya* of Kapila, The book of Patanjali, Paulish-sidhanta, Brahmasiddhanta, Brihat-Samhita and Laghujataka. Besides these al-Biruni has listed twenty-two other works from India, which he had translated or was engaged in translation.(24)

37. al-Biruni's 'Indica'

al-Biruni's book on India is comprehensive. He is fair in both his appreciation and criticism of things Indian. He tells his readers, "The numeral signs which we use are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs.... Those, however, who go beyond the thousand in their numeral system are the Hindus ...(25)"; and in another place he acknowledges, "It is perfectly known to the Hindu astronomers that the moon is eclipsed by the shadow of the earth, and the sun is eclipsed by the moon. Here on they have based their computations in the astronomical handbooks and other works".(26)

al-Beruni also points out the drawbacks in the Hindu make up. "The Indian scribes are careless, and do not take pains to produce correct and well-collated copies. In consequence the highest results of the author's mental development are lost by their negligence, and his book becomes already in the first or second copy so full of faults that the text appears as something entirely new....(27)"

al-Biruni is critical about the lack of method in Hindu thinking. "The Hindus had no men of this stamp (al-Beruni is referring to Socrates) both capable and willing to bring sciences to a classical perfection. Therefore you mostly find that even the so-called scientific theorems of the Hindus are in a state of utter confusion, devoid of any logical order...and I can only compare their mathematical and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to a mixture of pearl shells and sour dates, or of pearls and drug, or of costly crystals and common pebbles. Both kinds of things are equal in their eyes, since they cannot raise themselves to the method of a strictly scientific deduction.(28)"

38. Arab Geographers after al-Biruni

Among the notable Arab geographers after al-Beruni who wrote about India in their works are Idrisi (1179-1229), Qazwini (1203-1283), Damishqi (circa 1325), Abul Fida (1273-1331), Fazlullah al-Umari (d. 1348) ibn-Said, Azizi and others. But none of them seem to have visited India.

39. Ibn-Battuta's 'Rehla'

After al-Beruni's *Indica,* the most significant and historically the most important travel account of India is that of ibn-Battuta (1304-1369). Though ibn-Battuta was not blessed with the width and depth of the scholarship of al-Beruni he was a keen observer of men and events and his travel account, the *Rehla,* is justly considered as a great book, and the Indian portion of it as first hand source material for the history of Muhammad Tughluq.

The full name of ibn-Battuta's *Rehla* or travels is *Tuhfat un-nuzzar fi Gharaib-al-Amsar wa Ajaib-al-Afsar* (An excellent book for the Readers regarding the Wonders of Cities, and the Marvels of Travels). It was dictated by ibn-Battuta himself to his friend ibn-Juzzayy, himself a scholar. Many copies of this great work were later made and are today found in the libraries of Europe and the Arab countries. ibn-Juzayy gives the full name of the traveller as Shaikh Abu Abdulla Muhammad ibn-Battuta.

ibn-Battuta was gripped by wanderlust at the young age of 21 when he left his native Tangier, and set out on his odyssey. After travelling for eight years in north Africa, Asia Minor and Constantinople, Arabia and Persia he reached the Indus on September 12, 1333, and after visiting Sind and Multan he arrived at Delhi on March 20, 1334. He immediately won royal favour and patronage and was appointed Chief Justice of Delhi.

40. Ibn-Battuta's impressions regarding India

During his stay of eight years as an important officer in the Tughluq capital, ibn-Battuta came in close contact with his master, Muhammad Tughluq and he gives us a vivid penpicture of the Emperor. "Of all the people this king loves most to make presents and also to shed blood. His door is never free from an indigent person, who is to be enriched; and from a living person who is to be killed . . . Despite this he is the humblest of men, and most devoted to the administration of justice and to the pursuit of truth . . . his dominating quality is his generosity".

ibn-Battuta also gives us information about various facts of India that he observed. He tells of a rhinoceros that he saw in Sind, and of other fauna and flora, he describes agricultural produce and marketing methods, the system of administration, posts and communications, coinage, weights and measures and matters cultural like the devotion to music of the people of Devagiri.

So for eight years did ibn-Battuta stay as an officer of the great and lovable and cruel and erratic Emperor, Muhammad Tughluq. He has given us a vivid picture of life in the capital and in the country. Fearful lest the Sultan's favours may dry up and bring disaster, ibn-Battuta thought it wise to accept an offer to go on an embassy. But after he left Delhi in 1342, he did not return.

41. al-Qalqashandi, the last of the Arab geographers

The last of Arab geographers to be enumerated in this paper is al-Qalqashandi (circa 1355-1418), who is famous for his encyclopaedic work embracing all the branches of knowledge of his time, *Subh ul-asha fi sinaat il-insha.* The latest edition of this work in 14 volumes was published in Cairo in 1913-19. Volume V of this work has a chapter on India. It is a well-informed account of the different aspects of India and bears evidence that, the Arabs in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century had acquired a fairly accurate knowledge of India.

The work was completed in 1411, but its author does not describe the contemporary India of his time, except briefly on the authority of Indian and Arab travellers whom he met; he rather describes the India of Muhammad Tughluq. He has drawn on the Masalik ul-Absar of al-Umri whom he has extensively copied. He has borrowed from other Arab accounts of India which he quotes. "The Indians are the most learned people in the branches of Philosophy, Medicine, Geometry and in all other wonderful arts". al-Qalaqashandi gives the above quotation from al-Qaisi's

Tuhfat ul-Albab, indicating the high respect in which India was held by the Arabs.

It must be confessed, however, that all the encomia showered on India by the Arab geographers and travellers was at times uncritical. al-Biruni is a good corrective, providing as he does a critical account of India and its people. He is not slow to see and appreciate the goodness and greatness of India, at the same time he was unafraid to point out the stagnation that had gripped the Indian mind and thought of his time.

(a) Some Important Publications

IBN-BATTUTA

— **Dic Reise des Arabes Ibn Batuta durch Indian Und China.** Tr. (German) Dr. Hans Von Mzik. Hamburg, 1911.

— **Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354.** Translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1953. (Third impression. First impression, 1929, Second impression, 1939). Broadway Travellers.

— **The Rehla of Ibn Battuta** (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon). Translation and Commentary, by Mahdi Hasan. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1953. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, X CXXII).

AL-BIRUNI

— Kitab Abu al-Raihan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni fi **Tahqiq ma lil-Hind min Maqulatin Maqbulatin fil aqli** aw Marzulatin (An accurate description of all categories of Hindu thought, as well as those which are admissible as those which must be rejected). Edited in the Arabic original by Dr. Edward Sachau. Trubner & Co., London, 1887 (Revised edition, Hyderabad Dn., 1958).

— **Alberuni's India.** An Account of the Religions, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030, an English edition with notes and indices. By Edward C. Sachau. In Two Volumes. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1910 (First printing, London, 1888).

BUZURG IBN-SHAHRIYAR

— **Kitab 'aja'ib al-Hind.** Ed. and Tr. (French) P. A. Vander Lith and L. M. Devic. Leiden, 1883-86.

— **The Book of the Marvels of India.** English Translation by L. Mascel Davis, (The Golden Dragon Library), London, 1928.

IBN-HAUKAL

— **Kitab al-Masalik wal Mamalik,** 2nd Edition, 2 Vols. Leiden, 1938-39.

AL-IDRISI

— India and the neighbouring territories as described by Sharif al-Idrisi in his **Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Khitraq al-Afaq.**. Edited by S. Maqbul Ahmad. Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954.

— India and the neighbouring territories in the **Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Khtiraq al-Afaq** of Sharif al-Idrisi. A translation with commentary of the passages relating to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, parts of Afghanistan and the Andaman, Nicobar, and Maldive Islands, etc. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1960.

IBN-KHURDADHBEH

— **Kitab al-Masalik wal Mamalik.** Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1889.

AL-MUQADDASI

— **Kitab Ashan al-Taqasim fi Marifat al-Aqalim.** Ed. M. J. De Goeje. Leiden, 1877. 2nd Ed. Leiden, 1906 (Descriptio Imperii Moslemici).

— **Description of the Lands of Islam.** English translation by G. S. A. Ranking and R. S. Azoo. Bibliotheca Indica, 1897-1901.

— **Description de l'Occident Mussalman au IV-X^e^ siecles.** Texte arabe et traduction francaise avec Une introduction et quartre index. Par Charlest Pellat. 1950 (Bibliotheque arabe-francais).

AL-QALQASHANDI

— **An Arab Account of India in the 14th century;** being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandi's Subh ul-Asha by Otto Spies. Printed at the Jamia Press, Delhi, 1935.

SULAYMAN TAJIR

— **Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine** — Redige en 851 Suivi de remarque Par Abu Zayd Hasan vers 916. Tr. and Ed. Ferrand, Paris, 1922.

— **Akhbar as-Sin wa l-Hind,** Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde. Ed. and Tr. Jean Suvaget, Paris, 1948.

TAHIR MARVAZI

— Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India. Arabic text with an English translation and commentary by V. Minorski. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1942. (James G. Furlong Fund).

(b) Short List of General Works

GARDIZI

— **Gardizi on India** by V. Minorski. BSOAS XII (1948).

NADVI, MASUD ALI

— **Hindustan Arabon Ki Nazar me,** 2 Vols. Azamgarh, 1959-1962.

NADVI, SULEYMAN

— **Arab aur Bharat ke Sambandh.** Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1930. (Hindi translation by Babu Ramchandra Verma. Original lectures in Urdu published under the title, **Arab aur Hind Ki Taluqat).**

— **Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest.** Islamic Culture, VIII (1934), 474-489, 600-620; IX (1935), 144-146, 423-442.

Nainar, S. Muhammad Husayn

— **Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India.** University of Madras, 1942.

REINAUD

— **Relation des Voyages facts par les Arabes et les Persans dan l'Inde et a la Chine dans le IXe siecle de l'ere cheritienne,** 2 Vols. Paris, 1883.

IBN-MAJID

— **Periplus or ruttier of ibn-Majid** the pilot, is supposed to have guided Vasco da Gama from Malindi on the coast of East Africa to Calicut. Two editions of ibn-Majid's marine guide are available. I make special mention of this item as it is practically unknown in India:—

— **Kitab al-Fawaid, Instructions Nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais,** by Gabriel Ferrand, Paris, 1921-28.

— **Tri Neizvestnye Lotsii Akhmadae Ibn Madzhida, Arabskogo Lotsmana Vasco da-Gama,** by T. A. Shumovsky. Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Institut Vostokovedeniya (Moscow, 1957). (Arabic Text and Russian translation).

IV

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN INDIA: MARCO POLO TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

42. Marco polo — First and greatest of the European explorers

The first and greatest of European explorers and travellers to visit India in the mediaeval period was Marco Polo, the Venetian. He did so in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, when he had undertaken many missions for Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China.

He describes India not as a dreamland of fables, but as a country partially explored. As a jeweller he naturally refers to the pearl fisheries of India, and we get from him an account of the diamond mines of Telangana. The world famous textiles of Masulipatam and the surrounding country come in for much admiration by him.

Marco Polo attained great fame when he returned to his native Italy, and he was rightly called Marco Polo, the Venetian *totius orbis et India pregrenator primus* — the first traveller of India and the whole world.

43. Friar Jordanus — a French Dominican missionary

The account of Marco Polo's had excited the imagination of those who had read and heard of his adventures. Here was a great field for the spread of the Gospel, felt some dignitories of the Church, and the fourteenth century brought at least fifteen missionaries to India, intent on spreading the word of Christ. Some of these have left accounts of their mission and of their observations on things Indian. Friar Jordanus, a French Dominican missionary, was one of them. He was in Western India in 1321 in company with some Fransciscans. The party was on its way to Cathay, as China was then called. A storm brought them to Thana, where the Fransciscans fell victims to the fanaticism of the governor of that place. These are the famous "martyrs of Thana". From Thana Jordanus went into Gujarat, from where he went by sea to Quilon. Here he was appointed a bishop by the Pope (John XXII). It was during his tenure as bishop of Quilon that Jordanus wrote his well known "*Mirabilia*".

44. Friar Odorie's account of India

Close on the heels of Friar Jordanus came Friar Odorie. He sojourned in India for some months before proceeding to China *via* Ceylon and Sumatra. He found Thana an agreeable place. "The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine, and aboundeth in trees. The people thereof are idolators and worship fire and serpents and trees also."

He particularly notices the worship of the Tulsi plant by the Hindus. "In this country every man hath before his house a plant of twigs and this never withers as long as it gets water". He also describes the manners and customs of the people of Malabar, and gives a very vivid account of the pepper plantations around Quilon.(30)

45. Other European travellers of fourteenth century

Other Europeans who visited India in the fourteenth century are Marino Sanuto, a Venetian who came even before Jordanus; Friar James who is mentioned by Jordanus; Brother John of Monte Corvino and Brother Nicolas of Pistoia; and Giovanti de Marignolli of Florence. All these came to India, or passed through it on missionary work for the Roman Church. We must not also forget the audacious Sir John Mandeville, who, whether he visited India or not, borrowed unashamedly and copiously from Jordanus, Odoric and others, and almost attained fame as a second Marco Polo.

46. Account of three European traders

Trade followed the Church, and the Europeans who visited India during the fifteenth century did so in search of diamonds, pepper and the fine textiles of India. We have available the accounts(31) of three such travellers Nicolo de Conti and Hieronimo de Santo Stefan's both Italians, and Afanasi Nikitin, a Russian.

47. Vasco-da-gama — the most important European voyager of 15th century

The most important European voyager to India at the close of the fifteenth century was Vasco da Gama, who opened a new era in the history of the European powers in India. The journal of the first voyage of Vasco do Gama has come down to us. An account of his three subsequent voyages from the *Lendas do India* of Gasper Correa, accompanied by original documents is also available.(32)

48. Ludovico di Varthema — Italian traveller of 16th century

The first traveller of the sixteenth century was Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian from Bologna. The news of the Portuguese rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and finding a direct sea-passage to India from Europe must have caused uneasiness to the Venetian, and Geoese merchants who handled the Indian trade in the Mediterranean. It is possible Varthema was commissioned to find out how this new Portuguese discovery was going to affect the Italians. Varthema was in Western India for about three years.

He arrived at Diu from Hormuz, visited Cambay and went to Chaul of which he gives a fine description. He spent some time in Goa, and visited places in the interior. His travel account was first published in 1510 in Italy and has undergone many editions and has been translated in various European languages. It was first translated into English in 1577.

49. Two Portuguese travellers

Two early Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century were Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pieris, who have left interesting and useful accounts of the coastal places of Gujarat and Konkan. Affonso de Albuquerque was at the time the governor of Goa and, his letters and despatches, though not travel accounts are important as they give a glimpse into political conditions of the Deccan.(33)

Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz wrote about conditions in the Vijayanagar kingdom in the second and third decade of the sixteenth century, and a translation of both these chronicles had been included by Sewell in his classic, *A Forgotten Empire.*(34) These were published also in original Portuguese.(35)

The end of the century brought Linschoten from Netherlands on the scene. He stayed in the service of the Portuguese at Goa for five years (1583-1588). His motives were to study India and her trade, and then to make a report to his people in Holland so that they too could enter the profitable trade of India. He has made a detailed study of the economic products of India.

50. European travellers of 17th century

The seventeenth century found many European travellers in India. They were a mixed crowd consisting of merchants, doctors, missionaries, soldiers and sailors, jewellers and mere adventurers. The English East India Company had now entered the commerce of India, and its *Letters Received, The English Factories in India* and *Court Minutes* provide material of unparalled importance for economic resources and trade and political conditions.

The Factory records and correspondence of the Dutch, French and Danish companies and of the Portuguese Administration in

Goa are also mines of information. But only a reference is made to them here as they do not fall within the scope of this paper.

The accounts of European travellers in this century, supplement the factory records and state letters, and give a wealth of information on social and economic matters of which Indian sources make very little mention. Indeed the accounts of European travellers are a source material of first rate importance for a proper study of Indian history.

(a) Some Important Publications

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— **Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrada,** in which are related his exploits from the year 1619, in which he left his kingdom of Portugal as General of the Sea of Ormuz . . . Edited with an introduction by C. R. Boxer. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1929. (Broadway Travellers).

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— **The Book of Duarte Barbosa.** An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean . . . Translated from the Portuguese text . . . by Mansel Longworth Dames. 2 Vols. Hakluyt Society, London, 1918, 1921.

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— **Travels in the Mogul Empire . . .** Translated on the basis of Irving Brock's version and annotated by Archibald Constable (1891). Second Edition Revised by Vincent A Smith. Oxford University Press, 1914.

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CARERI, JOHN FRANCIS GAMELLI. See Sen, Surendranath

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— **The Empire of the Great Mogol.** A translation of De Laet's "Description of India and fragment of Indian History". Translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1928.

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— **Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India.** By J. Horton Ryley. Unwin, London, 1899.

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— **Peter Floris, His Yoyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615.** The Contemporary translation of his Journal. Edited by W. H. Moreland. Hakluyt Society, London, 1934.

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— **Early Travels in India.** Oxford University Press, 1921. (Contains the narratives of Fitch, Mildenhall, Hawkins, Finch, Withington, Coryat and Terry.)

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— **A New Account of East India and Persia,** being nine years' travels, 1672-1681. Edited by William Crooke. 3 Vols. Hakluyt Society, London, 1909, 1912, 1915.

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— **The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India.** Hakluyt Society, London, 1938.

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— **Jahangir and the Jesuits...** Translated from the original of Fernao Guerreiro, S.J. With an Introduction and Notes by C. H. Payne. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1930. (Broadway Travellers).

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— **The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.** (afterwards Sir William Hedges), during his agency in Bengal; as well as on his voyage out and return overland (1681-1687). Transcribed for the Press, with Introductory Notes etc., by R. Barlow, Esq. and illustrated by Col. H. Yule. 3 Vols. Hakluyt Society, London, 1887-1889.

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— **Akbar and the Jesuits.** Translated from the **Histoire** of Father Pierre du Jarrie with an introduction by C. H. Payne, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1926. (Broadway Travellers).

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— **The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617,** describing his experiences in Arabia, India. Edited by William Foster. Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905.

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— **Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708.** Translated by William Irvine. 4 Vols. (Indian Text Series), John Murray, London, 1907-1908.

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— **Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo.** Cassell, London, 1886.

— **The Book of Ser Marco Polo** the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Translated and edited with notes by Colonel Sir Henry Yule. Third edition revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henry Cordier (of Paris). 2 Vols. John Murray, London, 1903. (Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition Containing the

Results of Recent Research and Discovery. By Henry Cordier, John Murray, London, 1920).

— **The Travels of Marco Polo.** By L. F. Benedetto. Translated into English by Professor Aldo Ricei. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1926. (Broadway Travellers).

— **The Travels of Marco Polo.** Revised from Marsden's translation (1818) and edited with an introduction by Manuel Komoroff. The Modern Library, New York, 1926.

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— **The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19,** as narrated in his journal and correspondence. Edited by Sir William Foster (Revised edition), Oxford University Press, London, 1926

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— **Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri.** Being the third part of the travels of M. De Thevenot into the Levant and the third part of a voyage round the world by Dr. John Francis Gamelli Careri. Edited by Surendranath Sen. National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949.

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— **Schorer's Account of the Coromandel Coast.** Translated by Prof. Brij Narain. (Indian Historical Quarterly, XVI, 827-837).

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— **Travels of Richard Bell (and John Campbell)** in the East Indies, Persia and Palestine, 1654-1670. (The Indian Antiquary, XXXV (1906), 131-142, 168-178, 203-210, XXXVI (1907), 98-105, 125-134, 173-179, XXXVII (1908), 156-170).

THEVENOT See Sen Surendranath

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— **A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499.** Translated and edited by E. G. Ravenstein. Hakluyt Society, London, 1893.

— **Diario da Viagem de Vasco da Gama.** Facsimile do Codice original transcrisao a verso em grafia actualizada. 2 Vols. Libraria Civilizacao, Porto, 1945.

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— **The Travels of Pietro della Valle to India.** From the English Translation of 1664, by G. Havers. Edited with a life of the author by Edward Grey. 2 Vols. Hakluyt Society, London, 1891.

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— **The Navigation and Voyages of Lewes Vertomannus** Gentleman of the Citie of Rome to the Regions of Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Syria, Ethiopia and East Indies, both within and without the river Ganges . . . in the yeere 1503. Translated out of Latin into English by Richard Eden in the yeere 1576. Reprint of Eden's Edition privately printed for the Aungervyle Society, London, 1884.

— **The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema** as translated from the original Italian Edition of 1510 by John Winter Jones for the Hakluyt Society in 1863, with a discourse on Varthema and his Travels in Southern Asia by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Argonaut Press, London, 1928.

(b) A short list of general works:

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— **Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes** etc. 20 Vols. Hakluyt Society, 1905-07.

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— **European Travellers in India.** (First Series) Sushil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 1956.

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2. **The Early History of India,** 4th edition (Oxford University Press 1924,), 12.
3. **Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, XV** (Ed. Shastri).
4. **Early History of India,** op. cit, 13.
5. **A. L. BASHAM, The wonder that was India** (Sidgwick & Johnson, London, 1954), 344.
6. **WATTERS** I, 292-293.
7. **BAGCHI, India and China,** 58-59.
8. Proceedings of the meeting of the Silver Jubilee Session IHRC XXV Pt. II, 195-203.
9. Ibid.
10. XIII, 843 (11th Ed.)
11. **BAGCHI, India and China,** 79.
12. **CHAU JU-KUA,** 23.
13. The present writer has used this from among the many variations of the scholar's name.
14. **B. DATTA AND A. N. SINGH, History of Hindu Mathematics,** Parts I & II, 96 (Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1962).
15. **PHILIP K. HITTI, History of the Arabs** (Macmillan and Co. London 1951), 573.
16. **NADVI, Arab aur Bharat ke Sambandh,** 66.
17. **HODIWALA, Studies in Indo-Muslim History,** I, 1, gives the correct identification of Balhara with the Rashtra-kutas, correcting Sir Henry Elliot and others.
18. **ELLIOT AND DOWSON** I, 3-4.
19. **NAINAR, Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India,** 13.
20. **HITTI, History of the Arabs,** 391.
21. **Islamic Culture,** VIII, 120, 128.
22. **HITTI, History of the Arabs,** 294-296.
23. **The Legacy of Islam,** (Oxford University Press, 1931), 332.
24. **TAHQIQ,** XX-XXI.
25. **ALBERUNIS INDIA,** I, 174.
26. ibid, II, 107.
27. ibid, I, 18.
28. ibid, I, 25.
29. **Mirabilia Descripta.** The wonders of the East, by Friar Jordanus. Translated from the Latin original by Colonel Henry Yulel Hakluyt Society, London, 1863.
30. **See Cathay and the Way Thither,** II.
31. First published in **India in the Fifteenth Century,** Hakluyt, 1857. The Journey of Abd ur Razak, a Persian is also included in this volume.
32. **The three voyages of Vasco-da-gama,** Hakluyt Society, London, 1869.
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34. Reprint 1962, Government of India (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting).
35. **Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga,** by David Lopes. National Press, Lisbon, 1897.

Section III

ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

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Dr. V. S. Agrawala

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY FROM INSCRIPTIONS

Dr. H. D. Sankalia

FURTHER INDIA

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ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

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Geography and Chronology are said to be the two eyes of the History. Whereas during the last 150 years of Indian Historical studies, chronology has received sustained attention, and a full picture of time-scale and dates has been built, geographical investigation has somehow not received the same amount of attention. Ancient Indian Geography, as a systematic branch of study with modern scientific outlook, still remains to be developed.

1. Geography and Chronology — the two eyes of History

Geography and chronology are said to be the two eyes of the History. Whereas during the last 150 years of Indian Historical Studies chronology has received sustained attention, and a full picture of time-scale and dates has been built, geographical investigation has somehow not received the same amount of attention. Ancient Indian Geography, as a systematic branch of study with modern scientific outlook, still remains to be developed.

2. Some early attempts at compilation of dictionaries of Ancient Indian Geography

It has recently been shown that as early as 1793 Sir William Jones included in his literary programmes, the preparation of an Ancient Indian Geographical Dictionary, but he did not find time to implement the plan. After about 150 years, Dr. Vogel completed in 1933, a Geographical Atlas of greater India, and in addition to that he also conceived a project for a comprehensive Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India, which was to incorporate the entire material to be extracted from literary and epigraphical sources, but when he was about to work it out, World War II came; and the plan had to be abandoned. After many years when the war was over, Dr. Vogel was thinking of resurrecting his former idea, but he was snatched away by the hands of death.

3. Cunningham — father of Ancient Indian Archaeology

Notwithstanding the fact that, a complete Geographical Concordance and Dictionary has not been accomplished upto now, it should be stated that a long line of distinguished scholars has engaged itself in geographical studies of Ancient India, and the time is now ripe when the accumulated fruit of their labours may be put to good account in the form of an Atlas and a Geographical

Dictionary of Ancient India. For example, Cunningham, Father of Indian Archaeology, Numismatics, and Art history, had a gigantic mind. His perfect method of work in accordance with a tied time-schedule left him leisure enough to devote himself to a comprehensive analysis, and interpretation of the geographical data contained in the accounts of Yuan Chwang's Travels through Central Asia, Afghanistan, Panjab, Madhya Deśa, South India, Western India, and then his return itinerary through Chinese Turkistan upto Tun-huang on the western frontiers of China.

It was a monumental study achieved with penetrating insight, accompanied with geographical charts and detailed notes of a valuable nature. It retains its high place even today, and is likely to remain so for many years to come as a treasure-house of accurate geographical information, regarding India during the period of Gupta civilization. Fortunately, Cunningham's original work has been presented again by Majumdar with supplementary notes and clarification, making the work even more useful.

4. McCrindle's contribution to Ancient Indian geography

We must here take note of the stupendous work undertaken by McCrindle, who in his monumental series, presented besides political and cultural material of high value, a mass of geographical information from the writings of Greek authors bearing on India as follows:—

1. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* being a Translation of the Fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, and of the First Part of the *Indika* of Arrian by J. W. McCrindle (London, 1877).
2. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea,* being a Translation of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and of Arrian's Account of the Voyage of Nearchus by J. W. McCrindle (Bombay, 1879).
3. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* by J. W. McCrindle (Bombay, 1885).
4. *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin, by J. W. McCrindle (London, 1896; Westminster, 1893).

5. *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* by J. W. McCrindle (Westminster, 1901).
6. *Ketesia's Description of Ancient India* (*IA*, Vol. X, 1880).

5. Dr. Majumdar's "Classical accounts of India"

Recently (1960) Dr. R. C. Majumdar has brought out a very useful critical volume entitled the *Classical Accounts of India*, from the texts of Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Diodorus, Scicolus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius of Tyana, Pliny, Ptolemy, Aelian, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, and about 25 other less known authors.

In this connection we should also remember Gejerini's work entitled *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, (1900, Royal Asiatic Society, London), a big tome finished in 945 pages, with detailed maps in elucidation of Ptolemy's geography of farther India and Central Asia. We also have a new edition of Ptolemy's Geography by the famous Sanskrit scholar, L. Renou.

6. Contributions of Fleet and Sylvain Levi

In 1893 Fleet published the Topographical Lists of the Bṛihatsaṁhitā (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, 1893, pp. 169-195), which was the first attempt to assess the value of the profused material in this important text. We are indebted to Sylvain Levi for a paper on the *Geography of the Rāmāyaṇa*, published in the *Journal Asiatique*. Rev. J. E. Abbott wrote a paper on the geographical lists from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*IA*., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.). Similarly Pargiter has given a very critical study of the geography of Rāma's exile in *JRAS*. 1894, pp. 231ff.

7. Contribution of Sir Aurel Stein

The next great figure in the field of Indian geographical study was Aurel Stein, who published in 1897 his studies on Kashmir geography ((*IA*., Vol. XXVI). Stein also published the following important studies bearing chiefly on geography:—

1. *Notes on Archaeological Explorations in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan* (*IA*., 1929, pp. 54 ff.)
2. *Alexander's campaign in the Indian north-west frontier.*

3. *Note on Exploration in Makran and other parts of Southern Baluchistan.*

4. *Journey in Central Asia.* (*IA.*, 1916, Vol. XLVI).

All his volumes on Ser-India, Khotan and Central Asia are a treasure-house of important and original geographical material, throwing light on India's cultural expansion in the regions to her north. Stein also contributed a paper on *'Afghanistan in Avestic Geography'* (*IA.*, Vol. XV).

We are also reminded of a very early work published by H. Glossman on the Geography and History of Bengal in *JASB* (1873), (No. 3, pp. 209 ff.). Burgess contributed a note on 'Sanskrit Geography' in IA, Vol. XIV.

8. Contribution of French Indologists to study of 'Greater India'

A distinguished group of French Indologists was working intensively on geographical subject about the turn of the century. Sylvain Levi, in his important paper *Kharostra and the Kharostri writing*, has also given very useful geographical lists from the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*, *Mahā Sannipāta Sūtra* and *Sūrya-garbha Sūtra* (*IA.*, 1906, pp. 1-30), also referring to a geographical list in the *Hevajra Tantra*. Paul Pellio contributed one of the most well-documented papers on geography entitled *'Deux Itineraires de China ei Indi'*, *BEFEO*, 1904, pp. 218 ff.), which P. C. Bagchi evaluated as 'an article of almost Classical importance for the geography of farther India.' Pellio continuing his geographical researches on greater India wrote a paper entitled *'Le Fou-nan'* (*BEFEO*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff.)

9. Some miscellaneous efforts

Coedes contributed an important paper *'La royaume of Śrīvijaya'*, with a clear statement of geographical material relating to that empire which maintained the closest relations with India, *BEFEO*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 19 ff). Ferrand also contributed a paper entitled *'Le k'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations inter oceaniques dans les mers du Sud'*, *JA*, 1919, pp. 304 ff.).

Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī also has brought out useful geographical material in his monograph on *Śrīvijaya*. A useful paper was published on the *Itinerary of Ou-kong, the Chinese traveller to Kashmir,* (*JA*, 1895, pp. 354 ff.). J. L. Moens wrote on the geography of Greater India in his paper entitled '*Śrīvijaya, Yava and Kaṭāha*' (*JRAS*, Malayan Branch, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, 1940). Paul Pellio wrote a paper on the proper names in the Chinese translation of *Milinda Pañha* (*JA*, Tome I., 1914, pp. 379-419).

10. Geography of Northwest India

J. Prezyluski made a very important contribution to the geography of North-West of India in his paper entitled '*The North-West of India in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin and connected texts*' (*JA*, Tome, IV, 1914, pp. 493-568). According to him in the '*Oshadhi Vastu,*' Ch. IX, has been incorporated a veritable *Māhātmya* of the North-West of India, which is found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka Tokyo edition, XVII, 4, pp. 31-35.

11. W. Kirfel's contribution to Puranic geography

We now come to the indefatigable work of the German veteran scholar, W. Kirfel, who has devoted a whole life time to the study of Purāṇic geography in the following volumes :—

1. *Die Cosmographie der inder* (Bonn & Lipzig, 1920).
2. *Bhāratavarsha*, (Stuttegart, 1931).
3. *Purāṇa von welt-gebaude (Bhuvana-vinyāsa)*, 1954.

Kirfel also inspired a geographical dissertation by his disciple Dr. Louise Hilgenburge to make a comparative study of the geographical material in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padma Purāṇ* : *Kosmagraphische episodue im Mahābhārata* and the *Padma Purāṇa*. (Stuttgart, 1933).

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar has evaluated Dr. Louise Hilgenburge's work in his paper the "*Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata* and *Padma Purāṇa* in *Festschrift F. W. Thomas* (Poona, 1939, pp. 19-22).

12. Nando Lal Dey's "Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India"

At this stage Nando Lal Dey published the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (2nd Edition, 1927, Leuzec & Co.), a comprehensive volume of large-sized 266 pages, giving in Part I the ancient geographical names with a vast amount of literary documentation, especially from the *Purāṇas* ; and in Part II modern names with their ancient identifications. This was certainly a very useful publication, which is consulted even today with advantage. This Dictionary is very good so far as it goes, but the geographical material of ancient India is almost limitless and it would need a much more comprehensive planning to incorporate it all in the form of a Dictionary.

13. Contribution of Dr. B. C. Law

Much useful work on ancient Indian geographical material has been done by Dr. B. C. Law. His work : *Historical Geography Of Ancient India* (1954) published by *Société Asiatique de Paris* is a valuable contribution, in which the geographical material has been presented in a classified form according to the traditional five divisions of India, and in which he has utilised the investigation of previous writers like A. Cunningham, William Jones, Lassen, Vivien-de St. Martin, Stanislas Julian, Buchanan Hamilton, Mackenzie, Aurel Stein, Kirfel, Dey, S. N. Majumdar, Roy Chaudhury and others. He took great pains to make his statements systematic, exhaustive and lucid with three sketch maps.

In the Introduction to this book (pp. 1-60) Dr. Law has dealt with the sources of ancient Indian geography in a critical and systematised manner, as is not found anywhere else. In eight pages he has given a classified list of important publications on ancient Indian geography, which may be found useful by all future workers.

Dr. Law's *Geography of Early Buddhism* attempted for the first time to present a geographical picture of ancient India drawn from Pali literature. He also contributed a Paper on geographical data from Sanskrit Buddhist literature (*ABORI*, XV, 1934, Oct.-Jan.) His *Geographical Essays* is a useful compilation including the above article and other papers on the mountains and rivers, as also countries and people of India in which the *Bhuvanakośa* material has been studied.

B. C. Law has also dealt with the history and historical geography of a large number of Kṣatriya tribes in a series of books : (1) *Some Kshatriya Tribes Of Ancient India* (1923), (2) *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes* (1924), (3) *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vols. I & II, (4) *Tribes Of Ancient India*.

Law also undertook intensive studies of ancient capital cities, e.g. Śrāvastī, Rājagṛiha, Kauśāmbī, Kośala, Ahichhatrā, on which some of his memoirs were published by the Archaeological Department (Government of India Memoirs Nos. 50, Śrāvastī ; 58, Rājagṛiha ; 60, Kauśāmbī ; 67, Ahichhatra). On similar lines his work on Ujjayinī in Ancient India was published in 1944 by the Department of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

14. Jayachandra Vidyalankar's 'Bharat-bhumi aur uske Nivasi'

We should also refer here to the very brilliant work of Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalankar, who began his geographical studies in 1921 with the identification of the location of the Janapada states in ancient India, and published his first book, *Geographical Basis of Indian History* in 1926. His *magnum opus, Bhārata Bhūmi Aur Usake Nivāsī,* a work in Hindi of monumental quality, was published in 1930 (Samvat, 1987), to which Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal added a long Foreword. K. P. Jayaswal at once recognised the originality and great merit of this Hindi work (cf. his note on 'Certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms' (*JBORS,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 97-98).

Since I have read the book myself, I am convinced that there is hardly anything even in the English language, which discusses the problems of ancient Indian geographical identifications with such clarity, unified and systematic treatment and unparalleled interest. The author has truly succeeded in making ancient Indian Geography a scientific study invested with great significance and future possibilities. Pandit Jayachandra was the first to recognise the real value and purpose of the Janapada States in the political and cultural set-up of ancient India, and how instead of being disposed of as dead-cows, they still retain their place in the body-politic as linguistic and cultural entities, which merit being assessed and studied afresh on a realistic basis.

15. Research on 'Bhuvankosha' material

This brings us to the important geographical text named *Bhuvanakośa* found in about a dozen *Purānas.* Pargiter, in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* first gave us a detailed annotation with identifications of the names of mountains, rivers and Janapadās in the *Bhuvanakośa* chapters (pp. 283-384, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* English Translations, Asiatic Society of

Bengal, 1904). After him several other authors have worked on the *Bhuvanakośa* material, e.g. Nandolal Dey, B. C. Law, D. C. Sircar (who, in his text of the Purāṇic list of rivers and text of the Purāṇic list of peoples, has presented a critical text), Kirfel (*Das Purāṇa von Weltgebaude,* Bonn, 1954), C. A. Levis (*Purāṇa Bulletin,* Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 112-145, and No. 2, pp. 245-276, examining in detail the readings and identifications of the Janapadās in the *Bhuvanakośa* list), Agrawala (*Purāṇa Bulletin,* Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 160-181, *Bhuvanakośa Janapadās of Bhāratavarsha ; Matsya Purāṇa —A Study,* pp. 184-207, 1963, where many identifications have been discussed afresh), Robert Shafer (*Ethnography of Ancient India,* 1954, Otto Harrassowitz) and S. B. Chaudhury (*Ethnic Settlement in Ancient India,* Cal. 1955).

Pargiter and his successors have failed to appreciate an important fact about the Janapada lists. In Chapter 57 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* there is an older list of the Janapadās in the *Bhuvanakośa* collection, and in chapter 58, there is another list according to the Kūrma-division of India. The two lists, although juxtaposed in the Purāṇa, were removed from each other by about the 8-10 centuries. Shafer and Roy Chaudhury have erred in mixing up the two lists and not distinguishing the new historical names of the Gupta period from the older ones which belong to the Janapada period of Pāṇini and Buddha's time.

16. Rai Krishnadasa's contribution to 'Chaturdvipa Bhugola'

The reference to *Bhuvanakośa* material brings to mind the original work Rai Krishṇadāsá in extricating the geography of the four continents (*Chaturdvīpī bhūgola*), which was original, and on which was grafted in a confused manner the conception of the seven continents (*saptadvīpī bhūgola*), with the result that this particular chapter of the *Bhuvanakośa* (ch. 34, *Vāyū Purāṇa*) has become a tangled skein, and a source of headache to all interpreters. Rai Krishṇadāsa with his intuitional insight discovered the key to the earlier and later versions of the two conceptions of the *Bhuvanakośa* of *Bhū-Padma,* and has succeeded with rare clarity in separating the old from the new, and illustrated them both in two maps (*Purāṇic Geography of the Chaturdvīpas,* Purāṇa Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 2, Feb. 1960, pp. 202-205; see also *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study,* pp. 184-188).

17. Some miscellaneous contributions

Of special studies on Geography of different texts and regions, there are some good monographs. For example, Moti Chandra, in his *'Geographical and Economic Studies in the* **Mahābhārata Upāyana** *Parva'* (*Sabhā Parva*, chs. 47-48), has made a learned and informative study of the important material of the Epic (1945, *U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow*). B. K. Barua has made a useful study in his monograph entitled *'Early Geography of Assam'* (1952). D. C. Sircar has given us a very learned study entitled *'The Śākta Pīthas'* (*JRASB*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Dec. 1958, pp. 1-108), and another paper entitled *'Account of Fifty-six Countries'*, a commentary on an old manuscript, *'Saptapañchāśad-deśa-vibhāga'*, published in *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. 8, 1941, pp. 32 ff.).

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has written a brilliant monograph, entitled *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, which is a model of scientific methods applied to geographical research, taking note of caste and professional surnames and inscriptional place-names, neatly illustrated with maps (Deccan College Monograph, No. 3, Poona, 1949).

I should also like to invite attention to the exceptionally rich geographical material in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini*, in the Sūtras and much more so in the *Gaṇapāthas*, on which I have offered a study and a critical edition of the Text in my book: *India As Known To Pāṇini* (ch. 2, Geographical Data, pp. 34-74; appendix. pp. 477-512, 1st Ed., 1953). J. C. Jain has given in one place the material from the Jain literature in the form of a geographical lexicon (*Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, pp. 250-366). Recently, Bharat Singh Upadhyaya has presented the geographical data of Buddha's time in his Hindi work, entitled *'Buddhakālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola'* (Hindi Sāhitya Saṁmelana, 1961, pp. 1-619).

18. Some important books of Traveller's accounts

Among travellers H. W. Bailey drew attention to a roll of paper in the Stein collection, being an itinerary from the North through Gilgit and Chilas into Kashmir in the time of Abhimanyu Gupta (958-972 A.D.). This account is written in Kothanese Ṣaka language (*Akta Orientalia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 257-267).

We should also mention the Sanskrit Dictionary, *'Fan fan yu'*, compiled by Pao-Ch-ang in *circa* 517 A.D., containing sixtyfive words quoted from Chih-Meng's works, *Kwai-kuo-ch'uan* and another work, *Li-kuo-ch'uan*. These two travel books, perhaps in Pau-Ch'ang's time, are more highly esteemed than Fa-Hian's famous work, but which have been lost. With the help of the geographical names found in quotations, Sri Gemmyo Ono has attempted to reconstruct the route chosen by the two Buddhist pilgrims, named *Chih-Meng* and *T' Tan-Wu-Chieh*, who visited India at the end of the eastern Tsin Dynasty and in the beginning of the Śuṅga Dynasty. The work was brought out in Japanese on the basis of which Dr. Raghuvīra published the *Fan-fan yu Dictionary* from his Academy.

19. Some important papers & monographs

The number of scholars and papers or works on ancient Indian Geography is quite considerable. Although all cannot be mentioned, still we should like to refer to such names as Berthelot, Tucci, Charpenter, Dupont, Whitehead, Breloer, Carter, Mirashi, J. C. Ghosh, Pishorati, Heras and Chanda. Altekar contributed a very informative monograph on the history of important ancient towns and cities of Gujarat and Kathiavar (1924). Long before him, H. Briggs had written on the cities of Gujarat and the subject was carried further by H. D. Sankalia as quoted above.

20. Studies in Tirthas mentioned in Puranas

Dr. P. V. Kāṇe has in his *'History Of the Dharmaśāstra'* compiled the material on the Tīrthas from the Purāṇas, and given an alphabetical list of them. It may be said that the material in the Purāṇas, on the ancient and medieval geography of India is very substantial, and requires to be taken up independently. Happily, a scheme for compiling a geographical dictionary on the Purāṇic data has been approved by the University Grants Commission, and is being implemented under my direction at the Banaras Hindu University.

The medieval Jain text, *Pṛithivī Chandra Charita*, gives a list of ninety-eight countries (Muni Jinavijaya ed. p. 128). The *Varṇaka Samuchchaya* recently compiled by B. J. Sandesra gives about half a dozen lists of countries (pp. 28, 29, 30, 120, 141, 147, 165, 196), which may be useful for making a comparative study of medieval geographical names.

The list of five hundred and twenty *tīrthas* in *Brahmapurāṇa*, chapter 25, hundred and eight *tīrthas* in *Padmapurāṇa*, 6. 129, hundred names of Śiva in different places in the *Mahāliṅgeśvara Tantra* and the Mahāmāyūrī list of Yakshas on a geographical basis, all furnish important evidence relating to ancient Indian geography. The last text was edited with a commentary in French by Sylvain Levi, (*Journal Asiatique*) and translated by me in English (*JUPHS*, 1942, Vol. XV, Pt. II, pp. 24-52).

21. Work of Muslim Geographers

We should also take into our purview the work done by the Muslim Geographers, mostly from Arabia, e.g. Istakhari (950 A.D.), Ibnhaukal (975 A.D.), Al-Beruni (973-1048 A.D.), **Idrīsī** (1154 A.D.), **Damishquī** (1325 A.D.), and Ibn **Batūtā** (1335 A.D.), who have made important contributions to the knowledge of Indian geography, specially to that of South India. Dr. G. Ferrand has brought together this material in two big volumes, followed in this work by Mohemmed Hussayun Nainar of the Madras University in his book, *Arab Geographers' knowledge of Southern India*, (1942).

We may close this stock-taking with the advice given by Dr. Burgess that the material for the ancient geography of India should be collected by indexing separately all the geographical words occurring in the archaeological and literary documents (*IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 319-320).

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY FROM INSCRIPTIONS

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Hitherto, scholars since Cunningham have attempted to reconstruct the geography of Ancient India by identifying the places mentioned by Chinese pilgrims, and countries, rivers and hills occurring in Puranas, epics and Buddhist and Jaina Literature, yet there was an absence of a sustained 'continuous history of any particular region. This gap can be filled in by a study of the inscriptions of a particular region, wherein identification of villages and other units mentioned in the inscriptions can be done by the help of maps.

PROLOGUE

1. Introduction

Hitherto, scholars, since Cunningham, have attempted to reconstruct the geography of ancient India by identifying the places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing, and countries, rivers and hills occurring in the Puranas and epics, and Buddhist and Jaina literature. Villages and other territorial or administrative units referred to in inscriptions were occasionally identified by editors of inscriptions. All these attempts have in the course of a century considerably enlarged our knowledge of the political geography of ancient India, say from about 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D.

The writer, however, felt the absence of a sustained, continuous history of any particular region. Not only the attempts were disjointed, but in a number of cases, the editors of inscriptions have left out the identification of villages and other units for want of data and maps.

2. Inscriptions of Gujarat

This need he sought to supply by taking up the study of inscriptions of Gujarat. While doing so, the prerequisites for a fuller study were clearly enunciated. What is required is that

(1) the village donated,
(2) the large unit of which it forms a part,
(3) its boundaries,
(4) the place or part from where the grant is made, should be given. Further, there details we should have for a certain unit, for a number of years, and not once in a while, and secondly not for one unit only but all the contiguous units so that we can form a correct idea of the limits of each unit.

3. Political Geography of Gujarat

Thus a fairly detailed political geography of Gujarat (including Saurashtra) for a period of 1,600 years when the various dynasties — the Mauryas, the Ksatrapas, Guptas etc. — ruled over the whole or over parts of the territory could be reconstructed. But of this long period only the history of the administrative units during the Caulukya or Solanki period could be had in much better details than that of any other dynasty. So this is here abstracted from my book **Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat.**

4. Researches on Political Geography of other states

Later, such studies were undertaken under my guidance and suggestion for the Deccan(1) (including parts of Maharashtra and North Karnatak), Madhya Pradesh(2) (former Central Province), Rajasthan(3), Uttar Pradesh(4) and South India(5) by Smt. Sumati Muley, Smt. Shobhana Gokhale, Shri K. L. Lele, Smt. Madhur Mohini Mathur, Shri T. K. Sheshadri and Shri B. Suresh(6), respectively. Except the last who is working on the numerous Chola records spread over the far south, the remaining five studies have been completed; still the works are not published (their copies can be consulted in the Library of the University of Poona and Deccan College). I am therefore grateful to the authors of the first two for allowing me to abstract here such portions as were found useful for this contribution.

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1. Muley, S., **Studies in the Historical Geography and Ethnography of the Deccan.** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1954.
2. Gokhale, S. **Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Madhya Pradesh.** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1960.
3. Lele, K. L., **Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Rajasthan.** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1962.
4. Mathur, M. M., **Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Uttar Pradesh.** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1963.
5. Sheshadri, T. K., **Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of South India with special Reference to Pallava Records,** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1963.
6. Shri Suresh is working on Chola records.

TERRITORIAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT OF CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT

5. Geographical limits of Caulukya Empire

It is well known that **Mūlarāja** overthrew the **Cāvaḍās** or **Cāpotkaṭas** and established himself in their kingdom. The kingdom is traditionally called **Panchāsar** its capital being **Aṇahilapātaka** (Anhilvad). This is now sandwiched between Radhanpur and Hariji-Patan Mahāls of the former Baroda State(1). The earliest Caulukya inscription calls this territory **Sārasvata-maṇḍala**, the "province" formed by or in the **Sarasvatī** valley. Such a small, semi-arid country could hardly satisfy an ambitious and powerful general like **Mūlarāja**. He thought of subjugating his neighbours. The circumstances were favourable for this venture. For the **Gurjara-Pratihāra** empire was tottering to pieces, or had already gone and he was probably one of its surviving generals.

So having established himself in the **Sārasvata-maṇḍala** he conquered **Satyapura-maṇḍala** that is, the country to the north of the Sarasvati valley, the territory round about modern Sanchor, in the Jodhpur or Marwar State, thus linking up **Aṇhilvād** once again with **Bhinnamāla** and parts of parent Gujarat.

Mūlarāja's son Bhima I acquired **Kachha-maṇḍala** i.e., Kutch, and **Karṇa,** his son and successor annexed **Lāṭa-maṇḍala.** **Jayasiṁha Siddharāja** conquered **Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala**, **Avanti**, **Bhāilasvāmi-mahādvādasaka** (that is the whole of Malwa), **Dadhipadra-maṇḍala** (i.e. modern Panchmahal District with Dohad) and some **maṇḍala** (not named), in Rajputana comprising Jodhpur and Udaipur States. His successors **Kumārapāla** and **Ajayapāla** retained their hold over these far-flung provinces constituting modern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Malwa and southern Rajputana. Later rulers, **Bhīma II**, **Vīradhavala** and others' control over Malwa, Southern Rajputana and even **Lāṭa** was precarious. It was often challenged and at times wrested by the **Paramāras**, **Cāhamānas** and **Yādavas** of Devagiri. Nevertheless till the very end, A.D. 1296, Kutch and Kathiawar remained part of the Caulukya empire, the core of which was northern Gujarat.

6. Territorial Divisions of Caulukya Empire

A maṇḍala, it would appear, was the largest territorial division, corresponding to a modern "province", though at times Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra are called deśas and Gurjjara (the whole of Gujarat?) a maṇḍala. But this may be while referring to Surāṣṭra or Lāṭa in a certain independent context. Their position in the empire was that of a maṇḍala or a province.

The units smaller than the maṇḍala were the following in a descending order: viṣaya, pathaka, group of villages and a village. Ordinarily the limits of a viṣaya and those of a pathaka were fixed, but at times what was once a viṣaya was called a pathaka and vice versa.

Absence of units like āhāra, draṅga, sthali, prāpa, and prāveśya which were current during the Valabhī period is surprising, and can be explained either on the score of insufficient evidence from Kathiawar, or on the ground that these units were a special feature of the Maitraka administration, which became obsolete after their fall.

However, the units maṇḍala viṣaya and pathaka coming down from a hoary antiquity, lasted all through the Caulukya (Solanki) period until the advent of the Muslims. And it is remarkable that the term maṇḍala was used at this period exactly in the same sense, viz., that of a province or state, either independent or vassal, as described in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya.

We have seen what different units constituted the Caulukya or Solanki empire. Let us go over them again with a view to fixing their boundaries.

7. Identification of the Mandalas

The very first maṇḍala to be mentioned is the Sārasvata maṇḍala. It is a pity that so far there is only one reference to it, but in the absence of any contradictory evidence I am inclined to think that this maṇḍala at the zenith and even till the very end of the Caulukya power, included most of the Mehsana or Kadi prānt of the former Baroda State, plus probably the former States of Radhanpur, to the west of Patan or Harij mahāl and Palanpur in the north of Patan and Siddhpur mahāls and minus the Dehgam and other mahāls of the State. Roughly the maṇḍala formed the portion between the north-east to south-west flowing Banas and the north-south-west flowing Sabarmati. The northernmost point was perhaps Dhāṇada, the capital of the Dhāṇada-āhāra pathaka, and the southernmost Līlāpura or say our present Viramgam. The second maṇḍala was the Satyapura-maṇḍala. Only its capital (?) Satyapura can be definitely identified with modern Sanchor⁽²⁾ in the Jodhpur State. There are no other references to it, nor many references to the subdivisions contained within it, so that its probable limits cannot be given. It might have encompassed most of the present Jodhpur State.

The Kaccha-maṇḍala stands for the former State of Cutch, but it is not absolutely certain if the Surashtra-maṇḍala throughout the Caulukya period, stood for the whole of Kathiawar, or merely for its southern portion.

Identification of the few places occurring in inscriptions shows that at least the southern half of Kathiawar was included in Saurāstra-maṇḍala. Perhaps Dhavalakka (Dholka) which is once said to be in the former Gurjjara-maṇḍala formed the northernmost point of this maṇḍala. But I cannot be specific.

8. Khetaka Mandala

Three other Maṇḍalas present a similar difficulty. We do not know whether their boundaries overlapped or not. These are the Lāṭa-Narmadātaṭa and the Dadhipadra maṇḍalas. There is no reference to the Kheṭaka-maṇḍala which occurred so frequently during the Rāṣṭrakūta period. But if its boundaries were the same as gathered from the Paramāra and Rāṣṭrakūta records, viz. with Modāsa in the Pranjtij Taluka and Jambusara in the Broach district, then it would appear that the Sabarmati was the N.E.-S.W. boundary of the Kheṭaka maṇḍala separating it from the Sārasvata-maṇḍala and the Mahi was the N.E. and S.W. boundary in the south. How far eastwards it extends we cannot say for certain.

9. Lata Mandala

From the Mahi or Narmada downwards extended the Lāṭa-maṇḍala including the country along the coast and reached as far as Navasari, or the river Purna.

10. Narmada-tata Mandala

The inland country east of Dabhoi, which according to an inscription once formed part of the Gurjjara-maṇḍala covering most of the valleys of the Narmada and its tributaries: the Orsang, the Hiran and the Karjan, now forming the eastern half of the Baroda Prant, and some parts of the Rajpipla and perhaps the Chhota Udaipur and Baria States, might have constituted the Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala. Unless more material comes forth either in the shape of Caulukya records relating to this region, or of their contemporaries, particularly the Parmāras who often controlled this region, the eastern, northern, and southern boundaries of this maṇḍala cannot be fixed.

11. Dadhipadra and Godrahaka Mahamandala

The above remarks would hold good of the Dadhi-padra-maṇḍala also. It must lie north of the Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala. What we know for certain is that Godrahaka (Godhra) stood on the eastern frontier of the maṇḍala. And the whole of the maṇḍala most probably acted as a buffer state between Gujarat and Malwa.

Malwa was represented once by Avantī-maṇḍala and once by Bhāillasvāmi-12-maṇḍala. If Avantī is identified with Ujjain, and Bhāillasvāmi with Bhilsa we have a fairly large region stretching roughly from longitude 76° to 78°.

From this detailed survey the following approximate equivalents may be proposed.

Sārasvata-maṇḍala = Former Mehsana Prant, Radhanpur and Palanpur States minus Dehgam Taluka.

Satyapura-maṇḍala = Jodhpur State.

Kheṭaka-maṇḍala = The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, and northern part of Broach District.

Lāṭa-maṇḍala = Southern half of Broach district, Surat district and the northern part of Thana district.

Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala = Eastern part of the Broach district, the territory on either side of the Narmada, comprising parts of Rajpipla State, and Sankheda Taluka.

Dadhipadra-maṇḍala
Godrahaka-maha-maṇḍala = Most of the Panchmahal district, and probably parts of Jhabua, Ratlam and other States.

Avanti and
Bhāillasvāmi-12-maṇḍala. = Malwa.

12. Sarasvata Mandala and its Subdivisions

Of this extensive empire, I am able to work out the further subdivisions and their divisions in the case of one maṇḍala or province only. This is the Sārasvata-maṇḍala which I have called "the home province of the Caulukyas." It really formed the backbone of the empire as it forms of real Gujarat even now. Of course we cannot ignore Baroda and Surat, but both culturally and materially Ahmedabad holds the place which Aṇhilvāḍa held during Caulukya period. For this Ahmedabad should be grateful to its Sultans.

A maṇḍala, i.e., a province, was usually divided into viṣayas i.e., districts, and the latter into pathakas i.e. taluka or mahals. Though this was the practice we find mention of only two viṣayas: Varddhi and Gaṁbhutā. Both these are mentioned in early inscriptions only. Gambhutā-viṣaya is referred to in an inscription of Mūlarāja(3) and Varddhi-viṣaya twice, once in an inscription of Mūlarāja and once in that of Bhīma. Gaṁbhutā is identified with Gāṁbhu on the Puṣmāvatī in the Chanasma mahāl of the Mehsana Prant. Varddhi was identified by Bühler with Vaddhiar, the name of a tract lying between the Radhanpur and Baroda State borders. I do not agree with this identification, because it is not liguistically correct. However, there is no doubt that the Gaṁbhutā-viṣaya lay to the south of the Sārasvatī river; and the limits of the Varddhi viṣaya extended as far as the Banās in the north. What the exact boundaries of these viṣayas were we do not know for want of more and detailed information.

Subsequent records of the Caulukyas and Vāghelas do not refer to any Viṣaya in this Sārasvata-maṇḍala. Both Varddhi and Gambhutā are called pathakas. Why this was done we cannot say. It would appear that it was found advisable for administrative and other purposes to divide the whole maṇḍala into a number of smaller units, called pathakas.

Thus we meet with the names of seven pathakas:— viz. Cālisā, Daṅḍāhī, Dhāṇada, Gaṁbhūtā, Vālauya, Varddhi and Viṣaya. Identification of the place-names within these pathakas has enabled me to determine with more or less certainty the limits(4) of each pathaka, and lead me to think that these pathakas between themselves covered almost the whole of the Sārasvata maṇḍala. I will briefly mention the details about each pathaka and its limits.

13. Dhanada-Ahara Pathaka

I would first take up the Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka which is the first pathaka to be mentioned as such, and which formed the northernmost part of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala An inscription published some years ago tells us that Bhīma I while ruling the Dhāṇada-Āhāra-pathaka granted the village of Varaṇāvādā. Most luckily we can identify both these places, the village granted, and the capital of the pathaka. Dhāṇada is Dhānda, about 10 miles east of Palanpur. Even now it seems to be a big place, larger than the surrounding villages. Varaṇāvādā is Varnvāḍa about 3 miles south of Dhāṇda. Unfortunately the places to the west and east of Varaṇavādā viz. Chhīṁdriyāla-grāma and Vāra-asavalī cannot be located. Probably they have disappeared now. Though this is the only reference to this pathaka, we can roughly fix its boundaries by plotting other pathakas. According to Mirza Muhammad (whose father was Waqa'-i-nigar, or Chief Reporter under Prince Jahander Shah of Gujarat in 1708 A.D., the author himself becoming the Dewan of the province in 1747 A.D.), the author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Supplement, p. 206), the area covering Palanpur, Deesa, and Santiwara was in former times called Dhandar, which must be the same as our Dhāṇada.

14. Dandahi Pathaka

The pathaka immediately south of the Dhāṇada-Āhara Pathaka was called Daṅḍāhi-pathaka. We have had two references to it:

one in the time of Tribhuvanapāla, a stop-gap king who ruled for a few years during the chaos, dated v.s. 1290. Bhīma's record refers to Mahisāṇā-grāma which is no other than our Mehasana, a railway junction and the chief town of the prant and taluka of that name. While this record gives a few details only some of which can be satisfactorily identified, Tribhuvanapāla's record, while granting the village Bhāmṣaṛa gives its boundaries in great details, even mentioning the places in the sub-directions. In all 12 places are mentioned and fortunately all these can be identified. Thus Bhāṁṣara is Bhākhar To its north lay Dāsayaja and Kambali. These are Dāsaj and Kamboli, north-west of Bhakhar. To the east were Kuralī and Dāsayaja. Of these Kurali cannot be identified. I suspect that its place has been taken away by Ranchhodpura, which by its name is a new place-name. In the south stood Kurali and Tribha. Of these Tribha is Tarabh, about 4 miles south-s.e. from Bhakhar. To the west were Araṭhaüra and Unjhā. These are respectively Aithor, 3 miles s.w. and Unjha, 2 miles s.w. of Bhakhar..

The same inscription grants another village, Rājapuri, to the north of which was Naṅḍāvasana, to its n.e., Kuila, to its east Kūlāvasaṇa and Dāṅgarüā, to its s.e. Caṇḍāvasaṇa and Indrāvaḍa to its south Āhirāṇā and west Sirasāvi and Naṇḍāvasana and n.w. Sirsāvi Uṅtaüyā. The scribe or the writer has made a slight mistake in indicating the directions of some of the places. But out of the 12, 10 places can be still located. These are in the order following the above, Rājpur, Nandāsan, Kiol, Jhulasan, Dāṅgarwa, Chandāsan Idrād, Irāna Sarsav, and Utaw respectively. All these villages (grāmas) are within a radius of 3 to 5 miles from Rājpur. We are told that the first 10 places were situated within the Daṅḍāhī-pathaka and the 12 mentioned subsequently, while granting Rajāpuri in the Viṣaya-pathaka. This is the only reference to this pathaka. But the places within these pathakas determine the latter's position and extent. Perhaps both these pathakas are referred to in the Praśasti(5) of a palm-leaf manuscript of Mahāpuriṣa-Cariya written during Kumārapalā's reign in v.s. 1227(5-A). That Daṇḍāhi was once the name of a sub-division is mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Supplement, p. 206). There we are told that "In the kingdom of Gujarat most areas are specially named, and wonderful stories are told about their origin of those names. (Thus) Danda (included) Pargana Kadi and its neighbourhood."

The places in the **Daṅḍāhī-pathaka** lie partly in the modern Sidhpur, Visanagar and Mehsana mahāls while those in the **Viṣaya-pathaka** like in the Kadi mahāl[6]. But I believe that the river **Khāri** was the northernmost boundary of the **Viṣaya-pathaka**, its southern boundary probably being the **Sābarmati**. **Indrāvaḍa**, **Indrād** and **Caṅdāvasaṇa (Chadāsan)** or perhaps Kalol stood on the southern frontiers. For the territory south of Kalol, extending as far as the **Sābarmati** constituted another unit, called the **Cālisa-pathaka**. We glean this fact from an inscription of Bhīma II dated V.S. 1283. While governing **Cālisā Pathaka** he granted the village of **Natāülī** to the north and west of which were situated **Vaḍasara** and **Oṁkurāla grāmas** and to the south **Avayāṇija** and **Cuyāmtija**. Of these **Vaḍasara** is Vadsar in the Kalol mahal. To its south lie Khatraj, Pethalaj and Samtaj which evidently occupy the position of **Avayāṇija** and **Cuyāṁtija**. The ending -ja of the old and the modern place-names suggest that these places are related to each other.

14. Calisa Pathaka

Cālisā after which the pathaka was named is perhaps represented by Chalisan or Chalasan, now the northern-most village in the Kadi mahal. If this identification turns out to be correct, then the **Cālisā-pathaka** comprised partly the present Kadi and Kalol mahāls.

15. Varddhi Pathaka

To the west and north-west of this pathaka was situated the Varddhi pathaka. From the identification of the places mentioned in four records, one of **Jayaṅtasiṁha** dated v.s. 1280, two of **Bhīma II** dated v.s. 1295 and 1296, and one of **Viśāldeva** dated v.s. 1317 this has proved to be the best worked out pathaka. Not only we know well its four boundaries, but practically all the places within it during the Caulukya period.

It is not necessary to mention all the places. It would suffice if I refer to some of the important places within it.

16. Capital of Varddhi Pathaka

The capital or chief town of the Varddhi-pathaka from which a number of grants were made was **Maṇḍalī**. It is difficult to identify with certainty whether this **Maṇḍalī** represents **Māṅdal** in the Viramgam Taluka or **Maṇḍalī** of the Chansma mahal. One record of Bhīma II cites one **maṅḍalī** as a place situated to the west of **Ghūsaḍi** village in which were built the temples of **Vīrameśvara** and **Sūmaleśvara**. At this place now stands **Māṅdal**. Topographically **Māṅdal** seems to be the old capital, while in favour of **Mānḍalī** of the Chanasma mahal we have nothing but identity of name. The author of the **Mirāt-i-Ahmadi** (Supplement, p. 164), while giving details about the Pargana Viramgam, or Jhalawar says, "In former days the chief town was **Mānḍalī** then the headquarters were removed to Viramgam." This would show Māṅdal's identification with the **Mānḍalī** of Caulukya records is correct, and that even after the Caulukya period **Mānḍalī** had remained the chief town of the unit.

17. Old Name of Viramgam

Viramgam itself, the chief town of the taluka of this name, and the frontier town on ancient Kathiawar-Gujarat junction, is a comparatively new place though the site it occupied is probably very old. Even during the Caulukya period the place was known as **Ghūsaḍi grāma**. Even when **Bhīma** built the temple of **Virāmeśvara** there, a **Śiva** temple named after **Virāma**, the place was called by its old name. Subsequently however the old name was forgotten. Now we know it as Viramgam, evidently after the temple of **Vīsameśvara**.

This **Ghūsaḍi** or Viramgam formed perhaps the southern outpost of the Varddhi-pathaka and stood on the royal highway to Kathiawar, as it does now. The inscription specifically says that the **Rājamārga** lay to its east and south. All the places to its north — **Bhojuyā**, **Kāliānā**, **Nānā-Ubhaḍā**, **Dheḍāsan**, for instance, are mentioned, the two latter are called **Laghu-Ubhaḍā** and **Ṭheḍhavasaṇa** respectively. Leaving other places in the interior I would mention the places on its northern end. These were **Sūrayaja**, **Sāṁpavāḍā**, **Ādhivāḍā**, **Salakhaṇapura**, Vahicara and **Hāṁsalaspura**. All these are represented by Suraj, **Sāṁpavāḍa** **Ādhivāḍā**, Sankhalpur, Behcharaji, and Hasalpur respectively.

18. Geographical boundaries of Varddhi Pathaka

The Varddhi-pathaka thus covered almost the half of the Chanasma mahal and the Viramgam taluka. The **saṅgama** of the Khāri, Rupen and **Puṣmāvati** constituted its northern end. The southern end included besides Viramgam, the villages of Līlāpura, Karīrā and Mālakatari. For at the first-mentioned place, **Līlāpura**, Līlādevi a daughter of Samarsiṁha and wife of Bhīma II had built the temples of Līleśvara and **Bhīmeśvara**, named evidently after herself and her husband. All these villages are situated to the south of Viramgam. **Līlapura** has retained its original name, while the other two are called Karela and Malika respectively.

19. Gambhuta Pathaka

The north-eastern boundary of the Varddhi-pathaka is indicated by another unit, called **Gāṁbhutā-pathaka**. In all 5 inscriptions mention this pathaka but only three inscriptions give details from which we can form an extent of the pathaka. An inscription of **Mūlarāja** II, dated v.s. 1193, so far the only record known of this king who succeeded **Ajayapāla** is addressed to the officers of the **Gāṁbhutā Pathaka**. In the address the places Kāroḍā and Bāṁbhaṇavādā are referred to. Villages bearing identical names still exist in the north-eastern part of the Çhanasma mahal. Bhima II's inscription of V.S. 1263 and of **Jayaṅtasiṁha** mention the villages of Śeṣadevatā, Ghāriyāvali, Deūlavāḍā, Ḍodiyā pāṭaka, Iṭilā, Kālhari, Phiṁchaḍi and Vahicara. All these places almost retaining their Ćaulukyan, 12th-13th century form, lie in and around the Khāri, Puṣmāvatī and Rupen doab. Dodiavāḍa, 12 miles s.w. of **Gaṁbhu** the chief town of the pathaka and Śeṣadevatīgrāma lay on the west s.w. frontier of the pathaka. We have seen that the village of **Kālhari** and Vahicara were mentioned while defining the limits of a village granted in the Varddhi-pathaka.

Were this all, the **Gāṁbhutā-pathaka** would be very small indeed. For it would correspond to a little more than half of the Chanasma mahal. But I believe that the villages of Saṅdera, **Sūnaka** and **Laghu-Dābhi**, which lie in s.e. and s.w. corners of the present Patan and Sidhpur mahals were originally comprised within the Gaṁbhutā pathaka, **Sūnaka** and **Ḍābhi** touching on the north-eastern border of the pathaka, beyond which were **Unjhā** and Arṭhaüra of the **Danḍāhī-pathaka.** How much due northwards the pathaka extended we cannot say. Perhaps the whole of the present Chanasma mahal was definitely included in it. A few miles further north lay the capital of the **maṇḍala** and empire— Aṇahila-pattana or pāṭaka or **-pura,** modern Patan. Did it constitute a separate unit, like the present Delhi district, or was it included in the Gaṁbhutā-pathaka ? **Gaṁbhutā** after which the pathaka is named is now called merely **Gāmbhū.** It lies on the left bank of the Puṣmāvati river. Another important place in this pathaka was Modhera or **Muḍhera.** In the time of **Mūlarāja I** it was included in Varddhi-viṣaya. It was the home of the **Brāhmaṇas** and Vaṇikas of that name. And here **Karṇa** I had built the famous temple of the Sun, the finest piece of architecture in N. Gujarat. The ruins of this temple still exist.

20. Valauya Pathaka

The last pathaka that we know of, and probably the last pathaka in the Sārasvata-maṇḍala is the Vālauya-pathaka Only one inscription refers to this pathaka. Here in V.S. 1288 **Bhīma II** granted a village, the name of which is lost; west of this village was **Rāṇāvāḍā,** now called **Rāṇāvāḍā,** to the north **Uṅdirā** and **Āngaṇavāḍā,** the present **Uṅdara** and **Ānganavāḍā** respectively; to the east **Sāṁparā** and **Chhatrāharū,** the present **Sāṁprā** and **Chhatiāra** respectively. All these villages lie to the east-s.e. of the Banas and are included in the Patan mahal. They and the river might have formed the westernmost border of the pathaka. **Vālauya,** the chief town of the pathaka, I identify with **Bālavā** about 12 miles east of **Āṅgaṇavāḍa** and on the left bank of the small Bahi river. Though no further details are available, I believe that the **Vālauya** pathaka probably included most of the northern half of the present Patan and Sidhpur mahals and so included all the territory to the east of the **Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka.**

We had started on our tour of reconstructing the **Sārasvata-maṇḍala** and the sub-units within it with this pathaka. In arriving back to it we have gone over all the territory lying between the latitudes 23° and 24°, to the west of the **Sābarmatī** river.

It is perhaps significant that no Caulukya inscription has so far mentioned a place east of the **Sābarmatī** river. It not only suggests that the Sābarmatī formed the eastern frontier of the Sārasvata maṇḍala but that the country to the east of the Sābarmati, though at times within the empire, was always a bone of contention between the Caulukyas and rulers of Malwa.

Even for a fuller knowledge of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala we should have names of places and the name of the pathaka which lay within what is now called the Kherālu and Vijāpur mahals. So far the place nearest to the Sābarmatī known from Caulukya inscriptions is Lāṅgaṇaijya or Langhnaj, the scene of the unique pre-historic finds in India.

21. Short resume of Sarasvata Mandala

Save for this, our knowledge of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala is complete. I have already sketched its geographical limits. Politically it comprised the Mehsana Prant, (minus the Dehgam taluka) of the former Baroda State, parts of Pālanpur and Rādhanpur States and the Viramgam taluka. The Mehsana Prant is divided into, beginning from the north, 1. Sidhpur, 2. Kheralu, 3. Vijāpur 4. Visnagar, 5. Mehsana 6. Kaḍi 7. Kalol, 8. Chānsama 9. Patan, 10. Harij and 11. Dehgam mahals. The last, Dehagam is really an appendage, not forming a homogeneous whole with the other trans-Sābarmatī group of mahals. Now just consider the number of pathakas which constitute the Sārasvata-maṇḍala and its modern equivalents.

1. Dhāṇada Pathaka = Southern part of Palanpur State.
2. Daṇḍāhī Pathaka = Parts of Sidhpur, Visnagar and Mehsana, and perhaps Kheralu mahals (See however footnote 5 on p. 286)
3. Viṣaya Pathaka = Parts of Mehsana and Kadi mahals (See however footnote 6 on p. 287)
4. Cālisā Pathaka = Parts of Kadi and Kalol mahals
5. Varaddhi Pathaka = Viramgam taluka and parts of Chanasma mahal and perhaps of Harji.
6. Gaṁbhutā-Pathaka = Parts of Chanasma, Patan, and Sidhpur mahals
7. Vālauya Pathaka = Parts of Harij, Patan and Sidhpur mahals

We shall have at least one more pathaka when details of place-names in the Vijāpur and Kherālu mahāls come forth.

22. Sarasvata Mandala and Mehsana Prant

The correspondence between the size of the largest territorial unit and its sub-divisions into mahals in Northern Gujarat, of the Gaikwads of Baroda and the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka is pretty close. If the former have inherited the territory of the latter, have they also unconsciously inherited their administration system? No less than 5 centuries separate the two rulers. So direct borrowing is to be definitely ruled out. But tradition, as modified by centuries of Muslim rule and administrative experiments, might have guided the framers of the Baroda administrative system.

In the time of Sultans of Gujarat the province of Gujarat consisted of 25 sarkārs. Akbar redistributed them into 16 sarkars. Of these Pattana sarkār had 17 sub-divisions or parganas. We have actually no idea how the Gujarat Sultans had divided their province of Gujarat. But since Akbar followed the existing system, only regrouping the territory, it seems that he recognized the necessity of dividing the entire territory into sub-units.

But we have seen that this territory, at least from the 11th century, was divided into no less than 8 sub-divisions for administrative and perhaps fiscal purposes. Hence the Sultans could be said to follow the tradition current before them. If they had more sub-divisions it was because they were foreigners and for better control preferred smaller sub-divisions. Akbar borrowed it from them when he conquered Gujarat and handed it down to the Marathas and the English.

23. Caulukyan Government

Reconstruction of the Caulukya empire and one of its large units, the Sārasvata-maṇḍala shows the method of Caulukyan government. For better government the empire had to be divided into maṇḍalas (provinces) and the maṇḍalas(provinces) into pathakas (sub-divisions). A comparison between the number and size of Caulukyan maṇḍalas (provinces) and pathakas (sub-divisions) and those of the British, Gaikwad and Mughal provinces and sub-divisions has shown that the Caulukyan divisions were neither too small nor too large, considering their times when transport was much slower than today. In fact our comparison has shown a close correspondence in size between the size of the Gaikwadi mahals and Caulukyan pathakas, and the size of the British districts and Caulukyan maṇḍalas.

Not only in the division of their empire, but also in the actual government of its various parts the Caulukyas exhibited a high administrative insight.

With the king was a minister called Mahāmātya, Saciva or Mantri. The names of several of these we know from Caulukya records. They were selected irrespective of their caste or creed. Thus a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya whether he be Hindu or Jaina, could hold the appointment, though at times when the king was a bigot, partiality to a particular creed resulted, and proved ability was set aside.

The governor of a maṇḍala was usually called a Maṇḍaleśvara or Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. In normal times a civilian was selected for this post. But when the province was newly conquered or lay on the frontier which must have been turbulent and its possession precarious a Daṅḍādhipati, literally a commander of the forces, was appointed to such provinces. Thus under Bhīma I, Vimala, a Daṅḍādhipati was in charge of Arbuda (Mt. Abu) region, and during the reign of Jayasiṁha Vāpanadeva held the governorship of Dadhipadra-maṇḍala.

What is remarkable is the existence of practices one thousand years ago exactly recalling modern practices. As we all know the British used to appoint an army chief to what are known as non-Regulation provinces. The North-West Frontier province has only recently(7) got a semi-democratic constitution, and India herself, due to exigencies of time, put under an ex-Commander-in-chief. Similar needs give birth to similar results.

Each viṣaya or pathaka was placed under a separate chief who was directly responsible to its immediate superior. We are thus told that in the reign of Visaladeva, the chief of Varddhipathaka viz., Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Sāmantasiṁha was subordinate to Amātya Nāgaḍa whereas the chief of Vāmanasthali, Mahattara Śobhanadeva was responsible in the first instance to Somarāja, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Surāṣṭra.

24. Territorial Units and Geographical Boundaries.

What was the relation between purely geographical boundaries, such as rivers, hills, forests and territorial units? Gujarat being purely an alluvial country, there are very few hills and forests, regions which would either bar territorial expansion or which could be regarded as effective land frontiers. Consequently we do not come across a unit named after a hill or forest. But there are a number of small and big rivers in both Northern and Central Gujarat. The doabs formed by these rivers made a territorial unit. Some of these are expressly mentioned e.g., the **autaramaṇḍali** i.e. the Purna-Mindhola doab, **Antara-Narmadā**, probably the Tapi (Tapti)-Narmada doab. Besides the larger rivers of Central and Southern Gujarat, it appears that the smaller rivers in Northern Gujarat, **the Khāri**, the Rupen and the **Puṣmāvati** as the discussion of the size of the pathakas in the **Sārasvata-maṇḍala** shows, must have been used for fixing the size of the pathakas, whereas the **Banās** and **Sābarmatī** formed the western and eastern frontiers of the territory on either side of the Sarasvati, and hence it was named after the river as **Sārasvata-maṇḍala**. Another such unit was the **Narmadātaṭā-maṇḍala**.

25 Distribution of Population

One small but important point also comes out from the identification of the place-names in Caulukya Gujarat. This is the distribution of the population. We cannot have an idea of the number of people then inhabiting the province, for no census records, if there were any, have come down to us. But plotting the various villages on a map, together with the small and big roads, indicates that the villages were spread over Gujarat exactly in the same position as they are now. Very few new villages seem to have sprung up between the old villages. Rather we find some deserted sites of old villages. This might have been due to migration to urban areas. Any way our inquiry shows that during the Caulukyan times Northern Gujarat was populated in an identical manner as today, which seems to be neither too thick as in Central Gujarat or too sparse as in Kutch.

26. Rainfall in Caulukyan Times

From the spread and distribution of the villages and population we may reasonably infer the climate, particularly rainfall, during the Caulukyan times. If the land supported as many villages as today, the quantity of rain (and the wells) which irrigated it could not have been, at least, much less than at present, but probably slightly more. A consideration of the weather reports of the last 50 years seems to favour the view that rainfall has not decreased in Gujarat, though popular view is that Northern Gujarat is slowly being desiccated. The evidence of historical geography, here pointed out, may be valued for what it is worth.

TERRITORIAL UNITS OF YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

27. Political History of Yadavas of Devagiri

The empire of the Yādavas of Devagiri was one of the important ones that arose on the ashes of the empire of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṅī. So far we have 120 records of this dynasty belonging to the Deccan. They mention twenty-two princes from the early Yādava family who belonged to the Seuṇadesa and nine from the later Yādavas, amongst whom seven were ruling kings of the Deccan.

Bhillama captured some territory from the Cālukyan kingdom and also defeated the Kālacurya monarch. He established the supremacy of the Yādavas over the Deccan, particularly in the Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmednagar and Aurangabad districts, as the find spots of his copper plates show.

He made 'Devagiri', modern Daulatabad, as his capital.

The records of Singhaṇa mention place-names from the western part of Mahārāṣṭra, Hyderabad State, Bombay-Karṇāṭaka parts of Mysore state and Bellary district. He seems to have controlled the whole region, from Khandesh and Aurangabad to the north, upto the river Tungabhadra to the south.

His successors maintained the same region under their power. Rāmadeva the successor of Mahādeva extended his dominion by annexing the districts of Bhandara, and Nagpur in the Madhya Pradesh, and by occupying the whole of the Mysore state.

Plotting of the place names and the reconstruction of the administrative units mentioned in the records of Rāmadeva show that the river Narmada formed the northern limit and Tungabhadra the southern limit of his empire. The region between these two rivers was under the supremacy of the Yādavas.

In 1294 A.D. Allā-ud-din Khilji invaded the dominions of Rāmadeva and shattered the Yādava empire. Soon after, Hara pala the last Yādava ruler was captured. Yādava empire then became a province of the Muslim power.

Besides these imperial powers we have to study the feudatory families of the Śilāhāras.

28. Political History of Silaharas

(a) **Of South Konkan** — Of this dynasty we find only two records belonging to the Deccan. These two records mention nine princes of this family.

The dynasty controlled Konkaṇa 900, that is the southern part of modern Konkan, the territory of Goa, and Sawantwadi State.

(b) **Of North Konkan** — So far we have got 35 records of this dynasty, according to which we know sixteen princes of this family. From the find spots and the place names mentioned in the records, the kingdom seems to have consisted of the region lying south of the Surat district, Thana and Kolaba districts, Ratnagiri district and Bombay island.

(c) **Of Kolhapur** — About 26 records of this family are found so far. They mention names of 14 princes.

All the place names occurring in their records belong to the Kolhapur, Miraj and Sangli States, and to the Satara and Belgaum districts. The power of this dynasty seems to have been confined to this region only.

This rapid survey shows that in the past, the Deccan was generally under the direct control of several successive imperial dynasties, each of them had a feudal relation with the preceding one; and for sometime the Deccan was divided between the simultaneous rule of two or more dynasties.

29. Administrative Divisions under the Yadavas

The empire of the Yādavas included the southern part of the Madhya Pradesh, Berar, Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkana, Karṇāṭaka, parts of the (former) Mysore and Hyderabad states and Anantapur, Bellary and Karnul districts of the (former) Madras state.

For the first time in the records of the Deccan, we get one reference to the unit 'maṇḍala' viz. Kuṇḍimaṇḍala. The other units which we find are 'deśa' 'nāḍa' 'viṣaya' 'kaṁpaṇa' and the units with numerals attached. From our evidence we cannot say whether a 'maṇḍala' was the largest unit, nor can we say whether the unit 'maṇḍala' was prevalent in the Deccan in the Yādava period.

The administrative terms seem to have been used loosely, e.g. Kundi-3000 is mentioned as a 'mandala', 'deśa' and also a 'viṣaya'.

The subdivisions of the smaller units are usually mentioned with some numerical figures, and rarely with the administrative terms like 'kampaṇa' There seems to have been a complete absence of the unit 'bhukti'.

The Yādava dominion contained at least the following large units which appear with the designations maṇḍala, deśa, viṣaya, nāḍa.

30. Amra Desa

The record of Ś 1150 mentions Āmra Deśa.(8) The chief town of the place was perhaps Āmrapura which is identified with Ambe Jogai (Mominabad) in the Bhir district of the former Hyderabad state.

The deśa included a place called Laghubāḍadhi but it is not traceable now. The record further states that Āmra deśa was on the bank of the river Vanjarā which is modern Manjara. From this information we can only say that this deśa was around modern Ambe, lying on the bank of the river Manjara.

31. Banavasi-12000

Yādava records do not give further information about Banavāsi-12000.

32. Basura Visaya

The 'visaya' appears for the first time in the records of the Deccan. And that too only in one record, according to which the 'viṣaya' included the donated place of Caṇgūra (9). Caṅgūra is modern Sangur in the Haveri taluka of the Dharwar district on the river Varadā. The chief place Basura is not traceable.

The 'viṣaya' might have included at least the southern part of the Haveri taluka. For the first time we get an administrative division in the southern part of the Dharwar district.

33. Belvala-300 : Nada : Visaya

Out of the frequent reference to Beḷvala-300, only three records mention places in it.

The record of Ś 1113 mentions that Hiriya Haṇḍigola was in Beḷvala nāḍa. Hiriya Haṇḍigola is modern Hire Handigol in the Gadag taluka of the Dharwar district.(10)

The place Gadag itself, which appears as Kratuka in the inscription of Ś 1151 was also in this unit.(11)

Then a small unit, viz. Kukkanuru 30, was situated in the Seivala, according to the copper plate of S 1175.(12) Kukkanūra-30 is the region surrounding modern Kukkanur in the Raichur district.

From the Yādava records then we only know a portion of Belvala-300 of the Kalyani Calukyan period. It included the Gadag taluka and the western part of the Raichur district.

34. Bhandagara Desa

Bhāṇḍagāra Deśa was annexed to the Yādava kingdom in the time of Rāmadeva. Only one record of Ś 1232 mentions this unit, but no place belonging to this deśa is mentioned therein.(13)

Bhāṇḍagāra, the headquarters of the 'desa', is modern Bhandara in the Bhandara district. No further information about its extention is available.

35. Dharora Desa

Ambe inscription of Ś 1150, refers to Dhārōra deśa .(14) Dhārōra is modern Dharur in the Bhir district, about 17 miles north-west of Ambe-Jogai. The record does not mention any place situated in it.

The deśa might have been adjacent to Āmra deśa.

36. Hagaratage-300

The record does not mention any place situated in Hagaraṭage 300. Hagaraṭage which is Hagaratgi in the Gulburga district of the former Hyderabad state, is mentioned as Pegalaṭṭi in the Kālyāṇī Cālukyan times. Hagaratage-300 might have been equivalent to Pagalatti Viṣaya of the Kālyāṇī Cālukyas(15)

37. Halasige-12000 Nada

The record of Ś 1174 mention that Kuṭṭuṁbāgi was in Halasige nāda.(16) Koṭṭuṁbāgi is modern Kotbagi in the Khanapur taluka of the Belgaum district. The taluka might have been part of the nāda.

38. Huligere-300

Huligeṛe is the changed form of Puligeṛe, which is modern Lakshmeshvar. Huligeṛe-300 appears in several records, but there is no reference to the places situated in this unit.

39. Kanhairi Desa

The Purushottamapuri copper plate of Ś 1232 refers to Kanhairi deśa (17) Kanhairi, which was the chief place of the deśa is modern Kanher in the Chalisgaon taluka of the East Khandesh district.

The deśa included in it, the subdivision named Kanhairi 'khaṁpaṇa' The 'Khaṁpaṇa' included in it Pōkhari which is modern Pohari. Pōkhari again contained three hamlets, namely, Pāli Pōkhari, Pimpalgahvāṇa, and Saegahavāṇa. The first is not traceable, the other two are modern Pimpalgaon and Saigaon respectively. All are situated in the Chalisgaon taluka.

Besides these, the 'Khaṁpana' included Aḍagan, which is modern Adgaon in the Chalisgaon taluka. It included in it three hamlets, viz. Pimpalavādi, Kājalakōvi and Soijana. Pimpalavaḍi is modern Phul Pimpalwadi; the other two places could not be traced.

Kanhairi deśa also included vāghaure which is modern Waghur in the Bhir district of the former Hyderabad state. Vāghaure consisted of three hamlets, viz., Dhāravāghure which is now merged in the same village Waghur, Golegahvan, that is Gohanthadi, 3 miles north by west of Waghûr, and Simpa Vihire which can not be identified.

The record refers to other places such as Purusottamapuri, Rājagau Hivare, Sādule Kēsavpuri which are modern Purushottamapuri, Rajegaon, Hivare, Sadole and Keshavapuri respectively, and are about 2 to 8 miles from Waghur. Though it is not mentioned, it is likely that these places also belonged to Kanhairi deśa

The Kanhairi deśa then covered an area of about 100 x 18 miles, and included modern Chaḷisgaon taluka of the East Khandesh district, and parts of the Aurangabad and Bhir districts.

40. Karahada-2000

Karahāṭa-4000 of the Kalyāṇī Cālukyan period appears as Karahāḍa-2000 in the Yādava records.

Kokatnur inscription of S 1175 mentions that Karahāḍa-2000 included Kaṇaṁbaḍe-300.(18) Kaṇaṁbaḍe is modern Kenamodi which was mentioned as Kaḷḷambadi in the Kalyāṇī Cālukyan record. Kaṇaṁbaḍe-300 included in it Koggaṭanagrahāra which is modern Kokatnur in the Athni taluka, 20 miles south-west of Kanamodi.

Though only one record gives reference to Karahāḍa-2000 it shows that it occupied an area of 80 x 16 miles, that is, roughly covered the same area as in the preceding period. The area, however, included modern Karhad, Vite, Kharkundi talukas of the Satara district, parts of the Sangli and Miraj states and the Athni taluka of the Belgaum district.

41. Kheta Desa

After the Badami Cālukyan period we find a reference to Kheta deśa in the Yādava period.(19) But unfortunately the record does not mention places in it. Kheṭa is modern Khed, the chief place of the taluka in the Ratnagiri district. The extention of the 'desa' cannot be worked out.

42. Kolhapura Desa

The reference to Kolhāpura deśa is found for the first time in the record of Ś 1172, (20) Kolhāpura the headquarters, is obviously modern Kolhapur, the capital city of the (former) Kolhapur state.

The record gives no further information. But the reference is important as it suggests that Kolhapur had been a unit of administration since the 13th century.

43. Konkana Desa

Koṅkaṇa deśa included in it Saṭṣaṣṭhi viṣaya. This viṣaya roughly corresponds with modern Salsette island.(21) Konkaṇa deśa further included Supali, Ghārapavali(22) and Zarimaṇḍala. Except the last the other places could not be identified. Zari(23) is modern Zari in the Umbargaon Peta of the Thana district. Though it is found with the 'maṇḍala' suffix, no place in it has been mentioned, perhaps 'maṇḍala' has been attached just to give importance to the place.

Konkaṇa deśa then included at least parts of the Thana district and parts of the Salsette island.

44. Kundi Mandala, Desa, Visaya-3000

In the Yādava records Kuṇḍi-3000 appears as 'maṇḍala', deśa, and a 'viṣaya'. Only two records mention the places in this unit. The record of Ś 1171, registers certain lands of Santhey-Bāgevādi in the Huvaḷḷi 12 in the Kuhuṇḍi viṣaya (24) Santheya Bāgevādi is modern Bagewadi in the Belgaum taluka, and Huvaḷḷi has been identified with (Mugatkhan) Hubballi about 10 miles south-east of Bagewadi.(24-A)

Another record mentions that Vēṇugrāma was in Kuṇḍi maṇḍala. Vēṇugrāma is modern Belgaum.

Interesting point is that the record of Ś 1171 refers to Veṇu grāma as a viṣaya and of Ś 1179 as a 'desa'. But in Ś 1176 it is mentioned that Veṇugrama was in Kuṇḍi maṇḍala. It is likely then that the whole unit Vēṇugrāma deśa was situated in Kuṇḍi maṇḍala.

Kundi maṇḍala then included at least the Belgaum taluka of the Belgaum district. It is thus only a portion of Kuṇḍi-3000 of the earlier period.

45. Mana Desa

Māna deśa occurs only in the Velapuri inscription of Ṡ 1222 which included Velāpurī which is identified with Velapuri in the Malshiras taluka of the Sholapur district.(25) The division might have been comprised of the portion of Sholapur district between the rivers Bhima and Man.

46. Mirinji Desa

The record of Ṣ 1136 Miriṅji **deśa** mentions that it included Kudaladāmavāḍa.(26) Miriṅji is modern Miraj and **Kuḍaḷadāma vāda** has been identified with the modern Kurundwad the chief place of the Kurundwada state on the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Warna. The '**deśa**' is known only lengthwise which is about 12 miles.

47. Nule Nadu

Nūle-nādu is mentioned only once in the **Yādava** record. Arjunwad inscription of S 1182 mentions that **Kaviḷāsapura** was situated in **Nūle Nādu** The chief place of the division, **Nūle** is identified with Nul, 15 miles west of Hukeri in the Hukeri taluka of the Belgaum district, and **Kaviḷāsapura** is Kavilasapur, 7 miles west of Nul. **Kaviḷāsapura** included in it another small hamlet called Mosaragutti which is modern Mosaraguppi, 1 mile from Kavilasapura.

From this we may say that the region around Nul, in the present Hukeri taluka was once included in a unit called **Nūle Nādu**

48. Sangama Desa

There is only one reference to Sangama Desa,(27) but the record gives no further information. Samgama, the chief place of the unit, seems to be modern Sangameshvar, in the Sangameshvar taluka of the Ratnagiri district. The unit might have included present Sangameshvar taluka with the adjoining region, and might have been adjacent to Kheta Deśa.

49. Seuna Desa

The chief town of **Seūna deśa** was perhaps **Seūnapura** which has been identified with Sinnar in the Sinnar taluka of the Nasik district. Sinnar seems to have other names also — e.g. Sindinagara, Śrīngara etc.

Seūṇa deśa included in it Śrīngara-2500. The record of Ṣ 1020 registers the grant of Koṅkaṇagrāma in Saṁgemanera-84 which was situated in Srīnagara-2500.(28)

The latter is modern Sangamner in the Sangamner taluka of the Ahmednagar district, and former is Konkangaon, 8 miles from Sangamner, 6 miles north of Konkangaon.

(a) to the north-east — Meṣīpāṇīya which is modern Mendhvan, 6 miles north-east of Konkangaon.

(b) to the east — Dunḍudeva which is modern Dudheshvar, 8 miles east of Konkangaon.

(c) to the south-east — Kōvacīgrāma which is modern Konchi, 4 miles east by south of Konkangaon.

(d) to the south — Maṇiyavaligrāma which is modern Manoli, 1 mile south of Konkangaon.

(e) to the south-west — Juñyeravegrāma which is modern Jorve, 8 miles south-west of Konkangaon.

(f) to the west — Vaḍagavagrāma which is modern Wadgaon, 2 miles west by north of Konkangaon.

(g). to the north-west — Sangavīgrāma which is modern Sangavi.

All these places are situated in modern Sangamner taluka. Śrīnagara-2500 then included at least parts of modern Sinnar and Sangamner talukas.

51. Boundaries of Vadathanagrama

The record of S 1193 mentions the grant of three places, namely Vādāthāṇagrāma which is described as the ornament of Seuna Ḍesa; Pāṭāra Pimpalagrāma and Vaidya-Ghōghargrāma(29). Vādāthāṇa is the same as Vadathen now, the other two are modern Gade Pimpalgaon and Ghoghargaon, both are in the Aurangabad district.

The places on the borders of Vādāthāṇagrāma are mentioned as —

(a) to the east — Vāhagaṃve which is modern Waigaon,

(b) to the south-east — Neūragāmvu which is modern Neurgaon,

(c) to the south — Deīgāmvu which is modern Degaon,

(d) to the south-west — Nāgamaṭhāṇa which is modern Nagemathan,

(e) to the west — the river Ganga which is modern Godavari,

(f) to the west — Āluemgāṁvu which is modern Avalgaon,

(g) to the west — Khātigrāma which is not traceable,

(h) to the west — Jāṅtegāṁva which is modern Jategaon,

(i) to the north — Pāniva which is modern Panvi,

(j) to the north-east — Vaḍakhala which is modern Warkhed.

All these places are in modern Aurangabad district. Devagiri, the capital of Yādavas might have been situated in **Seūna deśa.**

The identification shows that Seūṇa deśa was a large unit, which extended about 70 x 32 miles.

The area might have included Sinnar taluka of the Nasik district, the northern part of the Ahmednagar district and the western part of the Aurangabad district.

From the identification of the places in Kanhairi deśa and Seūṇa deśa, it seems that the Seūṇa deśa might have occupied the south western part of Kanhairi deśa.

52. Tarddavadi-1000-Visaya

Tarddavāḍi-1000 appears several times in the Yādava records, but only five records give information about it.

The earliest reference is found in Ś. 1111 which mentions that Muttage 30 was in Tarddavāḍi-1000.(30) Muttage is the same Mutgi in the Bagewadi taluka of the Bijapur district and Taddavāḍi is Tadewadi in the same district. Muttage-30 included in it a place called Bivapura, but it is not traceable now.

Bijapur inscription of Jaitrapāla refers to Kiri Indi as situated in Taddavāḍi-1000.(31) Kiri Indi is modern Indi in the Indi taluka of the Bijapur district. According to another inscription of Jaitrapāla, Manigavalli, modern Mangoli in the Bagewadi taluka was in Tarddavāḍi (32)

The inscription dated Ś. 1182 includes Bāgavādi, modern Bagewadi in this unit.(33)

Ingaleshvar inscription of Mahādeva records that **Ingaḷīśvara**, modern Ingaleshvar in the Bagewadi taluka of the Bijapur district was in Tarddavadi-1000.(34)

From these references we get some idea of Tarddavāḍi-1000.

To the north it was bounded perhaps by the river Bhima, and to the south by Krishna. The unit included modern Indi, Bagewadi, Bagalkot and Bijapur talukas of the Bijapur district.

53. Toragale-6000, Nadu

Taragale nāḍu or 6000 is found in about ten records but from only one record, we know that it included Munivalli or Mumudravalli or Munipura.(35) Toragale is modern Torgal in the Ramdurga state on the river Malaprabha and Mumundravaḷḷi is modern Manoli, 8 miles south west of Torgal, in the Parasgad taluka.

From the identification of Toṛgale and of the other units we can imagine the probable limits of Toṛgale 6000. To the north-east was perhaps Tarddavāḍi-1000; to the south-east might have been Belvaḷa-300; to the south-east perhaps Halsige nāda and to the north-west perhaps Kuṇḍi-3000.

54. Vairakara Desa

Only a record of Rāmadeva mentions this viṣaya. Vajrkāra is perhaps modern Vairgarha in the Chanda district.(36) No further information is available.

55. Varadatata desa

Varadātaṭa deśa occurs only in one record but no place in it is mentioned.(37) Varadātata may be modern Wardha, the chief place of the Wardha district. The identification is doubtful but the name 'Varadātata' suggests the country on the bank of the river Varadā.

56. Venugrama Desa Visaya

Vēṇugrāma or Vēḷugrāma which was the headquarters of Veṇugrāma is modern Belgaum. We find it as a separate unit of administration in the record of Ś. 1171, which mentions the donated place Tāmbrapurī in Vēṇugrāma viṣaya.(38) Tambrapuri is probably modern Tamgaon in the Belgaum taluka.

Then according to the record of Ś. 1179 Vēṇugrāmadeśa included Ciñcuṇike-70 which is the region surrounding Chinchani in the Belgaum taluka.(39)

The unit then roughly included modern Belgaum taluka of the Belgaum district.

Vēṇugrāma the chief place of the 'deśa' or 'viṣaya' was situated in Kuṇḍimaṇḍala according to the record of Ś. 1176.(40)

From this reference we may conjecture that the latter included Vēṇugrāma deśa also. This may suggest that a maṇḍala' unit was larger than the 'deśa'.

57. Administrative Units of Yadava Empire

Identification of the Yādava administrative units shows that these were spread over modern Māhārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭaka, Madhya Pradesh and Berar and the Hyderabad state as follows:

(A) Maharashtra State

Kanhairi Deśa = Kanhairi is modern Kanher in the Chalisgaon taluka of the east Khandesh district. It included modern Chalisgaon taluka and parts of the Aurangabad and Bhir districts. Extension 100 x 18 miles.

Karahāḍa Deśa = Karahāḍa is modern Karhad. The unit included modern Karhad, Vite, Tasgaon and Kharkundi talukas of the Satara district; and parts of the Miraj and Sangli states and the Athni taluka of the Belgaum district. Extension approximately 80 x 16 miles.

Kolhāpura Deśa = Kolhapura is modern Kolhapur. The region surrounding it was included in the 'deśa'.

Koṅkaṇa Deśa = Thana district formed a part of the Koṅkaṇa 'deśa'.

Māna Deśa = Malshiras taluka of the Sholapur district was a part of the Māṇa deśa.

Miriṅji Deśa =Miriṅji is modern Miraj. Parts of the modern Miraj and Kurundwad states were included in Miriṅji deśa.

Sangama Deśa = Samgama is modern Sangameshvar in the Sangameshvar taluka of the Ratnagiri district. The taluka might have been a part of Sangama deśa.

Seüṇa Deśa = Seunapura, the chief place of the 'deśa' is perhaps Sinnar in the Nasik district. The desa included northern part of the Ahmednagar district. Sinnar taluka of the Nasik district and the western part of the Aurangabad district. It might have covered an area of 80 x 32 miles.

(B) Karnataka State

Banavasi = Banavāsi is the same Banwasi in the North Kanara district. The extension of the unit cannot be stated.

Bāsūra Viṣaya = Basura itself is not traceable. But modern Haveri taluka of the Dharwar district might have been a part of the Viṣaya.

Beḷvala = Modern Gadag taluka and some of the western part of the Raichur district were included in Belvala-300.

Halasige 12000 = Halasige, the older Palasige, is modern Halshi. The Khanapur taluka of the Belgaum district formed a part of Halasige-12000.

Huligeṛe = Huligeṛe which appears in the earlier period as Puligeṛe is the same

Lakshmeshwar. No further information is available in this period.

Kuṇḍi Maṇḍala Deśa Viṣaya = In this period only a portion of the earlier Kuṇḍi-3000 is known. Accordingly, we know that the present Belgaum taluka of the Belgaum district was in Kuṇḍi-3000.

Nūle Nādu = Nūle is modern Nul, in the Hukeri taluka of the Belgaum district. Part of the Hukeri taluka might have been included in Nūle Nādu.

Tarddavāḍi = Tarddavāḍi is modern Tadewadi in the Bijapur district. Parts of the modern Indi, Bagewadi, Bijapur, Bagalkot talukas were in Tarddavāḍi-1000. The extension might have been 70 x 12 miles.

Toṛagale = Toṛagale is modern Torgal in the Ramdurg state. Part of the Parasgad taluka might have been in Toragale-6000.

Vēṇugrāma Deśa = Vēṇugrāma is modern Belgaum. The Belgaum taluka formed a part of the Vēṇugrāma deśa.

(C) Madhya Pradesh and Berar

Bhāṇḍagāra Deśa = Bhāṇḍagāra is modern Bhandara in the Bhandara district. The region around it might have been included in the deśa.

Vajrakāra Deśa = The identification of this 'deśa' is doubtful. Vajrakāra may be modern Vairgarha in the Chanda district. The region around it might have formed the 'deśa'.

Varadātaṭa Deśa = Varadātaṭa may be modern Wardha. The unit may correspond with the region on the bank of the river Wardha.

(D) Hyderabad State

Āmra Deśa = Āmrapura was the chief town. The deśa included region around modern Ambe Jogai in the Bhir district.

Dhārōra Deśa = Dhārōra is Dharur in the Bhir district and the desa might have included the adjacent territory.

Hagaraṭage = Hagarṭage is modern Hagaratgi in the Gulburga district. The region surrounding it formed the unit.

58. Territorial Units of Yadavas

From the above analysis it would seem that there was irregular use of the administrative terms, as the same unit appears as a ' deśa ' in one record and a ' viṣaya ' in the other record. Nor can we say about the modern equivalents of the ancient divisions. The ' deśa ' sometimes is found to be larger than a district, and sometimes included only a taluka. Such as Kanhairi or Seūna deśa ' occupied a larger territory than a district; sometimes we do not find any place belonging to the ' deśa ' e.g. Khēta, Saṁgama Unless we get sufficient information about these units, it is not possible to say about the size of a ' maṇḍala ', ' deśa ' or ' viṣaya '.

The unit ' maṇḍala ' is found only once, hence we do not know whether the whole empire was divided into various maṇḍalas, or just to increase the importance of Kuṇḍi ' deśa ' it was called as Kundi ' maṇḍala '.

The unit ' nāda ' is found in the Karṇāṭaka area, and in the Kannada records. ' Nāḍa ' is a Kannada word meaning a ' deśa '

Though the records do not give sufficient information about each and every unit, they present a number of new units; such as —

Āmrapura deśa, Bhāṇḍāgāra deśa, Basura Viṣaya, Dhārora deśa, Hagaratage-300, Kanhairi deśa, Kolhapura deśa, Māṇa deśa, Nule Nādu/Miriṇji Deśa, Vajrakāra deśa, Vaṛadataṭa deśa.

We find more units from Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Koṅkaṇa area. There is only one reference to the unit 'Kaṁpaṇa'

There seems to have been complete absence of the units 'bhoga', 'bhukti', 'pathaka'; numerals were used to indicate the subdivisions or smaller units.

We get reference to Kanhairi Kampaṇa as the subdivision of Kanhairi desa and Śrīnagara 2500.

IV

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF KALCHURIS OF RATNAPUR

59. Political History of Kalachuris

The Kalachuris of Ratnapur who had their capital at Tummāṇa in Bilaspur District had branched off from the main branch, viz. the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The king who effected this change was Kaliṅgaraja

Their kingdom comprised the Bilaspur and Raipur district and the northern portion of the Drug district.

Their inscriptions refer to Mantrāgraṇī Vigraharāja(41) and Puruṣottama(42) Kṣitipasachiva Rāghava(43) who as Sarvvādhikārin was invested with supreme powers of direction and administration. Both the terms Mantrāgraṇī corresponding to the chief or Prime Minister and Ksitipa sachiva meaning 'counsellor of the king are new ones.

The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the secretariat at Ratnapur was held by a Kāyastha family of the village Jandera for several generations.(44) Viṣaya, deśa, maṇḍala were the administrative units. 'Viṣaya' denoting a district was of common occurrence before. It is now noticed but once i.e. Anarghavallī Viṣaya. It seems that its place was taken by maṇḍala in the south of Madhyapradesh and pattalā in the north of the country.

60. Seven Desas of Kalchuris

Seven deśas are mentioned. (1) Bhramaravadra deśa (2) Bhaṭṭvila deśa (3) Maďhya deśa (4) Tamanāla deśa (5) Vaḍahara deśa (6) Viharā deśa. (7) Kākayara deśa.

Mirashi(45) is not certain about the names of Tamanāla deśa and Viharā deśa. They are not met with elsewhere. Hiralal(46) conjecturally placed them to the north of the former Raigarh State.

(a) **Anarghavalli visaya :-** This visaya(47) probably corresponds to the modern Janjgir tahsil in the Bilaspur district, though no place of that name can now be traced in it.

(b) **Bhramaravadra desa :-** Only one inscription refers to Bhramaravadra desa.(48) According to Mirashi, it may be identical with the Bhramarakoṭya maṇḍala in the former Bastar state. Bhramarakotya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakotya.(49)

(c) **Bhattavila desa :-** Only one inscription(50) refers to this deśa. The inscription does not mention any village from this deśa. According to Hiralal, Bhaṭṭavila was identical with Baghelkhand.

(d) **Madhyadesa :-** Madhyadesa(51) occurs twice in inscriptions. The two villages Budukuni and Avala which are modern Daikoni and Arodi belong to the Janjgir tahsil of Bilaspur district. The two villages are within a radius of twenty miles of Janjgir and comprise the south-eastern part of the Bilaspur district. This portion of the Bilaspur district stands for the ancient Madhyadeśa.

(e) **Vadahara desa :-** Vaḍahara deśa occurs in the Rajim stone inscription of Prithvideva II.(52) According to Mirashi it was probably situated in the country under the rule of the Bhañjas.

(f) **Kakayara desa :-** Only one inscription(53) mentions Kākayara deśa. It has still retained its old name in the form Kāṅker, formerly a feudatory state in Chhattisgarh.

(g) **Anarghavalli :-** The inscriptions twice mention this Anarghavallī maṇḍala.(54) The donated village Chiñchatalai is probably Chinchola on the left bank of the Hasdo river in the Janjgir tahsil. Jandera, the village owned by the writer Kirtidhara is probably identical with Jondra on the left bank of the Seonath river, about 21 miles outside the south-west limit of the Janjgir tahsil. The village Kāyathā which is modern Kaita is about 3 miles beyond the southern limit of the Janjgir tahsil.

According to Mirashi,(55) the maṇḍala of Anargha roughly corresponds to the modern Janjgir tahsil of the Bilaspur district.

(h) **Apara mandala :-** Two inscriptions(56) mention this administrative unit. Only two villages are mentioned as Vasahā the donated village, is clearly Basaha, about 12 miles north by east from Bilaspur. The other village Asauṭhā is not yet traced. It is, however, clear that the Apara maṇḍala or the western division may probably have included the territory round Basaha.

(I) **Evadi mandala**(57) **:-** Evaḍī maṇḍala is mentioned once in the Bilaigarh plates. The village granted is Paṇḍaratalai. There are several villages of the name Pendri or Pendria but the nearest to Bilaigarh is Pendriā about 7 miles north-west of Sheorinarayan. Evaḍī the chief town of the maṇḍala is not as yet identified.

(l) **Komo mandala :-** Three inscriptions mention Komo-maṇḍala.(58) Mirashi has identified it with the country surrounding the village, Komo in the Pendra zamindari, 25 miles north by east from Bilaspur.

(k) **Khimidi mandala :-** According to Mirashi,(59) it is probably identical with the zamindari named Kimidi in the Ganjam district.

(l) **Samanta mandala :-** Sāmanta maṇḍala occurs in the Ghotia plates.(60) It appears to have comprised the outlying districts of the kingdom. The inscriptions do not refer to any particular maṇḍala of the Sāmantas.

(m) **Talahari mandala :-** Talahāri maṇḍala is mentioned in three inscriptions.(61-62) According to Mirashi it seems to have comprised southern portions of the Bilaspur and Janjgir tahsils and the northern portions of the Raipur district. Though not a single placename is mentioned; the ruins of ancient temples and other structures can be traced in this region.

61. Kingdom of Kalachuris

The Kingdom of Kalachuris of Ratnapur therefore comprised the following regions :—

Anarghavallī viṣaya = parts of Janjgir tahsil in Bilaspur district.

Madhya deśa = South-eastern part of the Bilaspur district.

Anarghavallī maṇḍala = Janjgir tahsil, Bilaspur district.
Apara maṇḍala = Territory around Basaha, Bilaspur district.

Evadi maṇḍala = Region around Pandari, Bilaspur district.

Komo-maṇḍala = Country surrounding the village Komo in the Pendra zamindari, Bilaspur district.

Khimiḍi maṇḍala = Khimidi zamindari, Ganjam district.

Talahārī maṇḍala = Southern portions of the Bilaspur and Janjgir tahsils and the northern portions of the Raipur district.

From the above description it seems that the Kalachuri kingdom comprised the districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and northern parts of Drug district.

The Rajim stone inscription(64) of Prithvideva II eulogizes the heroic deeds of the powerful general Jagatsimha. He conquered the 'countries' Bhrarmaravadra (parts of Bastar states), Kākayara (Kanker) and Bhaṭṭavila (Baghelkhand). It is not clear whether the Kalachuri kings exercised direct sway over these countries or the states were vassals.

The 'countries Vihārā and Tamanāla cannot be satisfactorily defined. Hiralal conjecturally placed them to the north of the former Raigarh states.

References :

1. Since all these works were undertaken and completed before the merger of states, the names of old states have been retained.
2. Thus "Saccapura (Saccaura Sancaura Saccur Sacor — S. K. Chatterji.
3. **VOC**, V. 300.
4. These are indicated in the maps, specially prepared, with dotted lines.
5. This is now identified by Dr. H. G. Shastri with Karali, about 3 miles of Bhakar. See Shastri, H. G., "The location of the Dandahi Pathaka" in JOURNAL, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE Baroda, Vol. XI, 1961-62, p. 279.

5-A JAINA PUSTAKA PRASASTISAMGRAHA, Ed. by Sri Jinavijayji Muni, Singhi Jain series, No. 18, (Bombay 1942), 110.

6. Shastri, IBID., suggests that this pathaka lay not to the north but to the south of Visaya pathaka which is (now) represented by the Sidhapur taluka in the north.

7. This refers to events about 1944.
8. Ambe ins., **SMHD**, 1, p. 62.
9. Kolur ins., **EI**, 19, p. 194.
10. Gadag ins., **EI**, 3, p. 219.
11. Gadag ins., **IA**, 2, p. 297.
12. Behatti cp. pl. **JBBRAS**, 12, p. 42.
13. Purushottamapuri cp. pl., **EI**, 23, p. 199.
14. **SMHD**, 1, p. 62.
15. Mardi ins., **SMHD**, 1, p. 43.
16. Munavali stone ins., Karnataka Inscriptions, No. 31.
17. **EI**, 25, p. 199.
18. **INKK**, No. 150.
19. Purushottampuri cp. pl., **EI**, 25, p. 199.
20. Kolhapur ins., **JBBRAS**, 2, p. 264.
21. Thana cp. pl., **JBBRS**, 5, p. 183.
22. **EI**, 23, p. 281.
23. Purushottampuri cp. pl., **EI**, 25, p. 199.
24. Chikka Bagewadi cp. pl., **EC**, 11, p. 50.

24-A Harihar, ins., **EC**, 11, p. 50.

25. Velapur ins., **SMHD**, 1, p. 78.
26. Khidrapur ins., **JBBRAS**, 12, p. 7.
27. Purushottampuri cp. pl., **EI**, 25, p. 199.
28. Ashvi cp. pl., **OBISM**, 3-1-13.
29. Paithan cp. pl., **IA**, 14, p. 315.
30. Muttage ins., **INKK**, No. 16.
31. Bijapur ins., **INKK**, No. 17.
32. Mangoli ins., **EI**, 15, p. 29.
33. Arjunawad ins., **EI**, 21, p. 9.
34. **INKK**, No. 20.
35. Munavalli stone ins., KARNATAKA INSCRIPTIONS, No. 31, p. 71.
36. Purushottampuri cp. pl., **EI**, 25, p. 199.
37. **IBID.**
38. Bendigeri cp. pl., **IA**, 14, 69.
39. Hannikeri ins., **INKK**, No. 22.
40. Harihar ins., **EC**, 11, p. 50.
41. **CII**, IV, 414.
42. **Ibid.**, 432.
43. **Ibid.**, 469.
44. **Ibid.**
45. **CII**, IV, 452.

46. **Ibid.**
47. **CII**, IV, 421.
48. **CII**, IV, 457.
49. **EI**, IX, 179
50. **CII**, IV, 453.
51. **CII**, **IV**, 445, 514.
52. **CII**, IV, 453.
53. **Ibid.**
54. **CII**, IV, 428, 547.
55. **Ibid.**, 545.
56. **CII**, IV, 400, 406.
57. **CII**, IV, 461.
58. **CII**, IV, 405, 412, 454.
59. **CII**, IV, 482.
60. **Ibid.**
61. **Ibid.**
62. **CII**, IV, 453.
63. **CII**, IV, 413, 469, 504.
64. **Ibid.**, 452.

FURTHER INDIA

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"India is a central link in a chain of regional civilizations that extend from Japan in the far north-east to Ireland in the far north-west. Between these two extremities, the chain sags down southwards in a festoon, that dips below the equator in Indonesia . . . India has retained the central position in which she found herself as soon as civilization spread eastwards into China and westwards into Europe."

I

GENERAL

1. India — a central link between civilizations of East and West

The quotation from Toynbee's Azad Memorial Lectures[1] given above provides an excellent starting point for this paper. India's geographical position and the processes of history first brought her into contact with the civilizations of the Tigris-Eupprates region and possibly with dynastic Egypt and the eastern coastlands of Africa. Later on these contacts spread to the Hellenistic world, the Roman Empire and ancient and mediaeval Europe.

To the north and north-east, Indian ideas spread into Central Asia, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, Buddhism being the most potent vehicle in this process.

2. Indian influence in south-east Asia

The vast area known to-day as South-East Asia came under Indian cultural influence, Hindu and Buddhist, to a far greater extent than Western Asia or China and its adjoining regions. The reason is that in Western Asia and beyond and in China, India met civilizations which were as highly developed as her own if not more. It was not so in South-East Asia. Here the people of this region were culturally not as advanced as in India and it was easy for her to leave a far deeper impress on this part of the world than elsewhere.

It is no exaggeration to say that South-East Asia has even to-day preserved Indian culture more assiduously than India herself. Most of the countries in this part of the world have clung to their Indian background and traditions with a tenacity and loyalty that demand our admiration and respect. The Indonesians call their airlines "Garuda Airways." In Java (Yavadwipa of

Indian classics and ancient Indian geographers) one meets Muslim gentlemen with names like Kartavijaya and Shivadarshana and Muslim ladies with names like Meghavati, Satyavati. In Irian (Borneo) we get Sanskrit Inscriptions one of which reads "यूपोयं स्थापितो विप्रैः नानादेशादिहागतैः"।

Sanskrit Inscriptions and Hindu and Buddhist shrines are found all over the countries of South-East Asia. The largest Hindu temple known to-day is the Angkor Vat in Cambodia and the biggest, largest Buddhist shrine anywhere is Borabudur in Java. Pathet Lao so much in the news these days is "Pradesh Lava" named after Rama's son Lava.

In Thailand we get divisions named "Maharashtra" and "Girirashtra" and the old capitals of this country were called Ayodhya and Dwaravati. In Bangkok one may stay in a hotel with an impeccable Sanskrit name like Suryanand and walk along the Rajadaman avenue. In that city one may also be invited to witness a ballet entitled *Suvarna-hamsa* by a host whose name may be Dr. Purnanand and on the way to the theatre one may see a princely mansion bearing a name like *Nagara-swarg.* In Malaya, the festival of Deepavali is celebrated all over on a national scale and Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, broadcasting to his people on the occasion of the last Diwali described a political adversary as a veritable Naraksura.[2] In Burma if you arrive at Rangoon by air you land at the Mangaladham (Mingladon) airport.

3. Beginning of further Indian researches

This branch of Indological or Greater-Indological studies is of recent origin. It must be conceded that the credit for opening of this branch of studies goes to European Scholars. After the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir William Jones opened up a new vista in the study of the culture of civilization of India. *The Asiatic Researchers* started writing extensively and sympathetically about Aspects of Indian culture which attracted wide attention both in India and abroad.

There were still a few Europeans like Macaulay who showed nothing but contempt for Indian learning. This attitude was borne of a justifiable conceit and a subnormal intellectual arrogance. But a reaction to this attitude started with Pocock's *India in Greece* (1856) and the pendulum swung the other way. Studies of greater India and the spread of Indian culture were slowly taking roots and the French in Indochina, the Dutch in Indonesia and the British in Malaya woke up to the fact that this vast region was culturally dominated by India.

Later, our own Greater India Society (Calcutta) entered the field and nobly did its share in this all absorbing branch of Indology. The two most outstanding Indian scholars who did great work in studying Indian culture in South-East Asia are Prof. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The inscriptional material for the study of the culture of South-East Asia being mainly in Sanskrit, great strides have been made by these two and other Indian scholars in these studies.

In Central Asian and Sinological Studies the late P. C. Baghi has made singular contributions. He illuminated many aspects of the Spread of Indian Culture in Central Asia and China in the *Sino-Indian Studies* issued from Shantiniketan and in other works listed in the bibliography. He was a Sinologist of no mean equipment and his example deserves to be seriously emulated by our scholars.

4. Central Asian researches

The Central Asian Society did and is doing distinguished work in the study of Indian influences in Central Asia and recently Russian archaeologist have brought to light much interesting information about Sanskrit manuscripts, Kushan buildings and Buddhist monasteries in Uzabegistan and adjoining regions.[3]

Sourin Ray in his paper (listed in section III of the Selected Bibliography which follows) has shown how Indian trade went into the Volga region from the eighth century onwards. It was possibly through this Volga trade-route that Indian products reached Sweden and other Scandinavian countries.

The discovery of a Buddha image and Arabic silver coins of the eighth century near Stockholm in 1950[4] indicates that Indian devotional art-objects were not unknown in that remote part of the world. The Nanaghat inscriptions mention "Irila and Cita."[5] Konow suggests that this "Irila of the Gatas" means "Irila belonging to the tribe of the Goths" and that Irila and Cita were Swedes trading in Indian amber.[6] The fondness of Alarie the Goth for Indian pepper and silk is well known.

5. India's contacts with Hellenistic World

India's contacts with the Hellenistic World, the Roman Empire and later with the Arabs have been known for some time, but till the discovery of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, her contacts with the ancient civilizations of Western Asia were not so well studied. The excavations which brought to light the Indus civilization gave a great fillip to this branch of Indology. The script of this civilization, if script it is, is not yet deciphered. It is possible that a bilingual seal with the undeciphered Mohenjo-Daro script and the known cuneiform script may yet be discovered in India or in Western Asia.

Our own Fr. Heras gave unstinted and tireless devotion to the study of the Indus Civilization and let us hope his theories will finally be established and acknowledged by the scholarly world.[7]

A comparative study of the Indus Civilization and the civilizations of Western Asia requires a rigorous academic discipline, a thorough familiarity with the archaeological history of Western Asia and knowledge of the various cuneiform scripts. The Oriental Institute Chicago and the various archaeological schools and expeditions conducted by British, French, German and other scholars have shed lustre on this aspect of civilization. But cuneiform studies are as yet to be undertaken by Indian scholars. At least one University or the Archaeological Survey of India should make a beginning in this direction.

6. Gypsies — forgotten children of India

In a recent (1962) study under the title, *Gypsies, forgotten Children of India*, Chamanlal has focussed attention on a neglected aspect of Indianism in Europe. In this connection the following passage from the Times of India of October 28, 1861[8] should prove interesting :—

"It is certainly an odd thing that there should be in England a tribe speaking Hindustani, without ever having been in India and without dreaming that their language is Indian. We refer to the gypsies. There is an article on the class in the last *Calcutta Christian observer,* and a list of words showing how largely their language is made up of Hindustani and Sanskrit elements. Ear is 'kan'; eye is 'yak'; fish is 'machho'; flesh is 'mas'; head is 'shero'; horn is 'shing'; knife is 'churi'; life is 'jivan'; man is 'manus'; nose is 'nak'; sheep is 'bakro'; snake is 'sap'; thief is 'chor'; water is 'pani'; black is 'kala'; far is 'dur'; many is 'boot'."

Gypsies are spread to-day all over Europe and they have also gone to new world. The theory that they originally belonged to India was amply confirmed in 1840 when the German Philologist A. F. Pott published his book on them entitled "Die Zigeuner in Europa and Asien." In our time Prof. Turner and German and French scholars have written on them and Prof. Starkie of Dublin has given us popular accounts of the Gypsies in Europe. Prof. Basham, in his all absorbing and scholarly work, *The Wonder that was India,* has devoted an appendix to them, but these lowly and dispossessed people found no champion for them in India till Chamanlal came along. His study is most absorbing, interesting and well documented and far more authoritative than his other work, *Hindu America.*

7. Contribution of Rigvedic Aryans in spread of Indian culture

The migration of the Gypsies from India and their spread over Europe is a phenomenon not directly connected with the spread of Indian ideas and culture. These latter travelled West and reached the civilizations included in the Greek concept of "Oikumene." This Greek word was used to describe the inhabited part of the world, the "Chain of comparatively ancient Old-World civilizations".

The Indo-Aryans too had their own ideas in this behalf which is not descriptive and passive but dynamic and progressive. The Rigvedic phrase "कृण्वन्तो विश्वमार्यम्" indicates an ambition and a goal. The Rigvedic Aryans of course were unable to fulfil this ambition and reach this goal. But the phrase may possibly explain one of the urges that impelled the Aryans to press on the fertile crescent. Even nobler than this concept and the concept of the Greeks was the hope and prayer of the Rigvedic Aryans, "पृथिव्यै : समुद्रपर्यंताया : एकराट्."

8. Contribution of Buddhism in spread of Indian culture.

But about 1500 years after the Rigvedic Aryans gave currency to their ideas, Buddhism achieved for India a far greater success in spreading the message of the Buddha and in this process took Indian culture wherever it went. "In the course of the 1st millennium A.D., Buddhism led to the rise of a great spiritual and cultural community which may justly be called 'the Buddhist Oikoumene'. In spite of the marked differences that existed between the various regions into which it penetrated, and the many metamorphoses which it underwent, Buddhism created a profound and far-reaching inner unity of spiritual consciousness, manifested in remarkable similarities in patterns of life and thought, and not least in art.

"Buddhism helped many Asian peoples or tribes that were still 'under-developed' by comparison with the advanced societies of India and China to attain a higher level of civilization. Thanks to Buddhism they became aware for the first time of the fact that they belonged to a larger cultural area and had a role to play within it. This applies not only to the people of South-Eastern Asia, Korea, or Japan, but also to the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. The latter were to play a particularly important part as intermediaries in the spread of Buddhist culture."[9]

9. Greater Indian researches — a new point of view

We should look at our glorious past not in a chauvinistic spirit but with eye of humility. We should pose ourselves the question whether we are able to live up to the rich, refulgant and positive past or whether we have lost contact with it and are nowhere as effective as we once were. Do we seek sustenance from the past to shape our behaviour to-day? Have we achieved a synthesis as done by Malaya and Indonesia?

In Malaya, Indonesia and elsewhere in South-East Asia, Islam came to an understanding with the Indian Cultural background of this region. These countries achieved a cultural synthesis. The Malayans and the Indonesians are proud of their Hindu Buddhist and Sanskritic past. They turn to Mecca for their religious sustenance but they have tenaciously stuck to their Indian cultural heritage. Bali is still Hindu we are told. South-East Asia to-day clings to its cultural background not because it originated in

India but because it is a part of its past history. And one poses the question, are the Indian Muslims also proud of their Hindu past?

Buddhism in India was on the wane when Islam came into the country. Did Hinduism make an attempt to come to terms with the new vigorous and aggressive force? Except sporadic attempts here and there nothing really serious has been attempted to bring about a synthesis so successfully done in Indonesia and Malaya.

In the humble opinion of the writer there has been a slow but continuous shrinkage of Indianism during the last say one thousand years. The creation of Pakistan, the writer feels, is the latest manifestation in this shrinkage. This raises the question —

"Quis custodiet ipsos custodes."

(who will guard and protect the Custodians?)

II

GREATER INDIA OF THE WEST*

10. Indian contacts with Mesopotamia

Evidence of contact and communication between India and the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia go back to about 2500 B.C. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro seals, etched carnelian beads, lapis lazuli and amezonite have been found in Sumerian sites. In some places even Indian pottery has been found.

This indicates lively commercial intercourse between the Harappan culture and Mesopotamia. As the Indus script still awaits its Champollion, we have to rest content with such evidence as comes our way. This has led scholars to the view that the principle article of commerce from India to Sumer, Akkad and their successors was textiles.

The observations made by Frankfort more than thirty years ago still hold good. He states, "There can be no doubt that the Akkadian city of Eshnunna was in communication with the Indus Valley just before the middle of the third millennium B.C. . . . The excavations at Tell Asmar have produced a whole group of imported Indian objects in a well-dated archaeological context and have thereby supplied for the first time a firm chronological basis for the further study of the newly discovered civilization of the Indus Valley and its influence on the Near East."[11]

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* This term is borrowed from Fr. Heras of beloved memory. **Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture,** 22.

One way in which this influence exerted itself is the unusual arrangements of baths and drains in a building in Tell Asmar. This was inspired directly by Indian ideas.[12] Another important piece of evidence testifying to the influence of the Indus Valley on Sumer is the fashion of hair-dressing adopted by Sumerian women from the Indus Valley.[13]

11. Indian contacts with Egypt and Crete

Trade contacts of the Indus Valley seem to have gone beyond Sumer to Egypt and Crete. "The representation of a mastless ship with a central cabin and a steerman seated at the rudder, indicates that the people of the Indus Valley were acquainted with maritime vessels. The boat has a sharply upturned prow and stern similar to the archaic representations of early Minoan seals, cylinders of Sumer and the pre-Dynastic pottery of Egypt. Dr. Mackay thinks that the Indus Valley was in touch with Sumer and Elam by the sea route also. Mohenjo-daro thus appears to have been a great inland port carrying on trade with Ur and Kish, probably also with Egypt.[14]"

Prof. Frankfort has well summed up the influence of the Indus Valley civilization on the civilizations of Western Asia. "... it has been established beyond a possibility of doubt that India played a part in that early complex culture which shaped the civilized world before the advent of the Greeks.[14]

12. Names of Kassite kings

The next testimony of India's contact with Western Asia is seen in the names of Kassite Kings (18th Century B.C.) recalling Indian deities, Suryas, Marutas etc. The Tell-el Amarna tablets brought to light by Hugo Winckler in Egypt in the last century refer to Mitanni rulers of Boggazkoi in Syria with names like Artatama, Suttarana, Dusratta[15] which sound so Indo-Aryan.

Even more illuminating was the text of a treaty made at Boghazkoi in the middle of the 14th century B.C. between the

Hittites and the Mitannis which invokes the Vedic deities, Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasalya. Now the Nasatyas or अश्विनै are mentioned in the Rigveda as protectors of the bride who escort her to the bridegroom. In the Boghazkoi treaty the Nasatyas are invoked in an identical manner as protectors and guardian angels of the Hittite King's daughter married to the Mitanni King.

Some scholars lean to the view that these Mitanni gods were Indo-Iranian and not purely Indian, but Konow is firm on this point. According to him "the gods of the Mitanni treaty were Indian and not Aryan or even Iranian. We have no means of judging the character of the expansion of Indian civilization into Mesopotamia in these early times. It may have been the consequence of war like expeditions or of peaceful penetration. And such scanty information as is available is in favour of the latter alternative.[16]

13. Indian numericals found in Hittite texts

Further evidence proving the existence of the Aryans, especially Indians, in Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C. are Indian numerical expressions found in some Hittite texts. "They deal with horse-breeding and the training of horses for vehicle drawing. These are from the famous *handbook* on *horse-breeding* from the 14th century B.C. whose author was the earliest known hippologist of the world *Kikkulish of Mitannu.* In his Hittite work on clay tablets, there appear technical terms referring to chariot racing which are obviously of Indian origin. For example *aikyartanna,* one turn, one lap, is equivalent to the Indian word, *eka-h,* one, and *vartanam,* turn.

In the State of Mitannu there were obviously settled *Indian inhabitants* who, according to these texts, had taught to the Hittites and other nations the ancient Orient horse-breeding and the training of the horses that were yoked to light chariots.[17]"

According to some cautious scholars these numerals (*aika, tera, panza, satta* etc.) point to an archaic Indo-Iranian dialect, but Prof. Sayce, like Konow, is positive on this point. According to him "there must have been an element in the population of Mitanni which spoke Vedic Sanskrit.[18]"

14. Mitra-worship by Mitannis

About the period we find the Mitannis worshipping Mitra and other Vedic deities, there was a sudden burst of Mitra-worship in Egypt. This was the worship of the sun as Aton under Ikhanaton, the Egyptian monarch (c 1400 B.C.). Ikhanaton's stepmother Gilukhipa was a Mitanni pricess.

15. India's commercial contact with Western Asia

Later evidences of continuous commercial contact between India and Western Asia tell us of trade by sea between Phoenicians of the Leavant and Western India.

In or around 975 B.C. Hiram king Tyre, at the instance of Soloman sent the ships of Tarshish to India. Says the Bible, "Once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks.[19]"

Assyria also looked to India for certain objects. On the black obelisk of Shalmanesar (c 860 B.C.) are found representations of an Indian elephant, Bactrian camels and apes supplying certain evidence of intercourse with India.[20] We have already seen in a paper on the 'Foreign Travellers', how Sennacherib gave attention to cultivating Indian cotton. In Çhaldea, Hormuzd Russam during excavations at Birs Nimrud found a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.). These are now exhibited in the British Museum.

Earlier two logs of wood in the temple of the Moon-god at Ur were discovered. Of these Rassam says, "Most probably the block of wood which Mr. Taylor discovered in the ruins of Mughair (Ur of the Chaldees) was Indian cedar, like the beam I discovered in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Birs Nimrud.... There is no doubt that this wood was imported into Babylonia from India, as it is only cedar which does not rot like other cedar, and it is, in my opinion, a kind of teak.[21]" In this connection it is interesting to note that most of the wooden ribs in the Karla Chaitya hall are original.

16. Indian contacts with Iran

The Achaemenians under Cyrus the great reached the border lands of India and under Darius (522-486 B.C.) they were in occupation of northern Punjab. Culturally the Indians and Iranians were very near each other from times immemorial. 'The Ancient Aryan culture of Iran was hardly distinguishable from the ancient

Aryan culture of India. And it as it should be, for both were derived from one and the same Indo-Iranian culture."

But under the Achaemenians, the Iranians had developed an individuality of their own and they have left considerable impression on India. They were also the agency by which Indians came into direct contact with the Hellenistic people. Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) who succeeded Darius I had in his army "Gandharians and Indians" when he marched on to Greece. In the memorable battle of Thermopylae, the Indian soldiers fought with great distinction. It is about this time that the Greeks learnt from the Indians the use of the household remedy "Trifala" which has since passed into Western pharmacoepeia as "Trifolium Parva." Under Persian domination of Egypt (525-405 B.C.), an Indian colony had grown in Memphis.[22]

17. Indian contacts with Greece

We have already touched briefly in a paper on the 'Foreign Travellers', the mutual influence exerted by Indians and Greeks on each other. Richard Garbe in his *Philosophy of Ancient India* discusses fully the influence exerted by India on Greek philosophy. The Greek writers have preserved a tradition that "certain learned Indians actually visited Athens and conversed with Socrates" and held philosophical discussions with him.

This profitable intercourse continued after Alexander's invasion and during Mauryan rule. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka is eloquent testimony to this peaceful intercourse. In it the Emperor tells us of the missionaries he sent to Syria, Macedonia, Egypt, Cyrene and Epirus. These missionaries carried Asoka's message of love to all. We have no information about the result of these missions, but they must have undoubtedly left a leaven.

18. Indian contacts with Afghanistan

The recent discovery of a bilingual Greco-Aramic inscription of Asoka near Kandahar provides proof that his empire extended into Afghanistan, if not beyond. Indeed up to the tenth century most of Afghanistan was culturally a part of India. The Rigveda makes reference to its rivers and its tribes and later both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished in this region till the advent of Islam.

Bamiyan was the outer gate for Buddhism to spread into Sogdiana and Central Asia.

19. Indian contacts with Romans of Western Asia

The Romans who dominated Western Asia and Egypt after the decline of Hallenism had very close commercial relations with India both by sea and by land. Equally important were the political and cultural contacts between these two. O. de B. Priaux in his *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome* gives an account of Indian envoys who visited Roman rulers from Augustus onwards. Some of these took gifts of elephants, gems and pearls and one of them is said to have brought to Rome a consignment of tigers!

With the decline of the Roman Empire these contacts cease, with one exception. This was Justinian to whom an Indian embassy brought gifts at Constantinople. The following quotation[23] from S. Reinach is of interest for throwing light on Indian influence in Rome. "Scholars have long known a series of male busts dating from the end of the 1st century A.D. and all discovered at Rome in which one notices the singular particularity of thick hair cut short and a protrudence over the cranium. It was formerly believed that these portraits were of Indian ambassadors to Rome. However this view is repudiated by M. Reinach who identifies these busts with Roman philosophers conversant with Buddhist doctrine and they have the *Ushnisha* as a sign of their wisdom. He compares them to a head from Hadda which has also an *Ushnisha* and which represents a Greco-Bactrian convert to Buddhism."

20. Indian contacts with Sassanians of Iran

Where the Byzantine Romans left off, the Sassanians of Iran took over. Shapur I (241-272 A.D.) of this dynasty brought together a vast body of knowledge according to Parsi tradition. He "caused to be included among the holy books secular works on medicine, astronomy and metaphysics found in India, Greece and other countries."

Tabari tells us that Shapur had invited an Indian medical scholar to Susa. This Indian doctor not only dispensed medicine but also taught it to those who came to him for study. When he died his traditions were preserved and cultivated by the inhabitants of Susa and it is they who later provided the whole of Iran with professionals in medicine.

Not only the Sassanians. "Indian medicine and surgery had made great strides in very early times. Physicians had a copious pharmacopeia from which Europe borrowed . . . Among other things surgeons practised lithotomy and performed abdominal and uterine operations; a speciality was made of making artificial noses by plastic surgery . . . This was an operation which European doctors adopted after they became acquainted with it in the eighteenth century.[24]

21. Migration of game of chess to Iran

Khusrau Anushirwan (531-579) carried on the tradition of his ancestor Shapur and sent his physician Burzuya to India. From here the envoy took back to Iran, Indian medical works and Indian physicians. He also took with him a corpus of Indian fables which in later times became famous in India as *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesha* and the game of Chess. It is not certain whether he did not also take with him the idea of the game which later developed as *Guy-wa-chugan* in Iran and as Polo in the West. Firdausi in his *Shahnama* gives a slightly different version about Chess. He relates how a special embassy came from Kanauj to Khusrau to present him with the game of Chess.[25] Both among the Persians and Arabs the game came to be known as *Shetranj* from its Sanskrit name *Chaturanga.*

Harun-al-Rashid, the famous Caliph, is said to have made a present of the game to Charlmagne[26] and so it was introduced into Europe even as Indians fables did as we shall see.

"The invention of chess is undoubtedly a debt mankind owes to India. . . . A collection of fables and fairy tales on the one hand, and the most intellectual game the world has known on the other, start on their wanderings from India, in all probability at the same time, and after the lapse of centuries are again found side by side in Europe, whiling away the tedium of myriads during the monotonous life of the Middle Ages. And they have continued down to the present day to give mental recreation to millions of the human race quite ignorant of the source whence these gifts have come. Few nations indeed can boast of having bestowed two such boons upon mankind.[27]"

22. Dessimination of Indian learning by Arabs

We now come to the most absorbing topic of the dessimination of Indian learning by the Arabs. Even in the days of al Jahiliyyat, the Arabs knew India well and the word *muhannad* for a sword made of Indian steel in Arabic literature is current from these early days. The Arabs, after the advent of Islam, were the greatest preservers, imbibers and dessiminators knowledge in early mediaeval times. Under the Omayyado at Damascus the dominating influences were Greek, Hebrew and Syrian, though India was not unknown.

We have already seen in the paper on 'Foreign Travellers', how severus Sebokht, the Syrian Jew scholars, spoke of Hindu numerals with admiration and later about 705 A.D., when the basilica of John of Damascus was refashioned into an Omayyad mosque, some Hindu influences[28] were seen in the alterations. The arches of this mosque show Hindu ideas and Hitti imagines that possibly some Hindu artisans were engaged at the time of these alterations or artisans who had received Hindu influences.

23. Spread of Hindu learning in Baghdad

Under the Abbasids, Baghdad became the capital of the Caliphs and witnessed an unprecedented spurt in all branches of knowledge. Hindu learning was in great demand and it was extremely well encouraged and patronised by the Barmakas who held the first position of responsibility at the Caliph's court in Baghdad. Here at the court of al-Mansur came scholars from Sindh who brought with them the *Brahmasiddhanta* and the *Khandakhadyaka* of Brahmagupta. These were translated into Arabic and became celebrated as *Sindhind* and *Arkand*.

Harun-al-Rashid under the advice of Jafar and Yahya-ibn Barmak sent scholars to India to study medicine and pharmacology. Many Hindu scholars were invited to Baghdad and attained to high position there. One of them ibn Bhan (the Indian form of his name is difficult to guess at, possibly it is connected with Dhanwantari) was appointed Director of Hospitals at Baghdad, another became personal physician to the Caliphs family; some others were given responsibilities in the Translation Bureau set up in Baghdad.

24. Migration of "Panchatantra" stories to Baghdad

Indian learning came to Baghdad in two channels, first directly from India and second from Persia. We have already seen that the *Panchatantra* stories were taken from India to Persia in the sixth century. Here they were translated into Pahlavi and via that medium they became known to the Arabs. About 570 the stories were rendered into Syriac by one Bud and were entitled *the Book of Kalilug wa Damag,* the names being corruption of the names of our old friends the jackals, *Karataka* and *Damanaka.* The Syriac translation must have attained some literary eminence in Syria and beyond, but soon they were lost to be rediscovered in 1870,[29] the story of the recovery forming one of the most interesting chapters in the romance of literary history.

About the middle of the eighth century appeared the Arabic version generally supposed to be done from the Pahlavi (which also is now lost) under the title *The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah* by Bidpai. The translation was done by Ibn al-Muqaffa. It attained great fame and travelled to the West and there passed through numberless translations and adaptations.

The fables of Pilpay as they are known in Europe have influenced all European folk tales and many European writers like Chaucer and Shakespeare. Benfy and Hertel in their editions of the *Panchatantra* have fully discussed the influence of these stories on the literary output of the West.

Few books could have attained so great a success as the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* or have been translated in so many languages. In Persian they are famous as *Anwar-i-Suhaili,* in Turkish as *Humayun Namah.* They have been translated in every European language including Icelandic.

25. Migration of Buddha story

Equally spectacular are the perigrinations of the Buddha story. We first find it embodied in the *Apology* of the second century philosopher Aristides. He must have got it from the contacts left by Buddhist missionaries in Syria, Egypt, Greece and other countries. John of Damascus did it in Greek in the eighth century and from then on it gained great vogue being translated into almost every European language including Georgian. An Ethiopic version is also known and well studied. A famous Icelandic version was made in the 13th century.

Besides furnishing the early playwrights with material for miracle plays, the Buddha story has supplied episodes and apologues to many writers including Boccacio, John Gower and Shakespeare. It was used by Rudolf of Ems about 1200 who expanded it into a long poem celebrating the victory of Christian over heathen teaching.

The story is taken from the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Buddhacharita* and it has undergone changes in the countries in which it was translated reflecting local ideas and conditions. In Arabic, they are said to have been rendered from Pahlavi, but is likely that it came to Arabia by way Central Asia after the conquest of that region by the Arabs. Ibn Nadim in his Kitab al-Fihrist composed about 987 specifies that not only was a *Book of Balauhar and Budasaph* in circulation, but also a version entitled *Kitab al-Budd* and another, *Kitab Budasaf Mufrad,* i.e. Book of Budasaf by himself.

The Georgean version *Life of the Blessed Jodasaph* was rendered from one of the Arabic and Jodasaph was accepted as a saint in the Georgean Menaion or calendar (memorial services, hymns and notices of saints compiled in the eleventh century) and 19th May was dedicated to him with the entry, "Commemoration of Jodasaph, King of India.[30]" The story of Jodasaph or Josaphat or Josaph has so moved the Christians in Europe that in Palermo in Sicily, a Church was dedicated to him. It is called *Divo Josaphat* and it "is probably not the only one of its kind.[31]

The Buddha as Joasaph or Josaphat is canonised in the Catholic Church and Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) declared 27th November as the date sacred to him. In the Orthodox Eastern Church "the holy Joseph, son of Abener, king of India," is allotted the 26th of August. Thus unwittingly Gautama, the Buddha, has come to official recognition as saint in two great branches of the Catholic Church.[32]

III

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

26. Indian contacts with Central Asia

Early contacts between India and Central Asia may go back to about the fourth century B.C. These initial contacts were necessarily trade relations. It was because of trade that Central Asian nomadic tribes first knew about India; they had dim ideas about its greatness and glory which they were tempted to explore. Later they knew about Indian religions, both Buddhism and Brahmanism, Indian culture and arts from Indian Missionaries and settlers in their region. India indeed seemed a desirable country. That is how the Scythians, the Yueh-chi, the Hunas and other Central Asian nomads, when the opportunity offered or circumstances demanded, poured into India as conquerors and remained as settlers embracing Hinduism or Buddhism and becoming good Indians.

27. Spread of Buddhism in Central Asia

The Ramayana, the Mahabharata and early Buddhist texts mention the tribes that inhabited this vast region. Thus we get the Tukharas, Kuchikas, Sulikas or Sogdians, the Sakas, Balhikas, Darads and many others. Even the tribes of Samarkand and Wakhan areas are enumerated as 'Charmakhandikas' and 'Wokkanas.'

Indian trade with the people of this region carried directly or through intermediaries brought back to India detailed information about social and religious conditions obtaining there no doubt encouraged the Missionary zeal of the Buddhists who now turned their attention to it for the spread of *Dhamma*. There were two main outlets from India into this region, the first through the high Kashmir passes of the Gilgit area into the Wakhan and the second via Gandhara. The route via Gandhara was the less difficult and it was this route that the early Buddhist missionaries to Central Asia selected.

28. Bamian — important Buddhist centre

The first important station on this route was Bamiyan, about 125 miles northwest of Kabul. It lay at the intersection of two major routes, one leading from China to Iran across the Pamirs and the other linking the Indus Valley with northern Bactria. Bamiyan naturally developed into a flourishing centre of religious life as well as a focal point for travellers and merchants. Bamiyan area accepted Buddhism readily and the evidence of its Buddhist past can be seen even today in the gigantic Buddhas and grottos where a large volume of Buddhist and other Sanskrit manuscripts and relics have been brought to light by the French. About 600 Hieun Tsang found Buddhism well established in Bamiyan. "In Bamian" he tells us, "there were some tens of Buddhist monasteries with several thousand of brethren who were adherents of Hinayana school."[33–34]

29. Spread of Buddhism in Tokharistan (Balkh)

East of Bamian are Fondukistan and the Tukhara country which in ancient days acted as an intermediary between India on the one hand Iran and Turan on the other. It was the Tokharians who on coming under Indian cultural influence dessiminated it north and east and they thus played an important role in the history of India's cultural relations with Central Asia.

Buddhism was the most prominent religion in the Tokharistan area from about second century B.C. till its occupation by the Arabs in the eighth century. Hieun Tsang tells us that Trapusa and Bhallika, two merchants of Balkh introduced Buddhism into Tokharistan. They must have come under Buddhist influence during their visits to India, been converted to Buddhism and carried the message of that faith to their own people. In course of time Buddhism prospered in Balkh. Hieun Tsang records that in almost every division of the Balkh or the Tokhara country there were some Buddhist monasteries with a few monks and in the cities Buddhism was most prominent. In Termez he found ten monasteries with nearly 1,000 monks, in Kunduz an equal number of monasteries with a few hundred monks. Balkh was the most important centre of Buddhism in the whole country with nearly 100 monasteries and 3,000 monks. Balkh, Hieun Tsang tells us, was known as little Rajagriha, probably on account of its importance in the outer Indian Buddhist world. Outside the city was the largest monastery, the famous Navasangharam which housed many relics of Buddha.[35] The Monastery mentioned in Arab chronicles as Naubahar was destroyed by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century.

The Barmakas who later rose to high eminence at Baghdad were high priests (Paramaka) of this monastery in the days of Buddhist glory. The Buddhist monks of Tokharistan took considerable part in spreading Buddhism eastwards and into China. The Sogdians and Parthians were led to Buddhism by the Tokharians and they too played no small part in the spread of Buddhism in eastern Central Asia and into China itself.

30. Spread of Buddhism in Kashgar

Kashgar seems to be the next stage of the journey of Indian influences passing from Tokharistan eastwards. Fa-Hian found Buddhism flourishing in Kashgar when he visited the place about 399 A.D. on his way to India. When he arrived at Kashgar "The king of this country was holding the *Panch Parishad* or the great quinquennial assembly". Fa-Hian further records that a few relics of Buddha were preserved in Kashgar and adds "there are over one thousand priests all belonging to the lesser vehicles.[36] By the middle of the seventh century Kashgar and Yarkand abounded in hundreds of Buddhist monasteries. Hieun-Tsang mentions that the ruler of Kashgar country was a great patron of Buddhism. He was a member of a very old dynasty and like the Kushan Emperors of India used the title *Devaputra.* The rulers may have Kushana affiliations as one of them in early times emulated the example of the Kushanas by patronising Buddhist scholars of India. Two important routes met in the Kashgar region, one from the Khotan region and the other leading towards Kuchi, Karashahr and Turfan.

Indian writing was current in Kashgar. It was adopted along with Kharosti, soon after or along with the advent of Buddhism in that region. The script was Brahmi, known now as Central Asian Brahmi. Kashgar was a centre of Brahmanical studies also. Kumarjiva the Kuchean, on his way back from Kashmir, is said to have spent one year here. He worshipped the Buddhist relics there and studied 'Abhidharma' of the Saraswativada school. During his stay there two sons of the king of Karghalik-Yarkand region came to him for study. Their names were Suryabhadra and Suryasoma and they were followers of Mahayana. Kumarjiva instructed them in *Satsatra* and *Madhyamikasastra.* It is here that Kumarjiva studies the four Vedas, the Brahmanical sastras and astronomy. This provides for the belief that, along with Buddhism, Brahmanism also flourished in Central Asia.

31. Spread of Buddhism in Tun-huang

Kashgar was situated at the western end of two routes going out from China. The eastern end of the northern route was Tun-huang with Karashahr, Turfan and Kucha on the way to Kashgar and Khotan on the southern route. All these centres had important monasteries which were often magnificent establishments. The best known are the rock cut monasteries of Tun-huang and nearby places, with their abundance of wall-paintings. They were splendidly embellished with the help of munificent gifts from princes and merchants and provided accommodation to scholars of high eminence. They collected together a vast amount of sacred texts in Sanskrit and Pali which were translated into Chinese and local languages. Tun-Huang provides us with an almost complete collection of Buddhist paintings and also sculptures. They were first re-discovered by that intrepid explorer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 when he and Paul Pelliot found in a sealed chamber, walled for security reasons about 1035, a vast number of paintings on silk or paper in a fairly good state of preservation and the first printed book in the world, the *Diamond Sutra.* It is no coincidence that this very book should be a Buddhist one, for the discovery and development of the art of printing was very closely connected with Buddhism".[37]

32. Spread of Buddhism in Karashahr

The Yenki or Karashahr area has been Buddhist at least from the beginning of the Christian era. Yenki, Wuki or Wuyi as this territory is listed in Chinese sources are names connected with the Sanskrit word Agni. In fact in Sanskrit documents discovered in this region it is called Agnidesa and its kings are mentioned as Agnimaharaja. One of the large monasteries in this country was known as 'Aranyavihara.' It is here that Dharmagupta, Indian monk scholar on his way to China lodged for a year in 585. Hieun-Tsang who passed through this country about 630 on his way to India records — "There are about ten Buddhist monasteries with about 2,000 ecclesiastics of all degrees, all adherents of *Sarasvativadin* school of the *small vehicle.* Since as to the Sutra teachings and *Vinaya* regulations they follow India, it is in its literature that students of these subjects study them thoroughly".[38]

33. Spread of Buddhism in Turfan

At Turfan adjoining Karashahr, Hieun-Tsang stayed for a month and explained to local scholars and disciples the doctrine of the *Prajnaparamita.* It may be noted that in all these parts Buddhist scholars read their sacred texts in the original Sanskrit. The influence of Sanskrit and Indian art concepts as modified by various influences is obvious in all this region. The extensive Buddhist ruins in the ancient sites of the Turfan oasis show that they were prosperous localities in ancient times. One of them Bazaklik, situated in a beautiful gorge of a stream contains the largest Buddhist site of Turfan, and with many cave temples, with wonderful frescoes and numerous Buddhist shrines. This prosperity was due to the generosity of merchant princes who acquired their wealth from the trade which they carried along these trade routes of Central Asia.

34. Spread of Buddhism in Kuchi

From Karashahr we go on to Kuchi which was again wholly Buddhist in religion and culturally very Indian. It was not only a seat of Buddhist learning but a centre of Buddhist propaganda, the Buddhist teachers of Kuchi taking a leading part in spreading Buddhism in China. These monks of Kuchi knew Sanskrit well and could speak it and the Kuchean language in consequence was deeply influenced by Sanskrit. The very fact that ancient rulers of Kuchi bore Indian names like *Suvarnapuspa, Hardeva, Suvarnadeva* etc. show how deep Indian influence had gone here.

It was in an old stupa near Kuchi that Col. Bower discovered the famous medical texts known today as the Bower manuscripts. It was not only Sanskrit language and Buddhism that had come to Central Asia; medical knowledge from India had also found its way there. Besides these Bower medical texts there are other evidences to show that Indian medical literature was widely used in Central Asia. "We know from translations of Indian texts into Kuchean and Khotanese languages that the knowledge of Indian medicine was very wide-spread. Their translations clearly bear out that even the local doctors who did not know Sanskrit were making use of the Indian system". In another field too the Kucheans drew on India. From the seven notes of Kuchean music it is clear that they were borrowed from Sanskrit sources.

35. Spread of Buddhism in Khotan

Legend has it that Khotan in Central Asia and possible Kucha was conferred as a Vice-Royalty on Kunala by his father Asoka. Another Buddhist legend suggests that Khotan was converted to Buddhism in the days of the Buddha. We know that there was an intimate relation between north-west India and Khotan in the Kushan period. Ancient documents discovered in this region show that in early times an Indian dynasty was ruling there. State documents written in an Indian dialect support this view.

The most ancient name of this region mentioned in Buddhist literature as a northern continent was *Godana, Kustana* being an alternative. We are told that the kingdom of Khotana was founded 234 years after the Nirvana of Buddha, i.e. about 240 B.C. The grandson of the founder, Kustana, was named Vijayasambhava and all his successors had names like Vijayavajra, Vijayadharma, Vijayajaya, Vijayakirti, Vijayavikrama etc.

Buddhism was first accepted in Khotan in the days of Vijayasambhava. That ruler was converted to Buddhism by Arya Vairochana who, the Khotanese claim, was an incarnation of Maitreya. Vijayasambhava built for him the first monastery in Khotan, the monastery of Tsar-Ma.

Fa-Hian when he visited Khotan at the end of the fourth century B.C. was himself lodged in a vihara known as the Gomati-vihara "which belonged to the greater vehicle". The Chinese pilgrim from the country found "Prosperous and happy, its people are well to do, they have all received the faith, and find their amusement in religious music. The priests number several tens of thousands, . . . before the door of every house they build small pagodas, the smallest of which would be about twenty feet in height. . . In this country there are fourteen monasteries without counting the smaller ones."

Hieun-Tsang 250 years after Fa-Hian, found Khotan to be ardently Buddhist. According to him there were in the capital over 100 monasteries and 5,000 monks. Two very ancient places to the east of Khotan mentioned by him were Pi-mo and Ni-jang. At Pi-mo he mentions seeing a sandal wood image of Buddha of legendry antiquity and he adds that it was supposed to have been made by king Udayana of Kosambi in the lifetime of Buddha.

36. Rediscovery of Buddhist culture in Central Asia

The discovery of Indian civilisation and culture in Central Asia is more thrilling than any book of romance and adventure; because exploration in this region was an adventure in itself full of risks but rich in reward.

After this area was Islamised and later conquered by China there was a process inevitable no doubt which resulted in the decay and destruction of the old Buddhist culture. Islam did not much care for it and the Chinese could not maintain the old monastic establishments and preserve learning in this area due to unsettled political conditions. The result was that the desert of Takal-Makan slowly swallowed old Buddhist cities, monasteries and other establishments, and there they lay buried till the intellectual curiosity of Europe woke up.

Vague stories about sand buried ruins in Central Asia became topics of discussion amongst Archaeologists. A few surface finds whetted their appetite. A Russian archaeological expedition explored in 1878 the northern part of Eastern Turkestan and discovered remains of ancient civilizations at Idikutshari Quocho, Quarakhajo, Turfan and other places in the Turkestan oasis.

The Government of India sent Aurel Stein to Central Asia in 1891 and again in 1906 and 1913. The results of these expeditions vastly improved our knowledge of our share in the history of Central Asia and their published accounts have been listed in our bibliography.

A German expedition under Von le coq visited this area between 1903 and 1907 and the famous French sinologist Paul Pelliot led thither a French expedition in 1906. The results of the work of le coq and Pelliot are also enumerated in our bibliography.

A quotation from another great explorer though not an archaeologist would not be quite out of place and would in fact indicate how Central Asia offered proofs of its historic past to earnest investigators. In January 1896 Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer arrived at Khotan "in ancient times called Kustana in Sanskrit, known to the Chinese for thousands of years and revealed to Europe by Marco Polo. Fa Hieun describing Khotan as a magnificent city where the cult of Buddha flourished. . . . In Khotan as also in the ancient village of Borsan I bought antique relics from the natives; small objects in terra-cotto representing two humped camels, monkeys playing with guitar; griffins on the Indian Garuda motif; lion-heads which had adorned jars of the Greco-Buddhistic or Indo-Hellenic school and which betrayed the Greek influence after Alexander; beautifully executed jars and bowls in terra-cotta; images of Buddha and other things."[39]

37. Importance of Central Asian studies

We owe a great debt to all these scholars and archaeologists who have brought to light this ancient past of Central Asia, a past in which many peoples and cultures met and in which Buddhism and India dominated. These scholars and the Chinese chronicles have brought up information of those "Noble sons of India who through their selfless work had built up a common civilization for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic continent. These missionaries of India, in the course of their journey over hills and deserts, subjected themselves to hardships and suffering which cannot fail to move us even after the lapse of so many centuries. It had been possible for them to make great sacrifices as they had confidence in the greatness of their mission".

IV

INDIA AND THE AREAS OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN BUDDHISM

38. Cultural Contacts with China

China was the first country in these areas to develop cultural contacts with India. It came into the Buddhist orbit, according to legend, in the third cenury B.C. As with other countries so in the case of China, Buddhism followed old trade routes on its way to China in the wake of trade relations.

The two overland routes to China via Bamian and Khotan have already been mentioned. There were two other overland routes from India into China, the first passing through Assam and upper Burma into Yunan and the other through Nepal and Tibet. These were difficult routes and not much used by travellers.

As Indian communication by sea with South-East Asia increased, Indian ships went to the gulf of Tonkin and a new route by sea was opened for Indo-Chinese communication. There was another and a shorter sea-route which stopped at ports in Malaya and then went overland into Yuman via the isthmus of Kra.

39. Spread of Buddhism in China

Trade, the first motivation, carried ideas of Buddhism into China and Buddhist missionaries hearing encouraging reports how hospitably and reverentially information about Buddhism was received there, followed trade to spread the teachings of Buddha. Bactriana by this time had become Buddhist with a great centre at Balkh and it is on record that towards the middle of second century a Parthian prince converted to Buddhism went to China. He carried with him a collection of Buddhist sacred texts.

Earlier Tokharistan had already sent in 2 B.C. a present of Buddhist texts to the Chinese envoy in that country as presents to the Chinese court. In 68 A.D. two missionaries from Tokharistan went to China. Dharmaraksha and Kashyapa Matang, the two missionaries, accompanied a Chinese envoy who had specially been sent to invite Buddhist missionaries to China. The two missionaries took with them a white horse laden with sacred texts and relics. The Chinese emperor ordered a special monastry to be built for them in the capital. This monastry became famous later as Po-ma-sse, 'The White Horse Monastry'. Lokakshema, a Tokharian monk of great learning went to China in 147 A.D. and translated there some of the most important Buddhists texts for the use of Chinese novitiates. He stayed in China till 188 A.D. preaching and teaching Buddhism. One of his disciples settled in Nanking where they worked for more than thirty years. He translated over a hundred Buddhist texts, 49 of which are still extant.

Many Buddhist missionary scholars now went to various parts of China. The greatest of these was Kumarajiva, the Kuchean who had undergone training in Kashmir and had attained great fame as a scholar. After completing his training in Kashmir he returned to Kuchi after visiting various centres of Buddhist learning in Central Asia. His fame as a scholar and the eminence he had acquired attracted to Kuchi Buddhists from all parts of Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand and other places. When China invaded Kuchi, Kumarajiva was taken as a prisoner to China in 383. In 401 at the special behest of the emperor he was taken to the Capital. He remained in China till his death in 413. He had a great command of Sanskrit and also Chinese and a thorough familiarity with various schools of Buddhist philosophy. He thus won for himself unequalled reputation in China as an interpreter of Buddhism and Chinese scholars from all over the land flocked to him to study at his feet and become his disciples.

Kumarajiva did more for the spread of Buddhism in China than any other Indian missionary. His last instructions to his disciples when he was near death are most illuminating and touching. 'Accept my work, but do not take my life to be ideal. The lotus grows from the mud. Love the lotus and not the mud.'

40. Further spread of Buddhism in China

Wave after wave of Indian missionary scholars went to China in the subsequent centuries and many Chinese pilgrim scholars came to India to study Buddhism. But Buddhism itself declined in India after the seventh century and this mutual contact subsequently came to a standstill. Still even in our time the large volume of books, more than 2000 of the Chinese Tripitaka, are a standing monument to the cultural contribution of India to Chinese religious life.

41. Evaluation of India's cultural contribution of China

Let us now evaluate Indian cultural contribution to China.[40] During the eight hundred years after the introduction of Buddhism into China, Chinese as also some Indian Buddhist scholars like Kumarajiva created more than 35,000 new phrases, words in Chinese.

New words had to be found for the new terminology, religious, philosophical, metaphysical that Buddhism brought. This was done by combining single Chinese words to evolve a new meaning. For instance 'Chin-Ju'. 'Chin' means real and 'Ju' means likely and their combination was intended to convey the meaning of the Buddhist term 'Bhutatathata.' The word means absolute, ultimate source and character of all Phenomena.

Take another joint word 'Chung-sen'. 'Chung' means all or many. 'Sen' means born; and the combination is a new phrase meaning Sattva, all the living beings. A third example the word 'Ying' means first cause, 'Yuan' means second cause. When these two words are combined as 'Ying-Yuan' the joint word is translated as Hetupratyaya. The other method was to adopt Sanskrit words with their original sound as near as possible. Thus Nipan is the rendering of Nirvana. The Sanskrit word Ksana becomes Cha-na. This is truly a great contribution to Chinese language.

42. Indian themes in Chinese literary compositions

Indian themes entered into Chinese literary compositions. Indian Hetuvidya and methodology ushered in a new era in the art of writing. Translations of Buddhist texts were being made in both prose and verse. This created new field for Chinese literature. Indian Buddhists who came to China also assisted in forming on the model of Sanskrit alphabet, a system of thirtysix initial letters and described the vocal organs by which they were formed.

43. Influence of Buddhist art in China

Buddhist art was carried to China from Central Asia. It influenced Chinese art for several centuries. Buddhism give a new life to the development of art in China. This art did not follow the Chinese classical traditions but adapted Indian traditions, some of them modified in the course of transmission through Central Asia, to Chinese needs.

Indian architectural ideas were carried by Indian Buddhists going to China and were responsible for several innovations such as Buddhist temples, Stupas and caves. The White Horse Monastery of Lo-yang was modelled on the architectural style of the Sangharama in Kosala. Before the advent of Buddhism China had carvings upon stone but no sculpture in these dimensions.

Stone sculpture began with the Wei dynasty which was an admirer of Buddhism. Thereafter caves with sculptured Buddha statues came into vogue. The Tun-huang caves are one of the great centres of Buddhist cave-sculpture in China. Buddhism also brought new ideas into Chinese paintings. Ayurveda had an honoured place in China and many Indian medical treatises were translated.

44. India's cultural relations with Japan

Cultural relations between India and Japan can be traced back to very early times. A Japanese scholar, Shundo Tachibuna has shown that there existed contact between India and Japan in ancient times and had adduced linguistic, religious and cultural comparisons in support of his argument.[41] Prof. Nakamura of the Tokyo University states that 'without Indian influence Japanese sculpture would not be what it is to-day.'[42]

Many Japanese profess the Buddhist faith and have been in general influenced by Indian ideas to a great extent. Till the advent of European ideas into Japan Buddhism was the basis of Japanese sculpture. It has infiltrated into many aspects of the daily life of the Japanese people. Along with the Buddhist faith, various facts of Indian thought and culture have found acceptance in the country.

45. Spread of Buddhism in Japan

Buddhism came to Japan through Korea in the latter half of the sixth century. In 532 through the agency of the king of Kudara in Southern Korea the royal gift of a statue of Buddha, a set of Buddhist scriptures and banners were brought to the Japanese Emperor. The Korean envoys also brought a message to the effect that the Buddhists dhrama, the most excellent of all doctrines had been accepted in all countries lying between India and Korea. Japan, the message urged, should also accept Buddhism and it would bring great benefits to those who do.

At this time the ruling class in Japan was divided into two groups one of which favoured the acceptance of Buddhism and it succeeded in the struggle with its rival. This fact gave great impetus to the spread of Buddhism in Japan.

46. Statue of Saraswati in Japan

Recently a statue of Saraswati, the Hindu Goddess of learning, and miniature Buddhist scrolls have been found inside an image of 'Daikoku' of Mahakala, the God of wealth, according to Japanese tradition, in the Saidaiji temple in Nara Japan, according to the Malnichi Daily News.

The Daikoku, or Mahakala, which is of wood and is believed to belong to the Kamakura period (12th century A.D.) is 83 centimetres high. The Saraswati statuette and the scrolls were found by members of the Nara National Cultural Research Institute when they dismantled the Mahakale image for renovation.

The Saraswati statuette (in Japan, Saraswati is referred to as Benten) is 5.5 centimetres high and stands on a bronze plate about 19 centimetres square. Both the statuette and the plate are covered wih gold leaf.

47. Spread of Buddhism in Tibet

Mahayana Buddhism was accepted in Tibet some time in the seventh century and it took firm roots by the middle of the next century when in 749 monasteries were founded on Tsang-Po.

In Tibet Buddhism took syncretistic Tantric form and in the thirteenth century an influential acclesiastical hierarchy assumed all temporal power. From the fifteenth century onwards, the Priest-Kings of Lhasa dominated the whole of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was venerated as a Bodhisattva and Vice Regent of the Buddha. The Tantric Buddhism of Tibet is a subject by itself which has been much studied by Tibetologists and other scholars of Buddhism.

V

INDIA & SOUTH-EAST ASIA

48. Indian influence in Indo-China

The establishment of Indian influence in Indo-China and adjoining regions goes back to the very remote past. As in the case of all other culture-contacts, trade was the principle motivation which led to people knowing about each other which in turn created missionary and perhaps political motivation strengthening these contacts. We cannot do better than agree with Coedes who states that the beginnings and expansion of Hindu culture pattern in Indo-China was a gradual process. A few merchants first arrived from India in the region and they were later followed by Brahmanas. Hinduism at that time had not lost its elasticity and these Brahmins were able to gain a few initial converts to Hinduism, a process which soon gained strength.

Buddhism too made its appearance in south-east Asia generally known as *Suvarnabhumi* in Indian texts and accounts. "Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tend to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively early period."

49. Founding of Fu-nan Empire

The Fu-nan empire comprising of most of the present-day Cambodia and parts of Vietnam became Indianised in the early centuries of the Christian era receiving its Hindu culture most probably from one of the earlier colonies in this area. The name Fu-nan represents Chinese translation of Khmer word meaning 'mountain'. Its capital was at 'Vyaghrapur' (city of tiger). The earliest Hindu colony in Indo-China comprised Cambodia, Cochin-China and southern Siam and was called "Vanarajya".

Communication between China and India via the isthmus of Kra was well established in the second century A.D. and it is possible that Hinduisation of Fu-nan which lay on this route, took acceleration because of its position. This empire was founded in circa 1st century A.D. by an Indian named Kaundinya of the "Somavamsa" who married the local princess known to legend as the Nagini Somá and thus established first Indo-Khmer dynasty in Indo-China. Kaundinya had his capital at Vyaghrapur.

Epigraphic evidence of this is found in inscription of King Prakashdharma (657 A.D.) —

तत्र स्थापितवान् चूलम् कौंडिण्यस्तद्विजर्शभ : ।
अश्वत्थामो द्विजश्रेष्ठात् द्रोणापुत्रादवाप्यतम ॥

कुलासीद्भुजगेन्द्रकन्या सोमेति सा वंशकरी पृथिव्याम् ।
आश्रित्य भावेति विशेषवस्तु या ॥

Under his successors Fu-nan became a great kingdom exercising suzeranity over many vassal states. The rulers of Fu-nan now called themselves **पर्वतभूपाल** or **शैलराज** and in course of time assumed completely Indian names like Jaya Varman and Indra Varman. Quaritch Wales in his *Making of Greater India* has ably discussed how Fu-nan achieved a synthesis in its temple architecture of Hindu concepts and native ideals out of which grew the later Khmer architecture.

The oldest Hindu monument in Indo-China is a Sanskrit inscription of second century A.D.

The images of Siva and Uma, of Skanda and Ganesha testify to Shivaite dominance. In the ninth century the first brick temple of Parvati was built to replace an old wooden structure.

Thus for over one thousand years, the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula and the islands of the Indian archipelago were for all practical purposes a greater India. Indian colonists had set up flourishing kingdoms. Indian culture permeated the people of the country. Regular lines of communication by sea connected these kingdoms with India and China.

The important ports on the Western Coast of India which kept up this line of communication by sea were Bharukaccha, Surparaka, Kalyan etc. Ports of Eastern Coast were Puhar (Kaveripattanam), and Tamralipti in Bengal.

50. Founding of Kambuja Empire

Kambuja in the hey-day of its power included the whole of modern Combodia and Siam and portions of adjacent states. This was founded by King 'Kambu Swayambhuva' of 'Aryadesha'. It played the most important role in the political and cultural history of the Far-East till the twelfth century A.D. Brahmanism was the established religion of the country, Buddhism was also introduced at a later period. The Indian alphabet was adopted to the Combodian language (not now used). Sanskrit was much cultivated. The epigraphic records in Sanskrit show that the Sanskrit of the country had attained a high degree of refinement.

Thus in inscription of King Bhava Varman of Kambuja (Circa 660 A.D.) the King calls himself as impregnable in strength as 'Meru Mountain' —

राजा श्री भववर्म्मेति पतिरासीत् महीभृताम् ।
अप्रधस्थ महासत्वः तुङ्गो मेरुरिवापरः ॥

In the inscription on the occasion of consecrating a Shivalinga under the name Bhadrashwara at Ugrapura, the names of Hindu deities Shankar and Achyut are clearly mentioned —

शंकराच्युतयोरर्धः शरीर प्रतिमामिमाम् ।

Epigraphic reference is also found relating to 'Harihar Mandir and Ashram' founded by Arya Vidyadeva. In all these inscriptions 'Saka' era is used by Kambuja kings. Even to-day the soldiers in the Royal Khmer army wear the golden insignia of the monkey god. In the Royal entourage of the King of Combodia, there are always three Brahmins who officiate at certain ceremonies even though the State religions for centuries has been Buddhism.

51. Indian influence in Annam (Champa)

As early as the second century A.D. the Indian colonisers had reached the coast of Annam either through Combodia or directly by the sea. The first Hindu Kingdom to be founded in Annam was Champa. This kingdom was situated adjoining to Fu-nan and was known to Chinese as Chenn-la. It was established by an Indian named Maharshi Kambu of Suryavamsa who married the apsara Mera.

Most illustrious king of Champa was Bhadravarman. In his Bhadreshwara temple inscription 350 A.D. we find following Sanskrit lines, which show his immense faith in Vedic religion —

नमो देवाय भद्रेश्वरस्वामिपादप्रसादात्
अग्नये त्वा जुष्टम् करिष्यामि ।

धर्म महाराज श्री भद्रवर्म्मणो यावच्चंद्रादित्यम्
तावत् पुत्रपौत्रं मोक्षयति।
पृथ्विप्रसादात्कर्मसिद्धिरस्तु।

In another of the inscription, the gift of 'Kalasha' by Champa King to the temple of श्रीवनान्तरेश्वर is mentioned —

वनान्तरेश्वरायास्मै श्रीमते दिव्यकीर्तये।
चंपापुरपती रौप्यम् कलशम् श्रद्धयात्मनः॥

We are told by the Chinese historians that in the beginning of the 7th century after a military expedition in Champa, the Chinese returned with a rich booty which contained amongst other things 1350 Buddhist manuscripts in 564 bauds, all of which were written in a script of Indian origin.

52. Indian influence in Burma

As early as the 3rd century B.C., we hear of Buddhist missionaries named "Sona and Uttara" being sent to Burma by Ashoka. By 3rd century A.D. we find Buddhist and Brahmanical inscriptions in the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodia. In the 4th century A.D. we read of Kaundinya establishing a kingdom in Cambodia and marrying the local queen.

The kingdom of Hamsavati (Pegu) was founded in A.D. 573, but the indianisation of Burma was achieved much earlier to these events. Thus kingdom of Prome was known by Indian name 'Srikshetra' and 'Vanavasi'.

In the inscription of a metallic image of Buddha from Prome, kingdom of Prome is already mentioned as Vanavasi.

इदुं वनवासीरथ्थवासिन्तम् पूजनथ्थाय।

53. Indian influence in Java

Ptolemy refers to Java as Jabadion (Yava-dvipa) proving beyond doubt that the Hindu colonists had already sanskritised the name of the island. The passage in Ramayana where Yava-dvipa-Suvarna-dvipa is mentioned can be ascribed to a date not later than the 1st century A.D.

Fa Hien passing through Java (Yava-dvipa) in the beginning of the 5th century found that the island was a strong centre of

Hindu religion and culture. Buddhism was introduced for the first time probably in the beginning of the sixth century.

From early Christian centuries, India and Java furnished documents relating to religion, art, literature as well as epigraphic materials, down to the close of the 14th century.

The earliest literary documents of Java are the Sanskrit inscriptions (4th century A.D.) in Pallava Script. Various other inscriptions of different periods scattered all over Java.

The greatest Brahmanical monument in Central Java is Candi Lord Prambanan. Three of its shrines are dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva and the plinths are decorated by continuous reliefs from Ramayana and Bhagwat.

From the Singasari dynasty comes the superb figure of Prajna-Paramita now in the Leydon Museum.

54. Indian Influence in Sumatra

From the beginning of the Christian Era to the 14th century, Hindu-Sumatran culture flourished under the influence of Hindu colonists and missionaries, both Brahmin and Buddhistic, from Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Java.

Sumatra was not only colonised by the Hindus but, through more than a thousand years of close connection, it became an integral part of the Greater Indian Culture Zone; the Pallava influence in the 7th century, the Chola domination of the 11th century, together with other intrusions from the Tamil and Kerala countries, signify South Indian contributions. Dravidian tribal names are still to be found among the Bataks.

55. Indian Influence in Borneo

In the island of Borneo, Sanskrit inscriptions were traced in 1879. The local Sultan presented four inscribed stones to the Batavian Society, and when they were published by Prof. Kern, they proved to be the now famous Yupa inscriptions of King Mulavarman, son of King Asvavarman.... Since then many specimens of Hindu architecture and iconography have been discovered in Borneo. The most interesting of these discoveries are the images, both Saiva and Buddhistic — Mahadeva, Kartikeya, Ganesa, Vijrapani and other Bodhi Sattvas.

In the island of Celebes a fine bronze Buddha was found.

56. Indian Influence in Philippines

From Java, Sumatra and Borneo Hindu culture spread to the Philippines and Sanskrit influenced very largely "Tagalog", the *lingua franca* of these islands. Prof. H. Otley Beyer, an American scholar of the Philippines has published a book showing "Sanskrit element in Philippine languages." Hindu influence is also felt in the native mythology, folklore, early literature, codes of law, art and design and other symbols of the cultural, social and political life of the Philippines. Another Professor, A. L. Kroeber, studying this problem traces the set of influences emanating from India: "A mass of religious ideas, practices and names, a considerable body of Sanskrit words, a system of writing, the art of metal working, a vast body of mechanical and industrial knowledge and unquestionably a much greater degree of civilization and refinement than had existed previously."

57. Indian Influence in Malaya

Dr. Qaritch Wales conducting excavations in the Malay States of Kedah Perak and Johore has brought to light many inscriptions (Buddhist) from the 4th century onwards.

In Kedah he also unearthed remains of Hindu temples (7th & 8th centuries) showing Pallava influences. Dr. Wales rightly remarks —

"After the Pallavas, the famous Chola Kings, specially under Rajendra the Great, extended not only the cultural but political domination over Malaya. So it is natural that traces of a revival of Hinduism in Kedah are found coming right down to the 13th century. Buddhism also probably lingered but several brick temples with Hindu images, terracotta Ganesha and other cult objects seem to explain why the Malays were called Hindus when they were conquered by the Islamic invaders in the 15th century."

58. Indian Influence in Siam

Many Brahmanical Statues were discovered in Bangkok. A small sand figure of Buddha has been found dating from 6th or 7th century A.D. This image is in Indian Gupta style. Several

Statues of Vishnu and Siva have been discovered in this area.... charming samples of Gupta or Pallava art, proving thereby that successive waves of art and culture reached Indonesia through these Malayan colonies.

Many, old geographical names like 'Giri-rashtra', Pandurang Ayodhya, Vishnuloka, Srivijaya, Dvaravati found in Siam inscriptions appear clearly to be of Sanskrit origin.

Present Siamese language is strongly related to Chinese but written in a script that derives from Indian 'Devanagari'. Sukhodaya was the capital of Siam in 14th century. In 15th- 18th centuries the name of the capital of Siam was Ayodhya. Largest Buddha statue was found in Ayodhya.

59. Indian Influence in Sri Vijaya

I-tsing returned from India to China towards the close of the seventh century via Sri Vijaya. From his account it appears that Sri Vijaya was in this period not only a great centre of (learning) Buddhist studies but also of Sanskrit learning.

Sanskrit was the language of Sri Vijaya culture. All old epigraphic records were written in Sanskrit. Both Hinduism and Buddhism were followed by the kings and their subjects. Indian literature was held in esteem and studied.

60. Indian influence in Thailand

Prince Prem Purachatr, a prominent educationist of Thailand, in his recent visit to India observed that Buddhism was the most important single factor in Thailand's national life. He pointed out that Pali, Sanskrit, Ramayana and ancient tales and legends of India had helped enrich the language and literature of his country.

The people of Thailand, according to him, had a great reverence for Tagore, and therefore he held that the influence of both ancient and modern India was a continuing process. He regretted that for a long time South-East Asian countries had overlooked their neighbours and looked instead towards the West.

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Section IV

ARCHAEOLOGY

PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY

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PREHISTORY & PROTOHISTORY

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The term 'prehistory' is applied to that part of a society's life-story which is known exclusively through archaeological sources; in contrast 'History' is the period known primarily through literary records. 'Protohistory' constitutes a narrow bridge between these two: If 'Prehistory' and 'History' may be likened to night and day, the position of 'Protohistory' may be approximately described as that of the dawn.

I

PROLOGUE

1. Terms 'Prehistory', 'Protohistory', 'History' defined

Before getting down to a discussion of the development of Indian prehistory and protohistory during the period under review, a word might be said about the application of the terms 'Prehistory' and 'Protohistory' in the Indian context. The term 'Prehistory' is applied to that part of a society's life-story which is known exclusively through archaeological sources; in contrast, 'History' is the period known primarily through literary records. 'Protohistory' constitutes a narrow bridge between these two. It is essentially a continuation of prehistory; its methods are primarily archaeological, but literary evidence mostly of an indirect kind begins to throw some light on the story at this stage. If 'Prehistory' and 'History' may be likened to night and day, the position of 'Protohistory' may be appropriately described as that of the dawn.

2. Food gathering and food producing stages in Indian history

In India the entire food-gathering stage, that is, the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods may be unhesitatingly assigned to prehistory. The difficulty crops up when we come to the food-producing stage. In a country as vast as India no cultural event such as the emergence of food-production or writing could have occurred simultaneously everywhere nor could all parts have come into contact simultaneously with any area where writing was known. And this is what exactly happened. For the earliest food-producing cultures, namely, those of Baluchistan and Sind, there is no literary evidence of any kind and these are, therefore, truly prehistoric. The same is the case with the early food producing cultures of the Southern Deccan and probably those of Eastern India.

On the other hand, for certain other food producing cultures we do seem to have some literary evidence and these, therefore, will belong to Protohistory. For instance, literary evidence from India as well as outside appears to have some bearing on the Indus Civilization which otherwise, pending the decipherment of its own script, will be classed as prehistoric. In the Rigveda the Aryans are depicted as demolishing the native fortresses during the course of their invasion of north-west India. Sir Mortimer Wheeler has argued that if these fortresses were not the fortified citadels of the Indus cities, where else they could be. Archaeology has not yet revealed any other structures of the corresponding period which can be identified as the fortresses of the Aryans' foes. If Sir Mortimer's reading of the evidence is correct, then it would connect the last phase at least of the Indus Civilization with our earliest literary tradition.

Less uncertain evidence seems to be available from the Mesopotamian cuneiform texts. A recent appraisal of these throws significant light on the trade relations between Sargonid and Post-Sargonid Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley Civilization and this, therefore, helps to push the Indus Civilization into the domain of Protohistory.

3. Close connection between Archaeology and ancient Indian literary tradition

Again it is almost universally accepted that the complex and chaotic narratives in the Puranas do contain genuine historical elements and these, if disentangled from fiction, will help considerably in knowing the state of early Aryan society. Now, archaeological excavations during the last fifteen years have shown that many stone and copper using agricultural communities appeared in western and central India in the early second millennium B.C. and continued to flourish till the middle of the first millennium when they were absorbed by the new iron using peoples. These early peoples apparently came from outside and imposed themselves on the local hunting and food collecting groups. Dr. Sankalia has courageously suggested that it is to these communities that we should look for the material identification of the Haihayas, Yadavas, Nagas, Andhakas and other tribal groups of the Puranic literature. In the Ganga Valley the early settlements are distinguished by a ceramic called the Painted Grey Ware and many of them are closely associated with places that figure prominently in the Mahabharata. A close connection between archaeology and literary tradition is quite apparent here.

4. Scheme of the present paper.

However, since all these communities from Baluchistan to South India belong to a common economic stage, viz. the food producing as contrasted with food gathering, they should be considered together. To break them into compartments of Prehistory and Protohistory will be to introduce an artificial division which will upset the chronological and evolutionary sequence. I have, therefore, consciously refrained from using these terms while describing these early food producing communities and this will, I hope, help in a better understanding of the subject.

II

PALAEOLITHIC PERIOD

5. Robert Bruce Foote, — Founder of Indian prehistory

By 1889, the date around which our survey should begin, the foundations of Indian prehistory had been securely laid. Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey had discovered hand-axes, cleavers and other palaeoliths, apart from other antiquities, from numerous places in the old Madras Presidency as well as in Hyderabad and Mysore States. Stray palaeoliths had also been found in the Godavari and the Narmada, as well as in Rajasthan and Orissa by other persons.

Bruce Foote was, however, the only serious worker in prehistory and continued to remain so for nearly two more decades. During this period he brought to light more evidence of the Palaeolithic period from areas as far north as the Sabarmati basin of Gujarat. By the end of the century he had built up a large private collection which was purchased in 1904 by the Madras Museum.

Bruce Foote himself arranged the collections in the Museum and published two catalogues on them, the one listing all the antiquities in relation to their findspots and dates (1914) and the other giving notes on their ages and distribution (1916). Apart from his individual contribution to prehistory, Bruce Foote also encouraged and inspired many other geologists and civil servants to take interest in the relics of the past and one of the latter, A. C. Logan, I.C.S. wrote an excellent book on the Palaeolithic period summarising the evidence known at that time (1906).

6. L. A. Cammiade's researches in the Krishna basin

This early and fruitful phase of prehistoric research came to a close with the death of Bruce Foote in 1912 and no significant progress took place till 1930 when L. A. Cammiade published the results of his work in the lower Krishna basin in collaboration with M. C. Burkitt. Two years later they published another paper in collaboration with F. J. Richards on the climatic changes during the Palaeolithic period.

Their conclusions showed that the lower Krishna basin had seen an unbroken development of culture during the Stone Age. They distinguished four different industries in a chronological sequence. These were: (i) a handaxe-cleaver industry; (ii) a flake industry; (iii) a blade and burin industry; and (iv) a microlithic industry. They also suggested a climatic sequence of four wet periods intervened by three dry periods, for the period covered by the Stone Age industries. Their work for the first time suggested a regional chronology and indicated the line of climatological interpretation.

7. Researches of Yale-Cambridge Expedition in Kashmir Valley and the Punjab

Early in the thirties began the work of the Yale-Cambridge expedition under Drs. Helmut de Terra and T. T. Paterson (1939) in Kashmir Valley and the North Punjab (now in West Pakistan). The work of the expedition led to the recognition of a glacial-interglacial cycle in that area comparable to that established for the Alpine zone by Penck and Bruckner.

The expedition also brought to light rich evidence of Stone Age cultures in the terraces of the Sohan and the Indus valleys, which could be dated in relation to the deposits of the glacial and interglacial periods. The earliest evidence of human presence in the Punjab occurred in the form of crude flakes in the Boulder Conglomerate deposit belonging to the Second Glacial period. This was given the name Pre-Sohan industry.

8. Researches in Sohan culture

The succeeding cultural manifestation was termed the Sohan culture in which the principal tool types were pebble tools and flakes. Two phases of this culture were distinguished, namely the Early Sohanian, a crude culture of large pebble tools and Clactonian flakes belonging to the Second Interglacial period and the Late Sohanian, a comparatively advanced culture of small pebble tools and Levalloisian flakes occurring principally in the Third Glacial period deposits but continuing upto the Fourth Glacial period.

Side by side the Sohanian pebble tool culture, a handaxe-cleaver industry of Madrasian type also flourished in this area. Prof. Movius (1944) has suggested that the Sohanian culture was the manifestation of a chopper-chopping tool culture which had its development in south-east Asia, and was distinct from the Madrasian culture which developed in Peninsular India, Africa and Western Europe.

9. Studies in the Narmada Valley

The expedition also studied the Narmada between Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur. The sedimentary deposits of the river totalling some 130 feet were divided into three groups, namely, the *Lower Group* comprising a cemented pebble conglomerate lying over a laterite deposit and overlain by a red concretionary clay; *Upper Group* comprising a sandy conglomerate and a pink clay unconformably overlying the Lower Group; and lastly, the *Cotton Soil Group* comprising a sandy gravel and a black soil.

The Lower Group yielded fossils of *Hexaprotodan, Equus,* and *Bos namadicus* and a rich stone industry of Abbevillian handaxes, cleavers, pebble choppers, scrapers and flakes. The Upper Group yielded the fossils of *Elephas namadicus, Bos namadicus, Bubalus palaeindicus, Equus namadicus, Hexaprotodan namadicus,* and *Sus sp.* and fresh Acheulian handaxes, cleavers, pebble tools and Levalloisian flakes. In the Cotton Soil Group deposits was found a diminutive industry of scrapers, points and flakes made of chalcedony and jasper as against the quartzite of earlier industries De Terra gave it the name Proto-Neolithic.

De Terra and Paterson saw in the lithic material of the two earlier groups a parallel manifestation of Madrasian (handaxe-cleaver) and Sohanian tool traditions and on that basis correlated the five Narmada deposits (the third group constituting only one deposit) with the five terraces of the river Sohan of the Panjab. Though the stratigraphic observations of the authors appear to be broadly sound in the light of later research, their classification of the archaeological material was certainly a simplification of the evidence. We now know it for certain that their handaxe-cleaver and Sohan cultures in the Narmada in reality constituted only one culture (Sankalia, Subbarao and Deo, 1958).

10. Researches in the Kortalayar Valley

In the south the expedition's work in the valley of the Kortalayar, north of Madras, led to the recognition of three terraces which yielded a sequence of lithic industries from the Abbevillian to the Advanced Acheulian stage.

11. Beginning of active phase of Palaeolithic research

Towards the close of the thirties began another active phase of palaeolithic research which has since continued uninterrupted. Krishnaswami (1938) explored the areas around Madras and brought more evidence of handaxe-cleaver culture there. In 1939 Todd published his study of the culture sequence along the sea coast of Bombay in which he showed that the region had witnessed a continuous development of culture from a crude handaxe-cleaver stage to the microlithic stage.

At about this time N. K. Bose and D. Sen (1948) of Calcutta University began their study of the river Burhabalang in Mayurbhanj. Their excavations in laterite pits at Kuliana and explorations of the gravel deposits of the Burhabalang brought to light an Abbevillio-Acheulian industry in the region.

12. Dr. Sankalia's researches in Gujarat and Maharashtra

In 1941 H. D. Sankalia began his important work in Gujarat and in Maharashtra. He explored the Godavari at Nandur-

Madhmeshwar where Pilgrim had found elephant fossils a hundred and forty years ago, and discovered small flake tools in the gravel conglomerate of the river (Sankalia, 1943, 1945).

In Gujarat following the clues given by Robert Bruce Foote, he explored the Sabarmati at Pedhamli and other places and discovered the existence of a mixed pebble tool-handaxe-cleaver culture in the cemented conglomerate and silt deposits of 'that river (Sankalia, 1946). Simultaneously he also dug in the area for the cultural and physical remains of microlithic man.

13. Prehistoric expedition under Prof. Zeuner's leadership

By now a great deal of artifactual material of the Stone Age had been collected but geochronological and environmental studies so important to archaeology were not making headway owing to the absence of the co-operation of natural scientists. Being impressed by Dr. Sankalia's work in Gujarat, Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler, then Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, suggested that the Deccan College, Poona, and the Archaeological Survey should jointly invite Prof. F. E. Zeuner of the London University Institute of Archaeology to undertake some work of that kind in India and train Indian students in prehistory.

In 1949 a prehistoric expedition was organised under Prof. Zeuner's leadership. It studied in some detail the stratigraphy of the Sabarmati, the Mahi, the Orsang and the Godavari and also visited the Balia Nadi basin in south Mirzapur, Mayurbhanj in Orissa the Malaprabha basin in Karnatak, Giddalur region in Kurnool and the *Teri* sites in south Madras. Prof. Zeuner's studies in north Gujarat showed a progressive desiccation of the region from Pleistocene times to Recent times with a short damp phase during the occupation of the area by microlithic man (Zeuner, 1950).

The expedition re-explored the Balia Nadi in Mirzapur where Cockburn (1888) had some sixty years ago found a rich stone tool assemblage of Madrasian type and discovered a rich microlithic industry besides collecting tools of the Lower Palaeolithic type in stratified context (Krishnaswami and Soundara Rajan, 1951). More or less similar evidence was found around Giddalur (Soundara Rajan, 1952).

14. Researches of Dr. Sankalia's students in various parts of India

One of the participants in the Expedition, R. V. Joshi (1955) undertook a detailed investigation of the Malabrabha basin under the guidance of Dr. H. D. Sankalia and revealed rich evidence of a developed Acheulian culture in the region. In the last eight years several areas of the country have been intensively explored by students of Dr. Sankalia at the Deccan College. Among them may be mentioned the work of A. P. Khatri (1958) in Malwa; G. C. Mohapatra (1962) in Orissa; N. Isaac (1961) in Kurnool; V. N. Misra (1961) in Rajputana and R. Singh (1960) in north Madhya Pradesh. Several other areas such as north-western Madhya Pradesh, the central Narmada valley and parts of Andhra Pradesh are under investigation.

15. Other important regional explorations

Meanwhile Dr. Sankalia himself has explored the Godavari (1952), the Pravara (1956), and in collaboration with Dr. Subbarao, the middle Narmada. Outside Deccan College the work of B. B. Lal (1956) in the Beas and Banganga valleys in the Punjab and R. V. Joshi (1961) in the Damoh district of Madhya Pradesh should be mentioned.

16. Regional distribution of handaxe culture in India

As a result of all these studies we know that the handaxe-cleaver culture was widespread in India; its relics occurring today in every region except in Assam, extreme South, Malabar and the west coast. The stratigraphical horizon of this culture all over this vast territory is remarkably uniform; it occurs in the first gravel aggradation of all the rivers. This culture flourished during the Middle Pleistocene period if the evidence from the Punjab, Narmada and the Pravara is to be relied upon.

We do not yet know anything about the physical features of the man who made the tools of this culture, but some of his animal contemporaries were the primitive elephant, horse, ox, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and pig. The climate during this period was probably slightly wetter than today.

17. Discovery of 'Nevasian' culture by Dr. Sankalia

The handaxe culture certainly flourished throughout the Middle Pleistocene period and probably into the Late Pleistocene period as well when it was supplanted by a new culture almost over its entire area. We know something of this culture from the work of Cammiade in Kurnool, of De Terra and Paterson in the Punjab and the Narmada, and of Sankalia in the Godavari, but its true character and significance was realized by Sankalia (1956) when he discovered the tools of this culture in stratified deposits over the handaxe-cleaver culture in the Pravara river at Nevasa in the Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra.

Since then rich evidence of the culture has been found in several river valleys of Maharashtra, in Kurnool, in the Brahmani and Baitarni valleys in Orissa, in the Shivna valley in Malwa, in the Wagan, Luni and Chambal valleys in Rajasthan, in the Betwa, Shahjad, Narmada and Ken valleys in Madhya Pradesh and along the coastal Bombay.

18. Distinctive features of 'Nevasian' culture

The distinctive features of this culture may be summarised as follows :—

(1) It is predominantly a flake culture. The principal tool types are scrapers, points, borers and blades. The size of the tools is smaller than that of the tools in the earlier handaxe-cleaver culture. There is a strong Levalloisian element in the flakes.

(2) Raw material employed for the tools almost invariably consists of fine-grained siliceous rocks like chert, flint, jasper, agate and chalcedony. In this respect there is a complete break from the preceding handaxe-cleaver culture in which the raw material was predominantly quartzite. However, in some areas, particularly South India, quartzite continued to be used even in this period.

(3) Stratigraphically this culture belongs to the second aggradational cycle of peninsular rivers, whereas the handaxe-cleaver culture belongs to the first cycle. In the Narmada and the Godavari, tools of this culture have been found with Middle Pleistocene fossil fauna. However, since this same fauna also occurs along with the handaxe-cleaver culture in the Narmada

and the Pravara, it is thought that this culture may be as late as Upper Pleistocene.

19. Origin and evolution of 'Nevasian' culture

Banerjee has given the name 'Nevasian' to this culture after Nevasa, the site where it was first isolated. It is not yet clear whether this culture evolved out of the earlier Madrasian culture or had its origin outside India. So far nowhere a clear evidence of such an evolution has been found. Similarly it is also not known whether there was a transitional culture between the Nevasian and the Mesolithic cultures of the later period. The differences between these two cultures are as marked as those between the Madrasian and the Nevasian.

20. Nomenclature of Stone-Age cultures

At this stage something may be said about the nomenclature of the various Stone-Age cultures. So far we have been using the terms Palaeolithic and Neolithic originally suggested by John Lubbock in 1866. Palaeolithic is again broadly divided into Lower, Middle and Upper and these terms are used in Europe, North Africa and all over Asia. However, in South Africa a different terminology is used which retains the Neolithic but dispenses with Palaeolithic and Mesolithic and in their place uses Earlier Stone Age, Middle Stone Age and Late Stone Age.

Following this practice Dr. B. Subbarao suggested in 1956 that Indian Stone Age be accordingly divided and his suggestion was accepted provisionally at the First International Conference on Asian Archaeology in 1961. The present author has tried to show elsewhere (Misra, 1962) that this new terminology will only create confusion instead of helping in a better understanding of the subject.

III

MESOLITHIC PERIOD

21. Finding of tools, belonging to Mesolithic culture in India

Small tools or microliths characteristic of the Mesolithic culture — a culture chronologically intermediate between Palaeolithic cultures just mentioned and the earliest food producing communities to be described later — have been found in India since at least the eightees of the last century (Brown, 1889). These tools are made out of small parallel sided flakes and include variously blunted blades, points, lunates, trapezes and triangles, the last three being geometric types. Other tool types in Mesolithic industries include a large variety of scrapers made alike out of flakes and cores, drills, burins, etc. (Misra, 1964). Robert Bruce Foote had collected them from many places in south India as well as in Gujarat but he failed to appreciate their true character and ascribed them to the Neolithic Age. Towards the end of the last century A. C. L. Carlleyle collected them in large numbers — especially the geometric types — in the caves and rock shelters of the Kaimur range. Carlleyle's discoveries were never adequately published and the little that we know of them is from a paper written by Vincent Smith in 1905.

22. Dr. Sankalia's researches regarding Microlithic man in Gujarat

Apart from this work and some stray discoveries of microliths on the Deccan Plateau in the first few decades of this century, little progress was made in this field until Sankalia began his work in Gujarat in 1941. Following the clues given by Bruce Foote, Sankalia (1946, 1956; Sankalia and Karve, 1949) not only discovered a number of new sites but by his excavations at a number of places, notably at Langhnaj, put these microliths in a definite context. His work, later supplemented by that of Zeuner (1950, 1952) on the soils of the area, gives us a fairly good picture of the microlithic man in Gujarat — the best that we have for any area in the country.

23. Mesolithic man's habitat

The topography of north Gujarat is marked by numerous sand dunes which were formed in an arid climate at the end of the Pleistocene. These dunes often enclose an inundation lake affording an almost perennial water supply. The microlithic man settled on these dunes where he had a plentiful supply of small and big game. Langhnaj has yielded the bones of ten species of mammals (Clutton-Brock, n.d.). These include Indian wolf, Indian grey mongoose, one-horned rhinoceros, Indian wild boar, spotted deer, hog deer, barasingha or swamp deer, black-buck, nilgai, and bovines. However, because of the limited and fragmentary nature of the bovine bones no certain identification of species could be made nor is it clear whether they belong to wild or domesticated species. Clutton-Brock says that "except for the mongoose skeleton and possibly the remains of *Canis cf. lupus pallipes* the bones and teeth are all the remains of animals killed for food." Besides, there are also bones of rodents like rat and squirrels, and of fish and tortoise. Zeuner's soil tests show that the climate at this time was slightly damper than in the preceding and succeeding periods and a soil was forming on the dunes.

24. Technology of the Mesolithic people in Gujarat

Microlithic man transported his supply of raw material in the form of chalcedony, chert, agate, quartz and quartzite pebbles from the bed of the Sabarmati and other rivers and manufactured microliths on bone anvils in the stoneless sandy plains of Gujarat. His tools include triangles, trapezes, lunates, burins, a variety of scrapers including small round or thumbnail scrapers, borers, points and blades of the blunted, transversely truncated and pointed varieties. There is also some evidence of the use of bone tools.

The microlithic people buried their dead right under their living places though we do not know anything about their structures or whether they had any at all.

25. Dating of the Langhnaj Mesolithic Culture

Though no absolute dating is available for the microlithic culture, the paucity and crudeness of pottery and absence of any object of historical period in true microlithic layer, the wild nature of the fauna and the climatic evidence would tend to give it high antiquity.

26. Regional distribution of microliths in other parts of India

In recent years microliths have been found to be widespread on the Deccan plateau, in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Gujarat and south Rajasthan; in fact microlithic man's domain seems to have extended much beyond that of the Palaeolithic man.

However, in all these areas microliths occur on the surface, mostly on rocky ground and give us little idea of their age or their cultural context. In this respect the only evidence of some importance, apart from that of Gujarat, comes from Birbhanpur in West Bengal and *Teri* sites in south Madras.

27. Prof. Zeuner's researches in the Teris microlithic sites

At the tip of the Peninsula in the Tinnevelly district along the East Coast is a group of sand dunes locally known as *Teris*. Microliths were collected in these dunes by Bruce Foote in the last century. The dunes were again examined by Prof. Zeuner in 1949 (Zeuner and Allchin, 1956). Microliths occur on the surface of the dunes and where the 'A' horizon has been blown away, on the lateritic hard pan. They have been stained red because of the ferruginous character of the soil.

Zeuner's studies show that after the formation of the dunes weathering took place and this stained the artifacts red. The weathering phase corresponds to a period when the sea level stood 20 to 30 feet higher than today. On the basis of the relation between this eustatic change of the sea level and the weathering phase of the dunes, Zeuner dates the microlithic industry to about 4000 B.C. "with the proviso that further geological research may push them back into the Pleistocene".

Zeuner further remarks that in view of the rarity of datable microlithic sites not only in India but elsewhere, the *Teri* sites should be regarded as important. The microlithic industry of the dunes is composed of backed and obliquely truncated blades, lunates, retouched and bifacial points and a variety of scrapers.

28. B. B. Lal's work in the Burdwan district of West Bengal

A microlithic site of importance has been recently excavated by B. B. Lal (1958) in the Burdwan district of West Bengal. The site lies in a sal forest near the village of Birbhanpur on an old terrace of the Damodar river. The excavation yielded a large quantity of artifactual material though the proportion of finished tools to waste products is very small. The chief material used in the manufacture of tools in quartz, but crystal, chert, chalcedony, quartzite, fossil wood and basalt were also used in small quantities. Geometric shapes are conspicuous by their absence in the tool assemblage which comprises plain and blunted-back type blades, points, burins, borers, and scrapers.

It is, however, the stratigraphical evidence of the industry which is of great interest. The microlithic layer overlies a floor level composed of mottled silty sand mixed with laterite pebbles which was formed partly by the decomposition of the sandstone bedrock and is sealed by one or more layers of sandy earth mixed with lateritic pellets. The soil has undergone weathering subsequent to its deposition. A chemical and mechanical analysis and microscopic examination of some thirty soil samples from various layers by Dr. B. B. Lal shows that the pre-microlithic layers were laid down under conditions of heavy rainfall which led to the weathering of the lateritic type. This period may have corresponded to the last Pluvial period of the Pleistocene. After this dry conditions set in when rainfall was seasonal and wind activity predominated over the fluviatile. The microlithic industry is associated with this phase.

As there is no intervening horizon between the microlithic layer and the one below it denoting heavy rainfall, the microlithic industry may belong to early Holocene period. The absence of pottery as well as geometric types in the industry seems to the excavator to be supporting the climatic evidence.

IV

PRE-HARAPPAN PEASANT CULTURES IN BALUCHISTAN AND SIND

29. Beginning of post-Stone Age cultures

Books on Indian history as well as prehistory generally begin their post-Stone Age section with the Harappa Civilization and emphasize explicitly or implicitly the sudden emergence of that well-organized and highly advanced culture as if out of nothing.

Though it is true that the origins of that culture are as yet very inadequately known, yet it is not always realized that for well nigh a millenium before the emergence of planned cities in the Punjab and Sind small peasant groups had been making humble experiments in community life on the plains of Sind and in the narrow hill valleys of Baluchistan. That these communities had a long life is shown by the size of the *tells* they formed which are at times upto 100 feet or more in height. More recently C-14 datings have begun to give us a more objective idea of their duration.

30. Pre-Harappan Stone Age culture

These people had no doubt learnt the rudiments of settled life from the more developed communities to the west, in Iran and Mesopotamia and some of them might have been actual immigrants from those lands. Though as yet no direct links are discernible between any of these modest village cultures and the Harappa Civilization, it can be safely assumed that their humble experiments were a strong stimulus behind the more impressive achievements of the Harappans and indeed some of them might have actually participated in these achievements.

31. Researches in Sind and Baluchistan

Our knowledge of these cultures is primarily based on explorations by Sir Aurel Stein (1929, 1931, 1937) and H. Hargreaves (1929) in Baluchistan and N. G. Majumdar (1934) in Sind in the twenties and thirties of this century. The rich material brought to light by them had remained neglected till it was taken note of by V. G. Childe (1933, 1934). But a comprehensive study of it was made by Stuart Piggott (1943, 1946) and it has been later supplemented by that of Gordon (1955, 1958). Some further information was later added by the careful though limited work of Brigadier Ross at Rana Ghundai (1946) and of Piggott in the Quetta Valley (1947). In recent years new evidence has been brought to light by Miss B. de Cardi (1959) and more particularly by Fairservis by his systematic work in north Baluchistan (1956, 1959).

32. Sub-divisions of pre-historic cultures of north-west India

On the basis of the techniques employed in the manufacture of pottery, Piggott had classified the prehistoric cultures of north-west India into two broad zones, the Red Ware Zone in the north and the Buff Ware Zone in the south. This division is closely paralleled in, and apparently connected with, the Bronze Age cultures of Iran and Mesopotamia. Though there are occasional overlappings between the two groups, by and large the distinction is quite marked.

In the Buff ware group are the Kulli, Nal and Quetta cultures in south and central Baluchistan and the Amri culture in Sind and in the Red Ware group is the Zhob culture of north Baluchistan.

33. Kulli Culture

The Kulli culture is known from a number of sites in the Kolwa and Mashkai valleys in south Baluchistan. It is characterized by stone built settlements, cremation cemeteries, clay figurines of women and animals and a very distinctive pottery.

Piggott recognises two phases of the culture on the basis of the stylistic evidence of the pottery, an earlier one devoid of any Harappan influence and a later one in which Harappa pottery types and motifs appear.

In the earlier phase one of the most distinctive motifs of pot painting is 'landscape-with-animals' motif. The same motif — though with different animals — occurs on the pottery from a number of sites in Elam and Sumer and from at least two sites, Khafaje and Tell Agrab, in the Diyala valley where the pottery bearing it is known as the 'scarlet ware'. Now this 'scarlet ware' is securely dated to Early Dynastic I times. An Early Dynastic I date can, therefore, be safely assigned to this phase of the Kulli culture on ceramic evidence.

This dating is further supported by evidence of another kind. From two sites of the Kulli culture and from related sites in the Persian Makran and in Sistan come stone or stone-imitating hard grey pottery vessels bearing incised decoration, one of the commonest motifs in which is hut symbols with conventionalized doors and windows.

Almost identical vessels occur at a number of sites in Mesopotamia where they are dated at Khafaje, Kish, and other sites to Early Dynastic times. The combined evidence of pottery and stone pots clearly shows the extent of intercourse between the Kulli culture and Mesopotamia in Early Dynastic times.

34. Nal Culture

Another culture in south Baluchistan is known after the type site of Nal. It is characterized by a buff ware with polychrome painting in black, red, yellow and blue, stone and mud brick houses, copper flat axes and knives, steatite seals, beads, and inhumation and fractional burials in large cemeteries.

Like Kulli, Nal culture too can be divided into two phases, an earlier one best typified at Nundara and a later one known from the site of Nal. The later phase has strong Harappan affinities and is certainly contemporary with that culture while the earlier one has affinities with Kulli and Amri cultures.

35. Quetta Culture

In the Quetta Valley Fairservis has brought to light a very interesting sequence of cultures, the earliest of which goes back to around 3700 B.C. The evidence comes from two sites, Kili Ghul Mohammed and Damb Sadaat. At Kili Ghul Mohammed the earliest occupation (KGM I) had no pottery; its features were simple mud architecture, bone and stone tools, and goats/sheep and oxen. Its upper levels have given a C-14 date of 3500 B.C.

KGM II contained crude hand-made and basket-marked pottery with occasional painted decoration. Weaving was common in this phase. Wheel-made pottery decorated with simple geometric designs in black paint over a red background appears in KGM III. Decoration patterns suggest northern Iran as their place of origin.

KGM IV levels contain Kechi-Beg pottery which in its decorative style has strong affinities with Amri tradition. There is not much difference in KGM IV and Damb Sadaat I except that the absence or scarcity of certain pottery types shows KGM IV to be slightly earlier than Damb Sadaat I but there is no break between the two phases. Sheep, goat and cattle raising continue to be an important feature in economic life. Copper appears in KGM III. Houses continue to be made of mud bricks till Damb Sadaat I when stone walls become common. Damb Sadaat II represents the period of the full flowering of the decorative style of Quetta ware. Another ware of this period is a fine black-on-grey pottery, which has a wide distribution in Baluchistan. This phase has also given a C-14 dating of 2100 B.C.

Damb Sadaat III represents the last known prehistoric occupation in Quetta valley. It is characterized by, besides painted pottery, clay figurines of bull and mother goddess of the Zhob type. It is in this phase that Harappan contacts are discernible in north Baluchistan.

36. Buff ware culture of Amri

Another pre-Harappan culture in the Buff ware group which derives its name from the type site of Amri is known from a number of sites in Sind. At Amri the culture was found stratified directly below the Harappan levels. The pottery is buff with black painting and frequent use of red in zones or lines. Houses were made of stone or mud bricks or adobe with stone foundations. Chert blades were used as tools. Copper is known only through its use for beads.

The presence of Kechi Beg Ware connects it with KGM IV—Damb Sadaat I of Quetta valley. Its affinities with Zhob culture of north Baluchistan are suggested by such common features as the existence of chequer ornament between red and black lines, pedestal feet painted with vertical strokes and the extensive use of chert blades. The chequer motif also occurs on the stylistically early Nal pots.

37. Red ware culture from Zhob valley

In the Red Ware province is the Zhob culture known from Zhob valley in north Baluchistan. Important sites of the culture are Rana Ghundai, Sur Jangal, Periano Ghundai and Dabarkot. The most important evidence, however, comes from Rana Ghundai.

The earliest occupation at this site (RG I) yielded no structural remains and appears to have been a camping site of semi-nomadic people living in temporary huts. Their pottery was hand-made and unpainted. They used flint blades and bone points. The animal bones from this phase include those of humped ox, domestic sheep, the ass, and surprisingly four teeth of the domesticated horse.

RG II shows an entirely different culture apparently due to the arrival of a new people. These people made houses with stone foundations and made a fine painted pottery which had a red or buff slip and is decorated in black with stylized humped bulls and black buck. It was a short-lived occupation.

The next phase RG III though separated from RG II by a sterile layer, culturally seems to be its continuation. Besides black, the red colour is used for pot decoration and some of the designs recall the Amri ware. The main occupation of Sur Jangal seems to be contemporary to this phase of RG.

Other comparable sites of this phase are Periano Ghundai, Moghul Ghundai, Dabarkot and the settlement at Nal. The pottery of this phase is a continuation of RG II. At Sur Jangal there are pedestalled bowls painted with vertical strokes on the exterior and a frieze of highly stylized humped cattle on the interior. At Periano the common shape is a small beaker or bottle with a solid pedestal foot.

This phase of Rana Ghundai has yielded a number of clay figurines of women and some of humped bulls from Sur Jangal, Periano Ghundai, Moghul Ghundai, Kaudani and Dabarkot. The former are supposed to be representations of mother goddesses worshipped in house-hold shrines. Other elements of the material culture of this phase are flint blades that continue from RG I and occur also at Sur Jangal and Periano Ghundai, alabaster cups, stone beads and bangles and needles of bone.

38. Comparison of RG II & Hissar I cultures

There are close parallels between pottery of RG II and Hissar I both in shape and in ornament and Piggott thought that these two phases represent parallel manifestation of a common idea. This phase according to him is contemporary with Jemdet Nasr period. RG III begins in Early Dynastic times and continues into Harappan times. It was brought to an end by violent destruction and subsequent phases RG IV and V show a completely different culture.

Fairservis equates the first three phases of Rana Ghundai with the three phases of Sur Jangal which again are equivalent of KGM III, KGM IV-Damb Sadaat I, and Damb Sadaat II respectively.

39. Pre-Harappan evidence at Harappa

Wheeler in his excavations at Harappa in 1946 had found a small number of sherds below the ramparts of the citadel mound.

The similarity of these sherds with the pottery of Zhob culture has long been recognized. According to Fairservis they are comparable with the pottery of Sur Jangal II-III and RG II-III in their decorative style. This would indicate that as in Sind and Baluchistan the Harappa culture imposed itself on a pre-existing village culture in the Punjab.

40. Kot Diji — important pre-Harappan site of Red ware

An important pre-Harappan site of the Red Ware group has been excavated by Dr. F. A. Khan (1958) at Kot Diji, 25 miles east of Mohenjodaro in Sind. Here below the remains of a village or small town of normal Indus type was found a fortified village of an entirely different culture.

The village had mud-brick houses on stone foundations. Copper was scarce and stone equipment included, besides chert blades, leaf-shaped chert arrowheads unknown at Indus sites but found in some of the Baluch village cultures. Pottery is mostly red slipped and painted with simple horizontal bands and sometimes loops on the upper part in red, sepia or black.

The shapes are largely small goblets, globular bowls, or open dishes and fruit stands on pedestals. This pottery is similar to that found below the ramparts at Harappa as well as certain fabrics in northern Baluchistan.

However, certain other elements of this culture strongly recall Harappan features. These include pottery decoration with interesting circles and scale pattern and "a vessel decorated with the head of a horned deity, a sort of proto-Siva well-known on some of the Indus seals". According to the excavator these parallels would indicate either a trend towards the evolution of Harappan features or influences from another Harappan site. This phase has been dated to about 2400 B.C. by C-14 method.

41. Pre-Harappan culture at Kalibangan in Rajasthan

A pre-Harappan culture has been identified below the Harappan levels at Kalibangan in the Ganganagar district in north Ŗajasthan (Ghosh, 1961-63; Lal, 1962). Five building phases have been distinguished in the period. Houses were made of mud bricks and provided with ovens both above and below the floor.

The ceramics of this period comprise six fabrics, the important ones of which are : (1) a carelessly patted red ware with decoration in black and at times also white of bands, loops and systematically joined arches; (ii) a carefully patted ware similar to the wet wares of the Quetta region; (iii) a sturdy ware showing incised patterns on the inner side and cord impressions on the outer. Buff and grey-slipped wares are also present. Some of the shapes and designs in these wares suggest affinities with the Amri culture of Sind and Zhob culture of north Baluchistan. Other antiquities of this culture include small stone blades, beads, shell and terracotta bangles, querns and mullers and some copper objects.

V

THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

42. Discovery of Indus Civilization

Antiquities including stamp seals bearing intaglio designs had long been known from Harappa in the Punjab, but their historical significance was first realized by Sir John Marshall. Excavation by Rao Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni at Harappa in 1921 and by R. D. Banerjee at Mohenjodaro in the following year brought to light relics which unfolded a completely new chapter in Indian history.

Horizontal excavations at the two sites by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues and later at Chanhu-daro by Ernest Mackay laid bare the remains of a complex urban civilization which put India on the map of the ancient-most civilized world (Marshall, 1931; Mackay, 1938, 1943; Vats, 1940).

43. Chief Characteristics of Indus Civilization

The principal features of this civilization known as the Indus or Harappa Civilization have been summarised several times by competent scholars (Mackay, 1948; Wheeler, 1953, 1959, 1962; Gordon, 1958) and need only be mentioned here in brief. These are : meticulous town planning; building in kiln-burnt bricks; an elaborate drainage system; a remarkably well-developed script; a strictly enforced system of weights and measures; a red slipped pottery with distinctive ornament and shapes; citadel rule; an effective agrarian economy; a vigorous internal and foreign trade, the latter also by sea; a developed metal technology; a highly advanced glyptic art; and a religion dominated by the worship of trees, animals, mother goddesses, and probably Siva and phallic symbols.

44. Spread and distribution of Indus Civilization

While excavations at the twin sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were still in progress, explorations by Sir Aurel Stein and N. G. Majumdar were bringing to light Harappan sites in Baluchistan and Sind. During the same period M. S. Vats had discovered a site near Rupar in the Punjab and another at Rangpur in Kathiawar. Thus simultaneously with the revelation of the material aspects of the Harappa Civilization it also became known that the civilization had diffused over a vast area from Sutkagendor on the borders of Baluch and Perian Makran in the west, to Rupar at the foot of the Simla Hills in the north and to Rangpur in Kathiawar in the south. The distance in either direction was more than fifteen hundred kilometers and the total area encompassed by this civilization was greater than that of any other Bronze Age civilization.

In the last few years many new Indus sites have been discovered and these have added new dimensions to the spatial spread of the civilization and also throw significant light on its decay and final end, its foreign contacts, its climate, and finally its chronology. We will now briefly consider this new evidence.

45. Some recently excavated Harappan Sites

In Saurashtra the work of S. R. Rao, J. M. Nanavati and P. P. Pandya (Ghosh, 1954-1961) in the last decade has brought to light nearly a hundred sites. One of these, namely, Lothal, has been horizontally excavated by S. R. Rao (Ghosh, 1955-61; Rao 1957, 1961). It has replicated almost every feature of the Indus culture found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

A few sites have also been found in north Gujarat, Kutch and as far south as the estuaries of the Narmada and the Kim in Broach District.

Northwards, A. Ghosh (1952) had discovered more than twenty-five sites along the dried up bed of the Ghaggar or ancient Saraswati in the present-day District of Ganganagar in Rajasthan in the early fifties and still earlier Sir Aurel Stein (1942) had found a few sites on the same river further to the west in Bahawalpur territory of the present-day W. Pakistan.

One of Ghosh's sites, namely Kalibangan, is now being horizontally excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India. It seems to have been a small town possessing nearly all the features of the Indus culture. Further north in Punjab Y. D. Sharma had located several sites in the vicinity of Kotla Nihang Khan on the Sutlej and its tributaries in the early fifties (Ghosh, 1955, 1957; Sharma 1955). More recently new sites have been discovered in the Sutlej and Ghaggar basins in Ambala, Jullundur and Ludhiana Districts (Ghosh, 1964).

Eastward the civilization is now known to have penetrated the Ganga-Yamuna doab. Here besides the site of Alamgirpur on the Hindon, a tributary of the Yamuna, some 30 kilometers north of Delhi in Meerut District which was discovered as early as 1958 (Ghosh, 1959), several other sites have been located in District Saharanpur by M. N. Deshpande in 1964 (Ghosh, 1964).

45-a. Some recent researches

Despite the accumulation of much fresh information on the spatial development of the civilization there has been little progress in the direction of knowing its antecedents and early stages. A recent examination by Ghosh (1964) of the ceramic industries of the Harappan and allied sites in Rajasthan, Sind, Punjab and Baluchistan has suggested to him that the pottery first identified by him at Sothi in north Rajasthan is characteristic of the early and/or pre-Harappan levels of such sites as Harappa, Kot Diji, Kalibangan, Rana Ghundai etc. Thus at least as for as pottery is concerned Sothi culture forms the substratum of Harappa culture and may be described as proto-Harappan. However, even after this the problem of the origin of other important Harappan traits remains and we are led back to the realm of speculation.

46. End of Indus Civilization

On the other hand the end-phase of the civilization now seems to be less obscure. Though Harappan sites in Sind and the Punjab might hive suddenly collapsed, for whatever reasons, the civilization as a whole did not die a sudden death.

The discovery of many Harappan sites in the Sutlej and Ghaggar basins in the Punjab and in the Ganga basin in U.P. as a result of recent exploration has just been mentioned. It appears that this north and eastward expansion of the civilization coincided with its decline or dissoluton in its original homeland and was characterized by a progressive impoverishment to the extent that at some of these sites almost all Harappan traits save pottery are missing and at some sites it is difficult to decide whether the pottery is Harappan at all.

Indeed, expert opinion is now inclined to believe that what has for several years been described as Ochre Washed or Ochre Coloured Ware is, in all probability, nothing but degenerate Harappan pottery that has lost its original appearance due to water logging and weathering. The final phase of the civilization in the Punjab and western U.P. might have dragged on well upto the beginning of the Painted Grey Ware Culture though, let it be admitted, direct contact between the two is not yet available. At Atranjikhera in Etah District, U.P. the Ochre Coloured Ware horizon is separated from the Painted Grey Ware Culture by a Black-and-Red Ware horizon associated with a lithic blade industry of the Chalcolithic type. This discovery is significant in the sense that for the first time in the Ganga basin a continuity of culture from the Ochre Coloured Ware (or Harappan?) to the beginning of historical period has been established.

In Saurashtra also, the Harappa Culture seems to have continued for two or three centuries after its dissolution in the Indus Valley, in an impoverished and transmuted form. The new pottery shapes and decorative motifs that appeared at Lothal, Rangpur and other sites in the last phase of the Harappan were evidently derived from the same source as newly emerging Chalcolithic cultures of Central India and the Deccan (see below pp. 391-96). To give this changing culture an independent status by calling it Lustrous Red Ware Culture and to think that it survived upto 800 B.C. (Rao, 1963) has nothing to commend it.

47. Contacts of Indus Civilization with Sargonid Mesopotamia

Contacts between the Indus Civilization in its prime and the Sargonid Mesopotamia were well known primarily through the discovery of characteristic Indus stamp seals at several Mesopotamian sites.

The new discoveries on the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf by the Danish expedition of Prof. P. V. Glob (1958) and those at Lothal by S. R. Rao have further reinforced them. On the Bahrain Island have been found a new class of stamp seals bearing Indo-Mesopotamian influences and designated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler as 'Persian Gulf' Seals.

These discoveries show that Bahrain was an important entrepot of trade between the Indus Civilization and Mesopotamia. A seal of this class has now been found at Lothal (Rao, 1963) where the remains of a well-preserved dockyard have given unequivocal proof of sea-borne trade. The discovery of ports on the Makran coast (Dales, 1962) provides more evidence for this trade. A recent appraisal of the cuneiform evidence (Kramer, 1963, 1964) indicates that much more than the name of the Harappa Civilization is preserved in Mesopotamian texts.

48. Climate in Indus Valley in Harappan times

Ever since Marshall wrote it has been believed on a variety of evidence including the presence of prehistoric gabarbands and large *tells* in Baluchistan, and elaborate drains, building in baked bricks and the fauna depicted on seals in the Harappan cities that the Indus Valley and Baluchistan enjoyed a more ample and equable rainfall in pre-Harappan and Harappan times than today or even in early historical times.

Lately several American scholars adopting an anthropological approach to the problem have questioned the correctness of this theory (Raikes and Dyson, 1961; Fairservis, 1962; Dales, 1963) and tried to prove that there has been no change in the climate of this area during the last five or six thousand years. A detailed consideration of the two views is not possible here but it may be added that some of the arguments put forward by American scholars will be difficult to accept for anyone adequately familiar with the Indian background.

49. Chronology of Indus Civilization

And finally about the chronology. Marshall had proposed the dates 3250 B.C. and 2750 B.C. as covering the period of the

Indus Civilization. A more critical examination of the available evidence led Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1953) to change these dates to 2500 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Wheeler himself was not dogmatic about the upper date and left scope for the modification that may be necessitated by the evidence lying in the 'unplumbed depths' of Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro.

However, even on the same evidence other scholars would like to push the earlier date back by a century or more (Mallowan, 1955; Gordon 1958). For the lower limit, it should be mentioned, there was never satisfactory basis to accept the date of 1500 B.C. and now the evidence from Kalibangan and Lothal has made it all the more untenable.

At Kalibangan a late level has given a C-14 date of about 2100 B.C. and at Lothal C-14 dates suggest the Harappan occupation to have come to an end by 1800 B.C. Thus if the civilization ended so early at these admittedly peripheral sites, then the suggested date of 1500 B.C. for its end in Sind and the Punjab would certainly appear to be late.

50. Researches of Fairservis in Harappan Chronology

The same evidence would also necessitate a slightly earlier beginning for the civilization though as yet no dates for the early phases are available from Lothal and Kalibangan. However, the date of 2400 B.C. for the late pre-Harappan levels at Kot-Diji in Sind would seem to run counter to the evidence from Kalibangan and Lothal.

Fairservis (1956) on the basis of his work in Baluchistan has argued for a considerable scaling down of the Harappan chronology. In north Baluchistan Harappan influence first becomes apparent in Damb Sadaat III times. The C-14 date of 2100 B.C. for Damb Sadaat II would suggest a date of about 2000 B.C. for the beginning of this influence.

An identical date is suggested by Fairservis for the emergence of Harappa culture in Sind and the Punjab on the basis of stylistic similarities between the pre-Harappan pottery from north Baluchistan and the pottery of a phase of the Amri culture, some sherds found in the lower levels at Mohenjodaro and those found below the ramparts at Harappa.

To make up for the reduction in the duration of the culture caused by this new dating Fairservis would recommend a date around 1200 B.C. for the end of the civilization. A similar date is suggested by Heine-Geldern (1956) for this event on the basis of the occurrence of certain copper and bronze objects in Western Asia and India (below pp. 384-87).

Whatever may be the position of Harappan influence in Baluchistan, enough is known about the Harappa Civilization in Sind and the Punjab for rejecting the date 2000 B.C. as too late for its beginning in those areas, nor can it be reconciled with the C-14 dates from Kalibangan and Lothal. As for the date 1200 B.C. for the end of the civilization, the possibility of its being valid for the Ganga-Yamuna doab has just been hinted at.

50-a. Some recent researches regarding Harappan Chronology

More recently, D. P. Agrawal (1964) on the basis of an analysis of available C-14 dates has proposed a date bracket of 2300 B.C. to 1750 B.C. for the Harappa culture. This gives a total duration of 550 years to the culture and supports the pleas of Fairservis (1961) and Raikes (1964) for a shorter chronology.

It should, however, be mentioned that all but one date used in Agrawal's calculations come from peripheral sites. The only date from the Indus Valley proper is one from a late phase of Mohenjo-daro based on a charcoal sample excavated forty years ago and is, therefore, obviously unreliable. This dating, therefore, does not prejudice the claim of the Indus Valley for a much earlier beginning of the culture there. S. N. Kramer (1964) evaluating the cuneiform evidence for contacts between the Indus Civilization and Mesopotamia proposes a date of 2800 B.C. for the beginnings of the civilization.

All this only shows that at the moment Indus chronology is in a flux and would continue to remain so until enough radiocarbon dates are available for the key Indus Valley sites and a fresh appraisal of the archaeological, literary and radiocarbon evidence is made.

VI

POST-HARAPPAN CULTURES

51. Dark age of Indian History

A recurring theme in Indian archaeological literature since the discovery of the Harappa Civilization has been the large void between the end of that civilization around the middle of the second millenium B.C. and the beginning of historical period in the 4th century B.C.

This period has rightly been described as the 'Dark Age' of Indian history. It is true that some sketchy evidence of post-Harappan occupations in Sind and the Punjab was known for almost as long as the Indus Civilization itself and some copper objects likely to belong to this period, though with nothing to prove that were known from the Ganga-Yamuna doab for an even longer time.

But by and large the rest of India was a *terra incognita* in relation to this period. The efforts of Indian archaeologists since Sir Mortimer Wheeler showed them the path in the middle 'forties have succeeded greatly in narrowing the gap considerably if not in completely closing it.

52. Post-Harappan peasant cultures

Evidence for several peasant cultures using mostly stone equipment but also copper in varying degrees has been found in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Northern and Southern Deccan. Existence of at least three new cultures has been revealed in the Ganga-Yamuna doab. All these cultures largely fall in the 'Dark Age' period though some of them also partly overlap with the Harappa Culture.

VII

PUNJAB AND SIND

53. Cemetery H Culture in Bahawalpur and North Punjab

At Harappa the Indus settlement was probably destroyed and succeeded by a people whose culture is known to us as

Cemetery H Culture after the cemetery in which they buried their dead. Their pottery, a distinctive black-on-red ware, also occurs on the citadel mound but little is known of their settlements because of the extensive spoliation of bricks from Harappa.

Two phases of Cemetery H Culture are recognized showing variation in the burial custom and pottery but there is a basic continuity of culture between them. Cemetery H pottery has been claimed to be present on at least two sites in Bahawalpur and recently Gordon has identified sherds belonging to it at Rupar and Bara in north Punjab.

Gordon Childe and later Wheeler had identified Cemetery H people with the Aryans and recently Gordon has re-asserted this identification. He has also chosen to give these people a new name, namely the Ravi Folk as they lived by the Ravi at Harappa. Affinities of their pottery have been suggested with the Kulli culture of Baluchistan (Piggott, 1946) and Giyan II culture of north Iran (Mallowan, 1955).

54. Jhukar Culture in Sind

Traces of another post-Harappan culture known as Jhukar Culture are known from Lohumjo-daro, Chanhu-daro and Jhukar in Sind. At Chanhu-daro Jhukar people lived in squalid surroundings in the ruined houses of the Harappans. Their pottery, a buff ware with red and black paintings, shows affinities with the Harappan and more particularly with the Kulli culture of Baluchistan.

Other features, notably copper pins, a copper shaft-hole axe, stone and clay stamp seals with compartmented designs, and bullae show strong affinities with Shahi Tump in Baluchistan. Hissar III B-C, and Sialk IV in Iran, Anau III in Turkestan and certain Hittite sites in Anatolia.

Thus they strongly suggest the west as the place of their origin. They too have been identified with the Aryans. Their limited and portable possessions would indicate them to have been invaders rather than peace time immigrants.

VIII

THE GANGA BASIN

55. Copper hoards found in Ganga basin

Since 1822 groups of copper objects known as "copper hoards" have been found in the Ganga basin and the Chhota Nagpur plateau. Todate more than two hundred of these have been found, not including the 424 celts of the famous Gungeria hoard of Madhya Pradesh. The objects include flat and shouldered copper axes, long narrow celts known as bar celts, anthropomorphic figures, harpoons, spearheads and antennae swords.

The last four have not been found outside Uttar Pradesh, the only exception being the three swords from Kallur in Mysore (which, a recent inquiry shows, were brought to Kallur by a local person from somewhere outside in this century), a sword or spearhead fragment from Navdatoli in Madhya Pradesh and an antennae dagger from Chandoli in Maharashtra.

56. Cultural significance of copper hoards

The authorship and dating of these copper hoards have been discussed by Piggott (1944, 1950), Heine-Geldern (1936, 1937, 1956), Lal (1951) and Gordon (1950, 1958) and all have given different interpretations. Piggott had suggested that they might be the vestiges of the Vedic Aryans brought by them during their migrations from Western Asia but later changed his view and thought that they might have been brought by Harappan refugees fleeing eastwards from their homeland under the stress of Aryan invasions.

Heine-Geldern has consistently held to the belief that these objects are proof of the Aryan invasion of India in 1200-1000 B.C. His theory is based on the presence in northern India and Western Asia of certain copper and bronze objects and stamp seals which according to him are certainly of Western Asiatic origin and are datable to the period 1200-1000 B.C. These include antennae swords from Fatehgarh and Bithur in U.P. and one from Koban in the Caucasus; a bronze dagger from West Pakistan and one from Western Iran; a shafthole axe from Chanhu-daro and another from Shahi Tump; a bronze axe-adze from Mohenjo-daro and others from several sites in Iran and farther west; certain specialized copper pins from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Hissar III C, Koban and Luristan; a bronze macehead from Chanhu-daro and several other specimens from Hissar IIIc, and Luristan; and finally compartmented faience seals from Chanhu-daro and similar seals in copper from Shahi Tump, Hissar, Anau, Susa and Alishar Huyuk in Anatolia.

Heine-Geldern's theory may be correct for objects from Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan but, as Lal has pointed out, it fails to explain the *raison d'etre* of the 'copper hoards' of the Ganga basin for none of the types of the latter region with the exception of the swords occurs to the west of that region and, what is equally significant, none of the types found in the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan occurs in the Ganga basin. In the case of the swords also, as Lal has pointed out, there are important differences of techniques between the two areas.

Lal, on the other hand, has drawn attention to the parallelism between the copper bar celts of the Ganga basin and the stone bar celts of the Chhota Nagpur plateau and suggested that the former may be metal copies of the latter. Again the presence of harpoons or barbed spreaheads similar to the copper harpoons in some rock paintings of Mirzapur also indicates a connection between the two.

Lal has therefore cautiously hinted that copper objects may be metal copies of the stone originals of eastern India, but he has refrained from assigning any date to them. Gordon, on the other hand, believes that none of these copper objects are earlier than 800 B.C., but would leave the question of their authorship to the testimony of the spade. He also believes that stone bar celt is more likely to be a copy of the metal bar celt than vice versa.

56-a. Some recent researches regarding copper hoards

With a view to find out the cultural context of the 'copper hoards' B. B. Lal conducted small excavations in 1949 at Bisauli in Badaun District and Rajpur Parsu in Bijnor District, both in U.P. from where copper objects had previously been found. The excavation did not yield any fresh copper objects but small sherds of ill-fired, thick, Ochre-Washed pottery were found at both places.

Similar pottery was later found by Lal (1955) at Hastinapura below the Painted Grey Ware levels, but here, too, no copper objects were found. Later, excavation by Y. D. Sharma at Bahadarabad in Saharanpur District yielded typical 'copper hoard' objects like hooked spear and shouldered celt in association with Ochre-Washed ware.

It has been mentioned before that Y. D. Sharma and other experts now believe that the Ochre Washed Ware (or Ochre Coloured Pottery, as it is now being called) is only degenerate Harappan pottery. The 'copper hoards' of the Ganga basin would therefore appear to be the relics of the later Harappans. This probability is further strengthened by the finding of an incomplete anthropomorphic figure at Lothal in the Harappan levels (Ghosh, 1964).

Since considerable archaeological exploration is now going on in the Ganga basin, the problem of the 'copper hoards' is certain to be fully solved in the very near future.

57. Chronology of copper hoards

The use of 'copper hoard' objects was, however, not confined to Harappans (or Ochre Washed Ware people) alone. At Navdatoli in Madhya Pradesh a fragment of a sword or spearhead with a mid-rib has been found in the Chalcolithic levels and is dated by C-14 method to about 1700-1500 B.C. Further south, the Chalcolithic site of Chandoli near Poona has yielded a complete antennae-hilted dagger. This belongs to the period 1400-1000 B.C. The pottery and certain other elements of these cultures recall strong Western Asiatic affinities.

Whether the copper objects in question are of indigenous origin or they, too, are derived from West Asia, only further exploration and study will decide. Meanwhile it may be stressed that almost all the 'copper hoards' so far found in the Ganga basin are accidental finds, outside archaeological excavations. This shows their relative abundance and is indicative of a wide-spread copper using culture in that area in the second millennium B.C.

Reference has already been made to the significant discoveries in recent years at Atranjikhera in the heart of the Ganga basin (Ghosh, 1964). Here the Ochre Coloured Pottery horizon is overlain by a Black-and-Red Ware deposit which is associated with a stone blade industry of the Chalcolithic type. Extentions of this culture have been traced at Prahladpur and Chirand in eastern U.P. and at Pandu Rajar Dhibi in West Bengal. Further work in the Ganga basin, already under way, will give us more details of this culture.

Meanwhile it may be said that the affinities of this culture, should lie with the Ahar Culture of south Rajasthan in which the best development of the Black-and-Red Ware is so far known. At Aranjikhera the Black-and-Red Ware horizon is overlain by the Painted Grey Ware. A charcoal sample from the middle levels of the P. G. Ware phase has yielded a C-14 date of 1025 ± 125 B.C. On this showing the Black-and-Red Ware Culture at this site would belong to the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. This dating is fully consistant with the dating of the Black-and-Red Ware in south Rajasthan and Saurashtra (below, pp. 388-90).

58. Evidence of Painted Grey Ware

Another culture of the Dark Age from this region is represented by a ceramic called the Painted Grey Ware. It is a fine wheel-turned ware bearing geometrical ornament in black on the exterior and occasionally on the interior as well.

The two distinctive shapes in this Ware are a deep, straight-sided bowl and a shallow convex-sided dish. The Ware was first found at Ahichchhatra in the Bareilly District of U.P. in the excavations during 1940-44 (Ghosh and Panigrahi, 1946), but its real significance was recognized by Lal (1955) during his excavations at Hastinapura in Meerut District.

Further explorations by Lal and others have shown that the P. G. Ware sites are concentrated between the Sutlej in the East Punjab and the Ganga in U.P., but the Ware occurs as far west as north and north east Rajasthan and as far south as Ujjain.

As yet we know very little about the cultural associations of this Ware because of the limited nature of the excavations at all the sites. So far only copper and bronze were known to occur with P. G. Ware but at Alamgirpur and Atranjikhera iron has been found throughout the deposit yielding this Ware. At Rupar and Alamgirpur P. G. Ware overlies the Harappa Culture with a clear stratigraphical gap and at Hastinapura and Kaushambi it lies below the N.B.P. Ware again with a break. Its position at Atranjikhera has just been mentioned.

Lal had suggested the period 1100 - 800 B.C. as covering the duration of P. G. Ware at Hastinapura, but other scholars, notably Wheeler and Gordon, have put its upper limit in the 8th-7th century B.C. Radiocarbon dates are conflicting. At Hastinapura samples from the upper levels of the P. G. Ware phase range in date from 505 ± 130 B.C. to 335 ± 115 B.C. At Atranjikhera, on the other hand, as mentioned earlier, a sample from the middle levels has given the date of 1025 ± 125 B.C. Thus until more dates are available from other sites, no clear decision is possible regarding the date of this Ware.

Apart from its chronological position what gives the Ware its significance is its association with a number of sites that figure prominently in the Mahabharata epic. Lal has therefore identified the Ware with Aryans but its apparently late chronological position would suggest, as Wheeler says, "a second phase of their invasion of India, when, from the Punjab, they entered and Aryanized the middle country of the Ganga-Yamuna doab . . .".

The sudden appearance of this highly developed Ware in the Ganga-Yamuna basin indicates that its technique had already been perfected elsewhere and according to Wheeler the bowls from the post-Harappan secondary burials of Shahi Tump in Baluchistan appear to have "a certain ancestral affinity with the Gangetic material".

IX

SOUTH-EAST RAJASTHAN

59. Ahar Culture

In south-east Rajasthan in the valleys of the Banas and its tributaries, a peasant culture called Ahar or Black-and-Red Ware, appeared at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and flourished for about a millennium.

So far forty seven sites of this culture have been located in the Districts of Udaipur, Chitorgarh, Bhilwara, Ajmer and Tonk. Two of these, namely Ahar near Udaipur (Ghosh, 1955; 1956; Sankalia, 1962) on the Berach, and Gilund, some 45 miles north-east of Udaipur (Ghosh, 1960) have been excavated on a small scale and provide us some idea about the life of the people.

Their villages were generally small, occupying an area of an acre or more though Ahar sprawls over several acres. They built their houses of mud or mud bricks on stone foundations though occasionally, as at Gilund, they also used kiln-burnt bricks. The roofing was done with mud or clay plastered over reed matting. No grains have yet been found at either site but agriculture and stock-breeding must have played an important role in the economy.

Indirect evidence for agriculture is provided by the large number of saddle querns, mullers and rubbers, husks of grain in the clay used for pot making, *chulhas* or hearths of essentially modern type, and large storage jars and built-in storage bins. Animal bones are common at both sites.

Unlike in other cultures of this period stone blades were scarce if not altogether absent and copper seems to have been used relatively more frequently for tools. The limited excavations at Ahar have yielded seven copper axes of the flat type, copper bangles, a copper smelting furnace and pieces of copper slag. The area around Udaipur abounds in surface heaps of copper slag of indeterminate age as well as known copper ores and a study of these in relation to prehistoric copper objects will no doubt prove rewarding.

60. Distinctive Ceramic of Ahar Culture

The distinctive ceramic of this culture is a black-and-red ware produced by inverted firing, highly burnished and painted in white over the black upper part of the vessel on the exterior and quite often on the interior with geometrical patterns such as dotted chevrons, dotted and linear zigzags, concentric circles, horizontal and vertical wavy lines, etc. The fabric is thin and the shapes are mostly light vessels such as simple and carinated bowls, dishes and dishes-on-stand; these because of their delicacy and fine workmanship apparently constituted their table ware.

Other fabrics include a (generally) unpainted hand-made burnished grey ware and a wheel-turned red ware in various shades such as tan, orange and chocolate, and comprise such shapes as bowls — and dishes-on-stand, lota-shaped vessels, basins, shallow pans, cooking vessels and storage jars of various shapes and sizes.

The Red Ware at Gilund also includes the cut-spout bowl found in the Navdatoli and Jorwe cultures (below pp. 391-96).

The red and grey wares were profusely decorated by a variety of incised, cut, pinched and applique designs. At Ahar three phases of the culture (a, b and c) have been recognized and it is only in Ahar Ic (Ahar II being historic) that painted decoration on the red ware appears.

From the surface of several sites come sherds of carinated dishes-on-stand in the fine almond ware which closely recall Harappan dishes from Harappa, Rojdi, Prabhas, Rangpur, and Alamgirpur. There, if found, in future in excavations, will help to correlate this culture with the Harappa Civilization. The black-and-red ware characteristic of this culture also occurs throughout the Harappan levels of Lothal, Rangpur and other sites in Saurashtra. It was probably from this region that the Black-and-Red Ware Culture migrated to Ganga basin.

61. Other antiquities of the culture

Among other antiquities of this culture are stone and clay sling balls, terracotta and semi-precious stone beads, and terracotta figurines of animals and gamesmen. after the Harappa tradition but of inferior workmanship. The terracotta beads from Ahar are decorated with incised designs which are closely paralleled at Anau in Turkestan and Troy in Anatolia.

In pottery also certain shapes indicate affinities with Hissar Ic and Shah Tepe in Iran. Four C-14 determinations of charcoal samples from various levels at Ahar have dated this culture between 1800 and 1200 B.C.

X

MALWA OR WESTERN MADHYA PRADESH

62. Navdatoli Culture

In the valleys of the Chambal, the Narmada and their tributaries in Malwa some fifty or more sites have been located of a culture which may be designated as Navdatoli Culture after the site where it was first identified.

Some five sites of the culture have been excavated so far. These include Nagda on the Chambal, in District Ujjain, (Ghosh, 1956), Maheshwar and Navdatoli on the Narmada in District Nimad (Sankalia, Subbarao and Deo, 1958; Sankalia, 1955, 1958, 1959), Tripuri on the Wainganga in District Jabalpur (Dikshit, 1955), and Eran on the Bina in District Sagar (Ghosh, 1961).

Of these only Navdatoli has been horizontally excavated and adequately published; the wealth of evidence yielded by this site gives a fairly clear picture of the life of the people there.

63. Excavation at Navdatoli

Navdatoli is a small hamlet of boatmen (Navdas) on the southern bank of the Narmada opposite the town of Maheshwar about ninety six kilometers south of Indore. Some three furlongs south of the river and an equal distance west of the village is a group of four mounds which probably anciently formed only one mound but were later cut up by erosion.

The total area covered by the mounds is about two furlongs square and this could compare favourably with a present day small hamlet.

The people lived in square, rectangular or round houses. The walls were composed of wooden posts covered with bamboo screens which were plastered with clay mixed with cow-dung. At Nagda mud-bricks were also used for construction. Repeated conflagrations at Navdatoli have left abundant remains of numerous charred posts and impressions of bamboo matting in lumps of clay hardened by fire.

The size of the rooms varied from 7 m. x 13 m. to 2.7 m. x 3 m. Small round huts with a diameter of only three or four feet might have been used as suggested by Sankalia for storing grain, hay etc.

64. Pottery of Navdatoli Culture

Navdatolians possessed a highly developed ceramic industry. The commonest fabric in it is a pale red-slipped ware with ornament in black. Because of its wide distribution in Malwa it has been named as Malwa Ware. The vessel types in this ware include large storage jars decorated with incised or applique designs, cooking vessels like large dishes, and basins, and narrow-mouthed storage jars.

But more remarkable because of their delicate and artistic nature are their eating vessels. These include thin and beautifully painted small goblets and cups — or bowls on stand, the latter closely anticipating in their size and shape the modern ice-cream cups. Another interesting vessel is a round-bottomed bowl with an open spout and painted along the entire rim as well as the sides of the spout. Its shape suggests that it had a ritual function such as offering oblations.

Its added cultural significance lies in the fact that this along with pedestalled cups occurs at Iranian sites like Tepe Hissar, Tepe Giyan etc. Its prototype in stone occurs as early as the sixth millennium B.C. in the Neolithic culture of Khirokitia in Cyprus in the Mediterranean. A copper copy is known from a 'copper hoard' found at Khurdi in Nagore District, Rajasthan, and now kept in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, Rajasthan. This along with other traits in the Navdatoli and other Chalcolithic cultures shows that the early farming communities of India were ultimately derived from Western Asia where the arts of agriculture and stock-breeding had been known for a much longer period.

The black-and-red ware characteristic of Ahar Culture also occurs in limited quantities and is confined to the lower levels of the site.

Another fabric which too occurs in small quantities and in only the earlier two of the four Chalcolithic phases of the site is a white-slipped ware with significant parallels in painted designs at a number of Iranian and Mesopotamian Chalcolithic sites.

Lastly, there appears in Phase III a well-baked fabric with a metallic ring called the Jorwe Ware after the type site in the Deccan.

65. Food Items of Navdatoli People

The Navdatolians ate a variety of cereals and legumes (Mittre, 1962). From the very beginning they ate two varieties of wheat, *Triticum vulgare compactum* and *Triticum* sp.

They also consumed five kinds of legumes viz. *Masur* or Lentil (*Lens culinaris Medikus*); ii) *Urd* or Black Gram (*Phaseolus mungo* L.); iii) *Mung* or Green Gram (*Phaseolus radiatus* L.); iv) *Vatana* or *Mutter* or Green Peas (*Lathyrus sativus* L.) and v) *Lathyrus* sp. besides four other leguminous weeds not yet identified. In Phase II rice also appears in the dietary of the people. Linseed *(Linum usitatissinum)* oil, the grains of which occur throughout probably formed the medium of cooking.

All these grains are grown and consumed today in the area around Navdatoli. This fact together with the occurrence of *chulhas* or hearths of the type in vogue today in the region would show that food habits of the present day people of Madhya Pradesh had already crystalized four thousand years ago.

66. Other objects connected with Navdatoli People

Small and thin blades of stone were used for a variety of cutting purposes. They were mass produced by a technique called the crested ridge technique and many thousands of them were found in the excavations. Copper was also used but sparingly. Copper axes, chisels, bangles, nails, beads and one fragment of a sword or spear-head were found. For ornaments people used tiny beads of faience and steatite as well as bigger ones of semi-precious stones, terracotta and copper. Sling-balls of stone that occur in abundance were probably used for hunting.

67. Chronology of Navdatoli Culture

Seven C-14 dates supplied by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, suggest a period of 1800-1200 B.C. for this culture at Navadatoli. At Eran the upper limit goes to around 2000 B.C.

XI

THE NORTHERN DECCAN

68. Jorwe Culture

The Northern Deccan or Maharashtra because of its position midway between the North and South was susceptible to influences from both sides as indeed it is today. Here a village culture called Jorwe developed in the valleys of the Tapti, Godavari, Bhima and their tributaries.

Many sites of this culture have been located and seven of them have been excavated. These are: (1) Prakashe on the Tapti in District West Khandesh (Ghosh, 1955), (2) Bahal on the Girna in District East Khandesh (Ghosh, 1957), (3) Nasik on the Godavari (Sankalia and Deo, 1955), (4) Jorwe (ibid.), (5) Nevasa (Sankalia, et al, 1961), (6) Daimabad (Ghosh, 1959) on the Pravara, and (7) Chandoli on the Ghod, a tributary of the Bhima (Ghosh, 1961). The best known is Nevasa; it has a large mound which has undergone extensive digging and part of it has been fully published.

69. Habitat of Jorwe Culture People

As in Malwa the people settled in this area on the virgin black cotton soil and had first to clear the forest that covered the ground. They too lived in square, rectangular or round huts with mud walls or wooden posts and flat or sloping roofs of bamboo matting, dry leaves etc. covered with mud.

These people buried their dead in one or more wide-mouthed urns right under the floor of their houses. The dead were provided with grave goods in the form of pottery as well as ornaments which sometimes are still there on their person.

70. Pottery of Jorwe People

The typical pottery of the region called Jorwe Ware is a matt surface, red-slipped fabric with painted ornament in black. Made of a well-levigated clay, it produces a characteristic metallic ring. The types in this fabric are carinated bowls and globular vessels with tubular spouts. Decoration is mostly geometric but at

Nevasa and Daimabad examples of naturalistic animal painting also occur.

Though the Jorwe Ware is a dominant fabric at Jorwe and Nevasa, it occurs at Daimabad only in Phase III. Phase I of that site is marked by black-on-red ware of Navdatoli and hand-made grey ware of Brahmagiri I. Other features of this phase are a lithic blade industry, terracotta and stone beads, and an extended adult burial.

In Phase II blade tools and Malwa pottery sherds increase in number and the latter includes among other shapes a pot with channel spout. Other features of this phase are terracottas of dog and bull and a burial in a specially dug pit.

The other ceramic of the Jowre Culture is a hand-made grey ware in which the types are large storage jars, burial urns, bowls and globular vessels with high necks. This ware is indeed characteristic of the Neolithic Culture of the Karnatak and since it is inferior to local painted pottery, it has been found difficult to explain its importation. However, this ware is also present in small quantities in the northern Chalcolithic cultures of Malwa and Rajasthan.

Allchin has recently drawn attention to the general movement of the Grey Ware using folk from Anatolian and Caucasian regions east and south-eastwards around 2000 B.C. and he would derive the Indian grey wares of this period from that area. In view of the strong affinities of Indian Chalcolithic cultures with Western Asia, Allchin's theory would appear to provide a more rational explanation than a derivation of this ware from the south.

71. Other objects connected with Jorwe people

As in Navadatoli culture, stone blades played an important part in the technology of the Jorwe people. Besides, they also used polished stone axes and flat copper axes. At Chandoli a copper dagger was also found. Beads of copper, semi-precious stones and terracotta were used for personal ornaments. Stone saddle querns and mullers indicate that grain was pounded into flour or made into paste for preparing bread. Animal food constituted an important part of people's dietary. They ate beef, mutton of goat and sheep, pork and venison.

72. Chronology of Jorwe People

C-14 dates for Nevasa show that the first people settled on the site around 1500 B.C., but the evidence from Daimabad would indicate that other communities had appeared in the area earlier.

XII

SOUTHERN DECCAN OR KARNATAK

73. Neolithic Culture of the Deccan

The Southern Deccan, particularly the region drained by the upper reaches of the Bhima, the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, comprising the Raichur, Bellary and Chitradrug Districts of Mysore has long been known to be rich in polished stone axes and related tools characteristic of the Neolithic. Meadows Taylor had found neoliths in Raichur as early as 1842 but later they were collected in large numbers by Robert Bruce Foote and others from many sites as far south as the Shevaroy Hills in the Salem District of Madras.

Though the tools had been collected in thousands little was known of their chronological and cultural context till Mortimer Wheeler excavated the neolithic settlement at Brahmagiri in Chitradrug District in 1948.

This has been followed by Subbarao's (1948) excavation at Sangonkallu in Bellary, Thapar's (1957) at Maski, in Raichur; Allchin's at Piklihal (1960) also in Raichur; Sheshadri's at T. Narsipur in Mysore (Ghosh, 1959, 60), Soundara Rajan's (1958) at Nagarjunakonda in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh and Sankalia's (1964) at Tekkalkota in Bellary. Though none of these excavations with the possible exception of Tekkalkota has been on a truly horizontal scale, the cumulative evidence from all of them gives us a sufficiently clear picture of the life of the Neolithic people of South India.

73-a. Habitat of Neolithic People

The Neolithic people generally lived on the castellated granite hills which form such a characteristic feature of the physiography of the region but occasionally also occupied the foot hills. On the hills they made flat grounds or terraces by removing stone boulders, flattening the weathered granitic or murrum surface and filling in the depressions with flattish stone rubble, small boulders and silt.

Their houses were mostly circular with a diameter of about 20 feet (7 meters). The walls were of bamboo or reed screens plastered from both sides with clay and supported on wooden posts. These circular huts would appear to have, on modern analogy, conical roofs. They were lined with stone boulders on the outer periphery, a feature which still survives in the huts of the semi-primitive Boyas of the region. Floors were made of rammed earth and plastered with lime.

Every house had one or more storage bins supported on four conical (tapering towards the bottom) terracotta legs which rested on four flat topped stones arranged in a square. The space below the storage bin and in between the stones was utilized for storing stone and copper implements.

Their implements consisted of ground pointed butt stone axes, chisels, picks, wedges, hammers, axe-hammers and sling-stones. Saddle querns and rubbers were evidently used for grinding grain as well as stone tools. Besides they used blade tools of the Chalcolithic type and ground tools of bone and antler. Bits of copper have been found at almost every site but it was a scarce commodity. However, the finding of a flat copper axe at Tekkalkota in the lowermost layer would suggest that this metal was known from the very beginning of the Neolithic occupation.

The economy of the Neolithic people was predominantly pastoral. They kept large herds of cattle, particularly the humped Indian bull or zebu — *Bos indicus*. This animal is often depicted on flat surfaces of granite boulders either in paintings or bruisings. The cattle were kept in pens either near the main settlements or away in the forests. In these pens huge accumulation of cow-dung grew in time and these were ceremonially set on fire at intervals in the manner of the Holi bonfires of today. These repeated conflagrations led to the formation of huge accumulations of burnt ash or cinder mounds or cinder camps which are so often associated with Neolithic settlements.

74. Problem of cinder camps or ash mounds

The existence of these cinder camps has been known for more than a century. They had attracted the attention of Bruce Foote (1916) and still earlier of Newbold (1843). Their origin has, however, until recently remained a mystery and theories to explain it have ranged from their being described as volcanic ash, slag of iron, copper, and gold workings, to product of human cremations. Both Bruce Foote and Newbold came very near to solving the mystery but more wild theories obscured their rational and scientific judgements. A chemical analysis by Zeuner of the ash from the Kudatini mound in Bellary showed it to be free from any-slag and to be the product of the burning of cowdung at a very high temperature. This was followed by Allchin's (1961) excavation of an ashmound at Utnoor in the Mehboobnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. The excavation yielded typical Neolithic pottery sherds, stone implements, and what is most significant, hoof impressions of cattle. This has given an unequivocal proof of the mounds being the product of burnt cowdung and of Neolithic age. Allchin (1963) has now made a comprehensive study of all the known ash mounds in relation to ethnographic and folklore evidence and put forward a convincing solution of the ash mound problem.

75. Characteristics of Neolithic People of the Karnatak

Besides cattle-keeping, the Neolithic people also practised agriculture. Until recently saddle querns and rubbers were the only evidence for agriculture but in 1964 at Tekkalkota a large quantity of *Kulath* or horse gram *(Dolichos lablab)* grains were found in the lower levels. This pulse is today a common food of the poor people of south India. The Neolithic people also ate, besides beef and Kulath, mutton of goat and sheep, venison, rats, squirrels and fish.

Their pottery was almost entirely hand and tournette made. The principal ceramic consisted of a burnished grey or black ware. Other wares include a pale grey ware occasionally with ochre ornament, a buff ware, an orange ware with purple or violet painted decoration, and a black-and-red ware. The last was probably confined only to burial pottery. The shapes include large and small bowls, globular vessels, and spouted pots with straight or recurved spouts.

The people buried their dead within or just outside the houses. The body seems to have been first exposed and then the bones collected and put in an extended position either directly over the ground or in four large burial urns. Child skeletons were put in single urns. Black-and-red as well as orange ware vessels were provided as grave goods.

The ornaments of the Neolithic people consisted of beads of faience and semi-precious stones such as jasper and carnelian. The former were probably obtained from the Chalcolithic people to the north through trade. Tekkalkota has also yielded three gold pendants.

76. Chief Centre of Neolithic Culture

The principal centre of this Neolithic culture was certainly the Krishna, Bhima and Tungabhadra basins but it spread as far south as the Shevaroy Hills in Madras. Northwards its affinities in pottery and burial customs are discernible in the Chalcolithic culture as far as the Tapti Valley.

This culture seems to have had a high antiquity. A charcoal sample from the Utnoor ash mound has given a radiocarbon date of 2295 ± 155 B.C. C-14 dates for Tekkalkota range between 1780 ± 105 B.C. to 1540 ± 105 B.C.

At the moment we do not know how this culture originated. So far no site in south India has yielded the evidence of a local transition from Mesolithic to Neolithic; everywhere the culture appears with all or most of its traits in a well-developed form. Dr. Allchin, on the basis of similarities in pottery techniques and shapes, has suggested that the Neolithic people came from the Highland zone of Western Asia. Fresh evidence from Tekkalkota also supports this view. But much more evidence, specially from the intervening areas, is required before this theory can be accepted.

XIII

EASTERN INDIA

77. Polished stone celts in Eastern India

In the relatively forested regions of the Kaimur Range, Chhota Nagpur plateau and Assam, polished stone celts at times in association with hammerstones, rubbers and ringstones have been found since 1865 (Lubbock, 1865). Large numbers of them have found their way into museums in India, England and Europe. Unfortunately not all this material has as yet been published.

No pottery or any other objects have been found associated with these stone axes and consequently we know very little of their cultural associations, age or authors.

The absence of enough evidence has, however, not deterred scholars from speculating on these objects and as a result we have a plethora of theories. Before we even briefly discuss them, something must be said about the objects themselves.

78. Researches of Dr. A. H. Dani

Dr. A. H. Dani (1960) has recently made a study of the material available in the museums in England and considered it in relation to the evidence from mainland south-east Asia.

His study shows that the entire region can be divided into two cultural provinces, the one comprising southern U.P., southern Bihar, northern Orissa and the western part of West Bengal, and other comprising only Assam. The type of axe most common in the first area is the pointed butt axe which is really at home in South India. Assam, on the other hand, shows south-east Asian influences.

Here Dani distinguishes as many as six tool types of which three are important. These are: (i) shouldered tool, (ii) facetted tool or a rectangular straight sided adze and (iii) splayed axe. Now, all these three forms are natural to metal rather than stone and in fact their manufacture itself involves the use of metal for their sides and shoulders are sharply cut by a process called "wire cutting". The two regions are, however, not free from mutual influence. The pointed butt axe occurs in Assam and the shouldered tool, facetted tool and splayed axe occur in Orissa and Bihar.

79. Researches in Assam neolithic types

Dani suggests that the Assam neolithic types are derived from China. So does Wheeler who believes that the pointed-butt axe of Eastern India and the South is also of Chinese origin. A similar view was expressed some years ago by E. C. Worman (1949) though on much less evidence.

Now, in North China bronze copies of the shouldered tool are said to occur in the graves of the Yin dynasty (about 1300-1028 B.C.) and stone ones occur to the south in Tongking in the Han period (202 B.C. — A.D. 220).

Dani and Wheeler therefore suggest a date in the later half of the first millennium B.C. for the introduction of these axes in India. The small number of finds in regular excavations from Bhita near Allahabad (Marshall, 1912), Sonepur in Gaya District of Bihar (Ghosh, 1957) and Tamluk in Midnapur District of West Bengal (Ghosh, 1955) supports this dating. However, neither Dani nor Wheeler has considered the existence of shouldered and splayed axes in the Ganga basin and Chhota Nagpur plateau as an alternative source of derivation.

80. Theories of Heine-Geldern and Haimendorf

More ambitious theories have been put forward by Heine-Geldern (1945) and Haimendorf (1945). The former has suggested that the shouldered axe was introduced into India by Austro-Asiatic speaking people around 2000 B.C. before the Aryan immigration into India.

Haimendorf, on the other hand, believes that the shouldered axe was introduced from southeast Asia by people who also brought the eastern type of Megalithic ritual.

Dani has pointed out the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of these theories. First, they take only one tool into consideration and thereby oversimplify the problem. Secondly there is nothing to support early date for the introduction of this tool suggested by Heine-Geldern nor can it with any certainty be associated with the speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages. Similarly no stone axes have been found in Eastern India in association with megaliths and therefore no relationship can be established between the two.

81. Absence of data regarding cultural status and time

In the absence of adequate evidence from excavations, it is not possible to get an idea of the cultural status of the people who used these axes nor of the time when they were used.

XIV

KASHMIR

82. Neolithic Culture of Kashmir

Excavating in 1935 at the megalithic site of Burzahom, 12 miles north of Srinagar, De Terra (1939) had found polished stone axes of the pointed-butt type and bone tools in the alluvium of the Jhelum, 12 feet below the surface and overlain by a stratum containing a shiny black pottery which, Gordon later thought, was certainly Northern Black Polished Ware. The two layers were seemingly connected by a dark-buff coloured hand-made ware.

Renewed digging at the site by T. N. Khazanchi since 1960 (Ghosh, 1961, 1962, 1963) has considerably amplified the picture of the Burzahom Neolithic culture. Two phases of the culture have been distinguished. In the earlier one the people lived in circular or oval pits dug into the *Karewa* soil. Post-holes along the edge of pits suggest timber superstructures. Besides polished stone implements these people possessed a developed bone industry which included awls, needles, points, chisels, scrapers, points etc. Their pottery was handmade and matt-impressed on the bases.

83. Second Phase of Neolithic Culture of Kashmir

The second phase shows certain improvements and innovations in the culture. People now lived in mud or mudbrick houses built on ground level and having plastered floors, often coated with red ochre. Pottery was now wheel-turned. Polished stone axes and bone tools came into greater use. This phase has yielded a piece of copper, possibly an arrowhead. This phase has also yielded the evidence of human burials of both primary and secondary types. Along with human skeletons animals like goat and dog were also buried in the graves. There is also evidence for the trepination of skulls. Burials, articulated as well as fractional, of dog, wolf, and ibex have also been found. As in the Southern Neolithic culture the dead were buried in the habitation area itself.

The Neolithic people were certainly familiar with the domestication of dog and goat. But no reliable evidence of agriculture has been found. Even saddle querns and rubbers are missing. Semi-lunar or rectangular knives called 'harvesters' and ringstones might perhaps imply a knowledge of agriculture. The rich bone industry on the other hand points that hunting and fishing played a major role in their economy.

C-14 determinations indicate a date of around 2000 B.C. for the beginning of this culture. Some more sites of the culture have been found on the Jhelum in the Kashmir Valley and the discovery of polished axes in Kangra possibly suggests a southward extension of this culture. However, for the present, its geographical isolation makes it difficult to know its origins and its relationship with the Neolithic cultures of South and Eastern India. Meanwhile one of the tool types, namely 'harvester' shows, according to Thapar (1964) close affinity with the Neolithic cultures of North China and Japan and points to diffusionary impulses from that direction.

XV

SOUTH INDIAN MEGALITHS AND THE THRESHOLD OF HISTORY

84. Investigation of Megalithic tombs of South India

The existence of several types of megalithic tombs as well as urn and sarcophagus burials all over South India has been known since the last century through the efforts of Breeks, Bruce Foote, Rea, and others. A systematic survey of them was begun in 1944 under the leadership of V. D. Krishnaswami (1949). As a result of his and other workers' efforts (Wheeler, 1948; Shrinivasan and Banerjee, 1953; Banerjee 1956; Thapar, 1952, 1957; Allchin, 1956; Sharma, 1956) eight types of megalithic structures have been identified besides the rock cut caves, urn burials and sarcophagus burials.

All these types of tombs and urns and sarcophagii are, however, bound together in one culture complex in which the principal elements are (i) fractional human burial, (ii) iron weapons, implements and other objects, and (iii) a ceramic called the Black-and-Red ware.

85. Connection of South Indian Megalithic Culture with Dravidian Languages

Since the distribution of this megalithic culture complex of Peninsular India coincides with the distribution of Dravidian languages, Haimendorf (1945) had suggested that the builders of megaliths were also the speakers of the Dravidian languages. The correspondence is no doubt close but needs to be proved by independent evidence.

86. Chronology of South Indian Megalithic Culture

Nothing was, however, known of the age of this culture until Wheeler excavated at Brahmagiri. There the megalithic culture lay above the local Neolithic culture and below another culture which was dated by the occurrence of Rouletted Ware to the first century A.D.

On the basis of the thickness of the megalithic deposits Wheeler estimated the duration of the culture to about two hundred years and therefore put its upper limit in the third century B.C.

Wheeler further suggested that the sudden appearance and rapid spread of this culture into the Peninsula was connected with the southward thrust of the Mauryan Empire in the reign of Ashoka's father, Bindusar. However, now with the pushing back of the date of the Neolithic culture in South India by about 1500 years and of the appearance of iron in North India by about 500 years, the date of the megalithic culture too will have to go back by a few centuries.

Its three elements seem to have coalesced only in South India. Black-and-Red Ware as we know from the findings at Tekkalkota was already present in South India in the Neolithic culture; iron, it now appears was known in North India from the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

87. Peculiarities of South Indian Megalithic Culture

The only aspect of the megalithic culture difficult to explain at the moment is the megaliths themselves. However, the existence of cists and other megalithic types in north Rajasthan, south and north U.P., Lower Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir would indicate a northern bias for this trait as well. A fresh investigation of these as well as the megaliths of south Arabia may provide a connecting link with those of Trans-Caucasia, the Mediterranean region and Europe with which south Indian megaliths have a family resemblance.

88. Northern Black Polished Ware Culture of the Ganga basin

In the Ganga basin the Painted Grey Ware culture was superseded in around 5th or 6th century B.C. by a new culture in which the distinctive elements are iron, a ceramic called the Northern Black Polished (N.B.P.) Ware, and coinage. Of course, not all the three elements appeared together; iron certainly had a long priority as we have seen it present at Alamgirpur and Atranjikhera with the Painted Grey Ware. N.B.P. Ware occurs at all the early historical sites of North India such as Taxila, Hastinapura, Kaushambi, Varanasi, Pataliputra, Rajgir, Vaisali, and Ujjain and occupies an important place in early Indian chronology. South of the Ganga-Yamuna doab it gradually peters out though it occurs in small quantities as far south as Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh. Here at sites like Nagda, Ujjain, Maheshwar, Bahal and Nasik, it occurs either along with the local Black-and-Red Ware or is completely absent. South of the Godavari Black-and-Red is the exclusive ceramic associated with megalithic burials.

89. Date and Source of Iron Technology in India

The date and source of origin of the iron technology in India is one of the intriguing problem of Indian Archaeology. Sir

Mortimer Wheeler had suggested some years ago that iron was brought into India by the Achaemenid Persians in the sixth century B.C. Recent discoveries seem to conflict with this theory (Banerjee, 1964).

The occurrence of iron objects as well as evidence of iron-working in the Painted Grey Ware levels of Hastinapura, Alamgirpur, Atranjikhera, Kausambi and Ujjain leads to the conclusion that iron technology was introduced in India around 800 B.C. or slightly earlier by the users of the Painted Grey Ware, who because of the association of this famous ceramic with sites that figure prominently in the Mahabharata epic, are thought to be Indo-Aryans, though belonging probably to a later wave of migrants from that stock.

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(**Abbreviations :** American Anthropologist : **AA**, Ancient India : **AI**, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History : **APAMNH**, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute : **BDCRI**, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies : **BSOAS**, The Illustrated London News : **ILN**, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay : **JAS, BOMBAY**, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : **JRAI**, Man in India : **MII**, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India : **MASI**.)

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HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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Present day concept of archaeology as a discipline, interpreting the significance of cultural equipment and attainments of people in their entirety both on material plane and on the plane of ideas, was entirely unknown 75 years ago. Treasure-hunting, architectural survey of monuments, deciphering of inscriptions and numismatic studies was broadly considered the end and aim of archaeological studies.

I

INTRODUCTION

1. Growth of Archaeological studies in India

Before we begin the survey of historical archaeology from about the last decade of the 19th century it would perhaps be expedient to look back and take stock of important developments in the growth of the archaeological studies in India.

The birth of archaeological studies can be traced back to the establishment of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta in January 1784, under the guidance of Sir William Jones. It was founded with the purpose of enquiring, among the other things, "into the History — the Antiquities, Art, Science and Literature of Asia".

2. Contribution of James Prinsep

The most significant contribution of the society was by James Prinsep, Assay Master, Calcutta Mint and the Secretary of the Society from 1833. He deciphered the Brāhmi and the Kharoshti scripts between 1834 and 1837 and thereby provided a fixed datum to the chronological frame-work of Indian History by establishing the contemporaneity of Asoka with Antiochus 111 and Ptolemy Philadelphos.

3. Contribution of Sir Alexander Cunningham

The next major contribution to the study of Indian archaeology was by Alexander Cunningham, under whose leadership in 1861, the Supreme Government constituted the Indian Archaeological Survey, a pioneer organization engaged over the last 100 years in unravelling the past of this ancient country.

Cunningham undertook exploration of ancient sites in Northern and Central India and engaged himself in their identification on the basis of detailed travel accounts left by foreign visitors to India, like Fa-Hein and Hiuen-Tsang.

Though ignorant of the aims and scientific methods of archaeology, Cunningham laid emphasis on exploration and field-work and by his untiring efforts brought to light a large number of ancient sites, Buddhist establishments, sculptures and inscriptions that lay unnoticed in the country. The exhaustive accounts of the explorations undertaken by him between 1860 and 1884 are contained in twenty-three volumes called the "Archaeological Reports".

4. Pioneering researches in architectural monuments

With the retirement of Cunningham in 1885, the ideal of the Indian Archaeology changed and architectural survey of the monuments became the order of the day. Among other works, monumental treatises dealing mainly with architecture like those of Western Indian caves, Buddhist stupa of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta and also of Muhammedan monuments of Gujarat were published by Burgess.

Alexander Rea and Sewell were responsible for similar work on South Indian monuments. Descriptive lists of monuments on regional basis were also compiled. Dr. E. Hultzsch undertook, in his capacity as the Government Epigraphist, editing of epigraphical material and the results are contained in the volumes of *Epigraphia Indica.*

4-A. Contribution of Sir John Marshal to Indian archaeology

The turn of the century witnessed a new development, for in 1901, under the fostering care of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, the erstwhile organization of the Archaeological Survey of India was revitalized. In fact, the post of the Director General of Archaeology, which was axed a few years ago, was revived and in 1902 Mr. (later Sir) John Marshal was appointed to this post, for a term of 5 years and assumed charge of his new post. We are not concerned here with the organizational set up of the Archaeological Survey of India, but we may mention in the passing that Sir John Marshal placed archaeology on a firm footing by having an Ancient Monuments Preservation Act passed in 1904. This helped to ensure proper up-keep and preservation of ancient monuments and regulated excavations in India.

It is against such a background that we began the present survey, roughly from the first decade of the 19th century.

5. Present day concept of archaeological research missing in bygone researches

At the outset, may it be made clear that the present-day concept of archaeology as a discipline, interpreting the significance of the cultural equipment and attainments of the people in their entirety both on the material plane and on the plane of ideas, and dealing in a philosophical manner with the cause and effect of political events was entirely unknown. Treasure hunting, architectural survey of monuments, deciphering of inscriptions and numismatic studies was broadly considered the end and aim of archaeological studies.

6. Some notable landmarks of Historical archaeology

It is also necessary at this stage to draw a line from where historical archaeology could be said to commence. We have seen above that with the decipherment of Asokan inscriptions, the date of this great emperor was fixed on the basis of his contemporaneity with the Greek monarchs. An earlier event of great significance, namely, the invasion of Alexander in 327 B.C. is also another landmark, which has been considered as the "sheet anchor" of Indian chronology.

Historical archaeology can, however, be taken to commence from the advent of Buddha and Mahavira when the haziness of the earlier epoc is at once lifted with the establishment of the Māhā-Janapadās or regional kingdoms under different monarchs.

It is also a period of great significance for it not only saw the growth of religious ideas but of early cities: the capitals of regional kingdoms and emporiums under the first impact of the Iron Age in North India and the consequent growth of the economy of the period.

7. Scope of the present survey

It will, therefore, be our endeavour to see, in this short resume, how progressively the aims and objects of archaeology developed both as a result of actual work in India, and the impact of ideas from other countries where archaeology as a discipline was being developed, as also to see how the spade helped in the unfolding of archaeology of the historical period.

Incidentally, the progress achieved as a result of the adoption of scientific and stratigraphical method of excavation will also be indicated, especially when the same site was subjected to excavation again and again. This will indicate how the improved technique resulted in achieving far-reaching results which were lost sight of in the earlier efforts.

8. Starting point of the present survey

To be exact, the present survey commences from 1889 — the year of the discovery of the Manshera Rock Edict by Captain Leigh and by an Indian subordinate of the Archaeological Survey. Before the turn of the century, the three Mysore Minor Rock Edicts were discovered by Rice (1891), the Nigali Sagar Pillar Edict in 1895 and the Rummindei in 1896 by Führer

It is, however, not intended to trace the progress of Indian Epigraphy here and before we turn to the field of Historical Archaeology proper, it may be pointed out that considerable advance was registered in the Asokan studies and time was ripe for more ambitious projects of excavations of ancient sites.

9. Main aim of present survey and sources utilized by the author

In the following few pages, an attempt has been made to outline in brief the results of important excavations, which have specially helped in furthering our knowledge of Historical Archaeology. I am indebted to my colleagues in 'Archaeology Survey of India' and in Indian Universities and research Institutions in more than one way.

I have utilised the results of their recent excavations, brief summaries of which have appeared in 'Indian Archaeology — a Review', an annual publication of 'Archaeological Survey of India'. More recent discoveries have, however, remained unpublished as a result of the delay in the publication of the review, owing to the national emergency. I have utilized material from the unpublished manuscript of the Review.

I must also thank Shri K. N. Dikshit, Technical Assistant, Northwestern circle of the survey for the help he rendered in the preparation of this paper.

II

RESULTS OF SOME IMPORTANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS — NORTHERN INDIA

10. Earlier excavations at Mathura by Dr. Fuhrer

Seventy five years ago from now, Dr. Fuhrer excavated a Jain stupa on the mound known as Kankali Tila at Mathura.(1) The object of this excavation was limited to unearthing sculptures and inscriptions and judging from the limited objective, it can be stated that the excavations were successful for they brought to light a Jain stupa "establishing incontrovertible proof of the antiquity of the Jain religion and its early existence in its present form". mention must be made of Āyagapaṭas carved with a variety of early symbols for the worship of the *Arhatas*, inscribed sculptures of **Tīrthaṅkarās**, pillars with sculptured capitals, railing pillars with sculptures. No attempt was, however, made to trace the history of the town of Mathura celebrated as the birth place of Lord Krishna.

10-A. Some recent excavations at Mathura

In the year 1954-55, however, surface exploration of the site revealed the existence of two rings of mud-ramparts, the first elliptical in shape and the second quadrangular and comprised within the first as if signifying a citadel.

A small-scale excavation(2) revealed that the first occupants of the ancient site used hand-made pottery. Over this was found an assemblage of plain grey ware and black ware typical of pre-N.B.P. period. The second period, consisting of three sub-periods was characterised by the use of N.B.P. The middle sub-period furnished a large variety of antiquities, like grey terracotta figurines of Mother Goddesses with applied girdles, beads, square copper coins, while the last sub-period saw vigorous building activity in baked bricks. Copper-smith's furnaces were found with copper moulds. The last two periods contained Kushan and Gupta antiquities.

The excavation thus established the antiquity of the site as going back to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. Synchronizing with the use of N.B.P. and marking the advent of the historical period, Mathura emerged as a town with vigorous building activity which continued unabated up to the 2nd century B.C. After a short period of desertion, the town regained its importance under the Kushan kings and the latest remains at the site consisted of early and late Gupta coins.

11. Excavations at Piprahwa

In 1898, was excavated the Stūpa at Piprahwa in Basti District by W. C. Peppe and V. A. Smith.(3) It yielded a vase inscribed in pre-Asokan Brahmi characters and a gold leaf inscribed with a female figure with exaggerated hips, possibly representing the Goddess of fertility. The inscription over the casket mentions that the stupa contained the corporal relics of Buddha.

12. Excavations at Basarh (Vaisali)

Famous in ancient literature as the birth place of Mahavira, the last of the Jain Tīrthaṅkarās and the capital of Lichchavis, Basarh in district Muzaffarpur, was identified with Vaisali on the basis of the description of the ruins of Vaisali by Fa-Hein and Hiuen-Tsang.

The excavations of 1903-04 and later in 1913-14(4) brought to light ruins of a township with structures ranging from 2nd century B.C. to 4th-5th century A.D. The excavations(5) of the traditional site of the palace of Raja Bisal in 1950, revealed a large number of inscribed clay sealings with alphabets initiating the eastern variety of the Gupta period. The inscriptions thereon contain titles of various classes of officials connected with the administration of the township. A few other inscriptions refer to the trade-guilds (nigamās), bankers (Śrethin), traders (Sārthavāha) and merchants (Kulikā).

The pottery, two holed tiles, terracotta figurines found in the excavations point to the first two centuries of the Christian era, as the probable period of the site. The N. B. P. has since been reported from the place as a result of subsequent explorations.

13. Excavations at Kasia (Kusinagara)

Kasiā (District Deoria) identified with Kusinagara the place where Buddha shook off his mortal coil and attained **Parinirvāna** was first excavated by Carlleylle in 1876, when he laid bare the Parinirvāna shrine and the adjoining stupa.

The site was again taken up for excavation in the year 1904,(6) when more ancient structures of monasteries and stupas of the Kushana period were brought to light. Some ruins in the Matha-Kuar-ka-Kot to the east proved to be a large terraced stupa nearly 27 m. square with a flight of steps on the north.

Close by were the ruins of an earlier structure going back to the Mauryan period which met with destruction by fire about the end of the first century A.D. as could be verified by the finds of coins belonging to the region of Kadphises 11, and Kaniska in the burnt debris of the ruins.

The excavation thus proved that the earliest relics at the site belonged to the Mauryan period and the site continued to be occupied right up to the Gupta period with several structural phases indicating destruction of old structures, their re-use with modifications and erection of altogether new structures.

14. Excavations at Lauriya (Nandangarh)

In 1905 and 1906, the spade went into action at **Lauriyā** Nandangarh(7) in District **Champāran** North Bihar, where Dr. Bloch excavated four ancient mounds near the Asokan Pillar at that place.

In one of the mounds, at a depth from about 2 to 6 m., a small deposit of human bones mixed up with charcoal, and a small gold leaf with the figure of a standing female stamped on it were found. The female figure was identified with the image of Prithvi, the earth Goddess. Below the deposit of human bones, a wooden shaft in the centre of the mound was noticed.

These mounds were considered by the excavator as the post-cremation burial mounds **Smaśāna-chiti** or **Losta-chiti**. The mounds were declared to be of pre-Mauryan age following the pattern described in the Vedic literature.

Excavation of these mounds again in 1935-37 established that these mounds were Stūpas of mud or mud-bricks, occasionally with baked-brick rivetments and were contemporaneous with the stupa at Piprahwa.

15. Excavations at Sravasti (Sahet Mahet)

In the year 1907 and 1908(8) and later 1910 and 1911, Sravasti, the capital of Kausala at the time of Buddha, presently called Sahet Mahet, District Gonda and Bahraich, U.P., was taken up for excavations.

Sahet has been identified with the Jetavana monastery where Buddha had spent many a year of monsoon (Vassāvāsa) while Mahet with Sravasti proper. The townsite with its ramparts contained brick stupas and shrines.

The excavation, however, did not throw light on the early history of Sravasti and the antiquity of the site was not traced beyond the Kushana period.

16. Excavations at Patliputra

Patna, ancient Patliputra, epitomising the glory of Ancient India, occupies an important place in the cultural history of the country by its association with the rise and fall of many dynasties, which had shaped the destiny of the country for many centuries. It was in the region around Patliputra that Buddhism and Jainism flourished and the former under the patronage of Asoka the Great, crossed the political barriers of the country to be the guiding spirit for the whole of Asia.

16-A. Patliputra as described by Magasthenes

Situated on the confluence of the Ganga and Son, 15 kms. in length and 2 kms. in breadth, Pataliputra was protected in ancient times by a massive timber palisade pierced with loopholes for the use of archers. Megasthenes has left a vivid description of this town including its military and civil administration and an account of the royal court. The site, however, could not be taken up for horizontal digging due to the rise in the sub-soil water level in the region and as a result we are deprived of the prospect of uncovering the old township on a large scale.

16-B. History of excavation

The place was taken up for excavations from 1912 to 1955 by the Archaeological Survey of India in the localities of Kumrạhar and Bulandibagh. The former site was again tackled by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under the leadership of the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Shri V. Mishra from 1951 to 1955.

16-C. Pillared hall of the Mauryan period at Kumrahar

Between 1912-15, Dr. D. B. Spooner discovered, at Kumrahar, the vestiges of a large pillared hall belonging to the Mauryan times, covering a square of about 75 metres and was ascribed by the excavator to Persipolitan influenze.

16-D. Bulandibagh wooden defence arrangement

The 1926-27 excavations at Bulandibagh revealed fragment of a wooden rampart lending authenticity to the description left by Magasthenes of the wooden palisade girding the city. The remains indicated that the timber logs were laid in parallel lines corresponding to the thickness of the rampart at its base, and uprights were tenoned to them. Besides these structural remains, mention must be made of the beautiful Mauryan terracottas, found at Bulandibagh, elevating the folk art of the local potter to a much higher aesthetic level.

16-E. Sequence of cultures

The 1951-55 excavations mentioned above brought to light six cultural periods, the first five ranging in date from circa 600 B.C. to 600 A.D. and the last from A.D. 1600. The period I (circa 600-150 B.C.) revealed N.B.P. Ware and other associated wares with antiquities like iron implements, terracotta figurines and bone objects. A few sandstone pieces having well-known Mauryan polish were also noticed.

The next period (circa 150 B.C. to A.D. 100) represented the degeneration of the wares of period 1, but saw unprecedented prosperity as indicated by the presence of punch-marked, cast copper and "lanky bull" type of Kauśambi coins and seals of stone and terracotta. This period is marked by large-scale structural activity and the use of tiles is noticed for the first time. Careful observation of the stratigraphic evidence disclosed that the ashy cylindrical pits with blue-clay at the base noticed at regular intervals were the remnants of actual pillars which were removed in the middle of the second century B.C., after the conflagration of the site, and Spooner's theory that the pillars were sinking was thus belied. The excavators were also able to reconstruct the plan of the great hall which consisted of eighty-four pillars, eighty belonging to the main hall and four to the entrance portico as against seventy-two located by Spooner.

Period III, (circa A.D. 100-300) marks the end of previous wares and the advent of red or grey wares. A fragmentary golden talisman probably used as an amulet imitating the gold coin of Huvishka with a seated figure of the Greek Goddess *Ardoksho* on one side is an interesting find of this period.

Period IV and V (circa A.D. 300-600) revealed objects of Gupta era. An interesting structure of period IV was a monastery known as Ārogya Vihāra on the basis of an inscribed clay-sealing with the legend Srī ārogyavihāre bhikhusamghasya" below a spreading Bodhi tree. Carved bricks and big terracotta figures were also discovered in the building complex. The last period from A.D. 1600 is represented by Muslim glazed pottery and a coin of Shah Ālam.

17. Excavations at Bhita

Explored by Cunningham, in 1874 and identified with the old Bithbhaya-Pattana, the ancient site of Bhita was excavated in 1910-11,(9) by Marshal. He brought to light remains of structures of a mercantile township ranging in date from Pre-Mauryan to Gupta times.

The variety of objects recovered in excavations consisted of seals and sealings, terracotta figurines, coins of different rulers, stone and metal objects, inscriptions and shell objects. Mention must also be made of finds of neolithic celts, in what is described as the **Kushāna** levels.

In the absence of stratigraphic evidence, it may be surmised that the neolithic celts belonged to an earlier period as could be inferred from the recent excavations at Sonepur, where neolithic celts have been reported with N.B.P. ware. It is not unlikely that neolithic culture survived in the early historical period in Mid-Eastern India.

Among the terracotta figurines, mention may be made of a hollow circular terracotta plaque about 7.55 cms. in diameter having the same scene depicted on both the faces. It is of considerable artistic and architectural interest with representations of hut-like structures and human figures in low relief. The terracotta plaque reminds one of sculptured panels from Sāṇchi and Bārhut where men, animals and nature are depicted in a harmonious composition.

18. Excavations at Sarnath

Sārnath (10) near Vārānasi celebrated as the place where Buddha delivered his first sermon, developed in course of time as a great religious centre and a holy place of pilgrimage. Excavated by Major Kittoe (1848), it was taken up for systematic excavation between the years 1904-1928 at intervals.

The excavations revealed a complex of stupas and monasteries, of which the Dharmarāja Kā Stūpa probably built by Aśoka deserves special mention. The monolithic stone railing with inscriptions and Mauryan polish found not far from the stupa, probably formed part of this stupa.

Not far from the Mulagandha-Kuti, a square Gupta temple with rectangular projection for "Chopals" on three sides was discovered, an inscribed Asokan pillar surmounted by a lion capital. The earliest remains at this place thus go back to the days of Asoka.

During the Gupta period and almost up to the 12th century A.D. building activity at Sarnath continued unabated and a large number of monasteries and votive stupas came to be built. The latest addition on the basis of an inscribed record was by Kumāradevi the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra of Kanauj (1114-55 A.D.).

Large number of sculptures including some masterpieces of the Gupta art were also recovered from the excavation of the area, the colossal Boddhi-Satva image of the reign of Kanishka imported from Mathura is one among the many sculptures worthy of mention.

19. Excavations at Rajgir (Rajagriha)

Famous in ancient literature as the capital of Magadha, Rajgir, the ancient Rajagriha, is mentioned in the Māhābhārata as the capital of Jarāsandha. It is intimately connected with the life of Búddha, who spent many a rainy season at this place. Mahavira, the last jain Tīrthaṅkara is also associated with this place. The first Buddhist council was held here before the death of Buddha.

Cunningham was responsible for the clearance and identification of many monuments in this fortified town. He also excavated Manyar Math, a cylindrical brick structure in the valley. The Naga figure of Gupta workmanship found in this structure and inscribed with the name of Mani Naga, was probably the same as mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

In 1950, the site was taken up for excavation(11) by A. Ghosh. It proved that the occupation at Rajgir began prior to 5th century B.C., as the layers of pottery were observed below the Northern Black Polished Ware, which could be assigned to the 5th century B.C. The pottery of pre-N.B.P. levels consisted of glazed and coarse red ware with a dull wash of terracotta colour, though the black slip on the outer face is not rare.(12)

20. Some recent excavations at Rajgir (Rajagriha)

Recently the site was again excavated with a view to ascertaining the nature of the fortification in the New Fort area, situated outside the hill-girt valley supposed to have been found by Ajataśatru. The excavation confirmed the results of the previous excavation by A. Ghosh.

The mud rampart together with the moat also belonged to the pre-N.B.P. (6th-5th century B.C.) as from the core of the rampart were found potsherds of red ware. These recent excavations have helped to link Rajgir with the present developments in Indian archaeology.

21. Excavations at Ahichchhatra

Explored by Gen. Cunningham in 1862, Ahichchhatra, the capital of Northern Panchāla according to the Mahābhārata was excavated extensively under the directions of Rao Bahadur K. N.

Dikshit by the Archaeological Survey of India during 1940-44.(13) The place has been mentioned by Ptolemy as Adisadra and is situated in District Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh.

22. Study of pottery found at Ahichchhatra

The importance of the study of pottery for understanding ancient cultures was being increasingly understood and it was at sites like Harappa and Mohenjodaro that a systematic study of pottery was first attempted.

Careful attention was also bestowed on the study of pottery of the historical period found in the excavations at Ahichchhatra and as a result the excavator was able to differentiate nine structural phases ranging from prior to 300 B.C.-1100 A.D.

The earliest ceramic industry of this place, namely, Painted Grey Ware is found below the Northern Black Polished Ware and has been dated by the excavator prior to 300 B.C., but now the date of this ware has been assigned to about the beginning of first millennium B.C. No structure was encountered in this level.

Period II, (circa 300-200 B.C.) revealed N.B.P. Ware, mud brick buildings and uninscribed copper cast coins. The cultural complex of this period continued in the next Period III, (circa 200-100 B.C.).

The next Period IV is marked by the first kiln-burnt structures and the appearance of Panchāla coins. The city was also fortified in this period by a long peripheral defensive wall over the earlier earthen ramparts.

This complex continued in the next Period V, but Period VI, (circa 100-350 A.D.) is represented by water vessels of rough ware, Kushana coins and houses of fine brick-work.

The next Period VII (circa 350-750 A.D.), revealed a temple complex consisting of low brick shrines, a large number of terracotta images of Brahmanical deities belonging to the Gupta period and coins of Achyuta, who was defeated by Samudra Gupta in circa 350 A.D. The pottery of this period was decorated with a variety of stamped designs of rosettes, vegetable patterns etc.

In next Period VIII (circa 750 to 850 A.D.) plain pottery and pottery with impressed designs was encountered. The last Period

IX (circa 850-1100 A.D.) is represented by poor houses mostly built of the bricks of earlier period and coins of Ādivarāha and Vigraha.

The two large terraced temples of brick belonging to early Gupta period were noticed in the fortified area and revealed from debris beautiful terracotta sculptured panels and carved bricks. The temples remained in use till the shifting of the capital of Pañchala to Vodāmayūtā

23. Excavations at Hastinapura

The excavations carried out at Hastinapura,(14) the legendery capital of the kings of the Mahābhārata by Shri B. B. Lal, brought to light from bottom upwards five periods of occupation.

The lowest level at Hastināpura is characterized by an ill-fired ochre-coloured-ware comparable to that found in the lowest levels at Atranji Khera, District Etah, Ambakheri, Gadharona and Bahadarabad in District Saharanpur, Manpur and Bhatpur in District Bulandshahr etc.

The Period II is represented by a distinctive class of pottery known as the Painted Grey Ware and is associated with a black slipped ware, red ware and black-and-red ware. Agriculture and cattle breeding supplemented by hunting was the primary occupation of the people. Iron was also known to them as iron implements have been found in the upper levels.

The period was brought to an end by an extensive flood responsible for the shifting of the capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbi The excavator has quoted the following verse from the Purānas—

गंगयापहृते तस्मिन् नगरे नागसाह्वये ।
त्यक्त्वा निचक्षुर्नगरं कौशाम्ब्याम् स निवत्स्यति ॥

(when the city of Hastināpur is carried away by the Gangā Nichakshu will abandon it and will dwell in Kauśāmbi).

The Period III from the early 6th to the early 3rd century B.C. was represented by a new township having the houses of both mud and kiln-burnt bricks and associated antiquities like the N.B.P. Ware, Punch marked coins, copper and iron implements and terracotta animal and human figurines. The period came to an end in about 250 B.C.

The site was reoccupied after a break from circa 200 B.C.-300 A.D. and revealed seven structural phases of brick buildings, with a variety of finds like the coins of the Mathura rulers, Sunga terracottas, inscribed pot-sherds and a seal. The pottery is plain red ware but painted sherds are also available similar to Rang Mahal Ware of northern Rajasthan. Imitation coins of Kushāna king Vāsudeva of circa 300 A.D. were also encountered in the upper levels.

The site was again deserted and reoccupied in about A.D. 1100, and flourished till the end of the 15th century A.D. A coin of Balban (A.D. 1266-1287) and Muslim Glazed ware were found from this level.

24. Pottery sequence found at Hastinapura

The pottery sequence provided by the site is of great importance for the study of other sites in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab.

The excavator has postulated the possibility of the association of the P.G.W. with Pauravās, Panchālās etc., who formed a part of the early Aryan stock in India.

The conclusion was mainly based by him on the observation that a large number of sites associated with the Mahabharata story contain the same ceramic industry, namely, the Painted Grey Ware and this class of pottery is also to be met with at the Aryan sites in Greece, on the one hand and sites like Shah Tepe in Iran and Sistan on the other, along the route of Aryan penetration into India.

Similar class of pottery found at Atranji Khera (District Etah) is placed on the basis of Carbon-14 tests conducted by the Tata Institute of the Fundamental Research, Bombay, to the beginning of first millennium B.C. (1050 B.C. +125).

The Carbon-14 tests of the material from upper levels of Painted Grey Ware deposits at Hastināpura has, however, been dated to the middle of the first millennium B.C., which means that the Painted Grey Ware culture did not continue at Hastināpura beyond 500 B.C. The Carbon-14 tests of the material of Period III suggested that the site was reoccupied after a gap of hundred years by the users of N.B.P. Ware.

The excavator has, however, observed that as the Hastināpura samples were reported to be mixed with rootlets, the dating may be considered as provisional, to be cross-checked by determination from other Painted Grey Ware sites.

25. Antiquity of Kausambi

Kauśāmbi one of the most celebrated townships of ancient India, derives its name from its founder Kusamba, the 10th in descent from Pururavās. It is mentioned in the later Vedic literature as the capital of the famous Mahājanapada of Vatsa and is identified with modern Kosam, 52 Kilometres south-west of Allahabad.

Kauśāmbi also finds mention in the Ramayana, the Meghadūta of poet Kalidasa and is intimately connected with Udayana, king of Kausambi. The site was the capital of the later Pandu princes, who shifted to Kauśāmbi after the flood had washed away their earlier capital at Hastināpura in the time of Nichakṣu.

26. Pottery sequence found at Kausambi

The earlier period of Kauśāmbi is characterized by a sturdy red ware, which according to the excavator(15) had analogues to those discovered at Navdatoli, Rangpur and other sites in Western India, and dated to circa 1165-885 B.C.

The next period was of decadent Painted Grey Ware accompanied with red and black-and-red ware and iron. It is assigned between 885-605 B.C. Recently the excavation led to the discovery of an early stone palace — a fortress (315 x 150 metres) which may go back to circa 600 B.C. if not earlier. It may have been occupied by King Udayana a contemporary of Buddha.

The Period III, circa 605 — 45 B.C. is marked by the continued existence of grey ware and Northern Black Polished Ware sometimes painted, clearly showing the influence of the painting tradition of the P.G.W. on the latter. The other pottery, red ware and black-and-red ware also continued to be used. In next Period IV, circa 45 B.C. — A.D. 850, N.B.P. is completely absent.

27. Ghoshitarama monastery at Kausambi

One of the important discoveries at Kausambi is the monastery of Ghoshitaram built by the merchant Ghosita for Buddha and described by Hiuen-Tsang as "an old habitation, the ruins only of which exist — the house of Ghosita, the noble man". The identification of the ruins of monastery was facilitated by the find of an inscribed record assignable to the Kushān period.

The monastic site was continuously occupied from circa 6th century B.C. to 6th century A.D., through 16 successive phases of structural activity and in its penultimate phase the monastery consisted of a square quadrangle lined with cells and a verandah on the inner side enclosing the main stupa and other subsidiary stūpas

A seal with a name of Tormana bearing the appellation *'Huna Raja'* found in the ruins of the monastery indicated the destruction of the monastic establishment by the Hunas.

28. Excavation of rectangular fortification at Kausambi

The town-site of Kausambi was girt by a rectangular fortification wall about 6.5 Kilometres in circuit and rose to a height of about 13 Metres. In Period I, the defences were in the form of a mud wall with burnt-brick revetment on the exterior. Successive periods saw additions in the form of subsidiary ramparts, guard rooms flanked by towers etc.

Throwing light on the religious practices of this period was discovered, according to the excavator, a Syena-Chiti (eagle-alter) associated with Purushamedha (human sacrifice) within an enclosure outside the eastern gate at the foot of the defences.

29. Excavations at Rajghat

Varanasi, the holiest of holy place of Hindu pilgrimage has a hoary antiquity. It was, however, purely by accident that in the area known as Rajghat, lying to the north-eastern outskirts of Varanasi, the relics of this ancient city were discovered in 1940 by Railway Engineers while digging earth for constructional purposes. The identification of the site with Varanasi was established on the basis of an inscribed sealing bearing a Gupta period inscription, ' Barānasy-Adhishthāna-Adhikaranesa ', i.e. (the seal) of the city administration of Baranasi.

The site was taken up for excavation by Dr. A. K. Narain of Varanasi Hindu University from the year 1957 onwards in order to know the sequence of cultures, the lay-out of the ancient township and the nature of its defences.

29-A. Results of excavation

The excavation brought to light, from bottom upwards, six periods of occupation. The earliest period, with its three sub-phases, from circa 800 to 200 B.C., was characterised by a fine grey ware, dull red ware with ochre-wash, black-and-red ware, black slipped ware, N.B.P., coarse grey ware and antiquities like cast copper coins, iron objects, carnelion heads, bone points and a few terracotta figurines.

The next period, which fell in the post-Mauryan bracket was marked by a conflagration at the town site and revealed a large number of bone points and arrowheads besides a few of iron arrowheads also. Sunga terracottas and inscribed sealings were other noteworthy finds of this period.

The period III and IV (from the beginning of the Christian era to 700 A.D.) was marked by a number of baked brick-structures. Beads imitating birds like the crow, moulded Gupta terracotta figurines with elegant features and a large number of other antiquities, like bangles, gamesmen, antimony rods etc., indicate richness of life of the period. The period V (circa 700 to 1200) revealed several architectural fragments of a Hindu temple. The last period is characterised by the Muslim glazed ware bearing a variety of floral designs.

29-B. Defences at Rajghat

The defences of this place go back to the earliest occupation of the site. The massive clay rampart with a slope towards Ganges was built over the natural soil upto a height of about 10 metres. There is evidence of the rampart having breached several times by the flooding of the Ganges in the form of alternate deposits of sand and silt. This ancient city, with defence arrangement demonstrates the growth of urban culture under the impact of iron-age in India, when the earliest historical regional kingdoms known as the Mahajanapadas came into existence.

III

EXCAVATIONS OF SITES IN WESTERN INDIA

30. Excavations at Bairat

85 Kilometres from Jaipur, Bairat is traditionally associated with the Pāndavās who are said to have passed the 13th year of exile incognito at this place. The ancient remains of this place were explored by Cunningham, Carlleyle and Bhandarkar. It was excavated by D. R. Sahni in 1936.(16)

The excavated remains consist of a monastery, a circular temple of brick and timber, brick platform and the antiquities like chert flakes and cores, coins, N.B.P. Ware and other associated wares which go to show that this place was in a flourishing state in the times of Mauryas. The presence of two Asokan rock edicts at this place also confirms this fact.

The monastic establishment is encircled by a cyclopean wall comparable to Rajgir — a fact not adequately emphasised so far.

31. Circular shrine at Bairat

The circular shrine (dia. 8.23 metres) is of special interest as it is one of the earliest and extant brick and timber constructions. It is double circular in plan, separable by a circumambulation path, the octagonal remains of pillars being disposed along the inner circle with brick-work within the scope of pillars.

The structure bears striking similarity in plan to the circular Chaitya cave from **Tuljā-lenā** group of caves at Junnar, District Poona.

32. Recent excavation at Bairat

In the year 1962, Bairat was again excavated by Shri N. R. Banerjee, in order to throw light on the antiquity of iron in the area. The following sequence was met with. Period I was characterised by Painted Grey Ware merging into the next period of N.B.P. like that of Sravasti (U.P.). The Period III revealed ceramics of the early centuries of the Christian era.

The site was deserted and reoccupied after a lapse of time as was evident by the occurrence of Muslim Glazed Wares. The use of iron was recorded from the earliest occupation onwards.

33. Excavations at Naliasar

The site of Naliasar, better known as Sambhar or Śakāmbhrī, an ancient capital and stronghold of Chauhan kings was first explored by Mr. Lyon, Assistant Commissioner of Inland Revenue at Sambhar. T. H. Hendley laid out some trial trenches in 1885 on this site and concluded that it was a Buddhist town(17)

The site was again excavated by Sahni in 1936 and brought to light antiquities like a facet sealing, a copper coin of Huviśka human and animal terracotta figurines, a pottery pendent, an iron spear-head, coins — Punch marked, Indo-Greek, Yaudheyas and objects of gold, copper, steatite and shell.

A terracotta sealing from this place deserves attention. It depicts a sacrificial post (Yupa) surrounded by a railing. Below the shaft is a legend "Imdasamasa" (Indraśarman) in Brahmi script of about the 3rd century B.C.

The structural activity of Naliasar confirmed the continued occupation of this place from the period of the Mauryas up to the 10th century A.D.

34. Excavations at Rairh

The ancient site at Rairh, 87 kilometres from Jaipur, consisting of a series of rolling mounds was excavated in 1938, by Dr. K. N. Puri.(18)

It yielded mud dwellings, pottery ring wells, tools and implements of iron, a number of polished coloured stone beads, steatite objects and various types of terracotto figurines, all belonging to **Śunga** and later period.

The find of Chunar sandstone bowl suggested Mauryan occupation of the site. The steatite caskets found at this place were similar to the relic caskets found at other Buddhists sites in India.

The excavation confirmed that the town was in a flourishing state in about the 3rd century B.C. and continued its occupation to the 2nd century A.D., though the traces of the early Gupta period had also been noticed.

The discoveries of Malava coins, a lead seal of Malava Janpada and five hoards of punch-marked coins led the excavator to conclude that "it was an important settlement of the Malava tribe under the suzerainty of the Maurya and Sunga kings probably enjoying during the interval a short span of independence, during which time the Senapati coins of Commander-in-Chief Vacha Ghośa were issued".

35. Excavations at Nagari

Nagari identified with the ancient Madhhymika, capital of Sibi Janapada, 13 kilometres north of Chitaurgarh was explored by A. C. L. Carlleyle in 1872 and was excavated by Bhandarkar in 1919-20.(19)

The excavations revealed inscribed stones, terracotta plaques, sculptures, ornamental bricks with figures of birds, human heads, recalling Greeko-Roman influence,(20) punch-marked and Sibi Janapada coins etc.

The legend on the Sibi Janapada coins reads as "Majhimikāya Sibi-Janapadās" and Dr. Bhandarkar felt that the Sibis from Madhyamika are sought to clearly differentiated from those who may have continued to live in Punjab, their original home (Sibipura — identified with Shor Kot.).

The place has structural remains in the form of a rectangular enclosure known as Hāthi-Bādā built out of massive blocks of laminiferous stone. This may have been the enclosure around the Samkarsana temple, referred to in the Ghosundi inscription.

36. Recent excavations at Nagari

The renewed excavations in 1962 undertaken to co-relate the defences with the habitation, revealed three phases of which the earlier two were pre-defence distinguished from each other by the absence of structures.

The pre-defence strata yielded plain wares of both red and grey fabrics. No sherd of black-and-red ware was found. The city was fortified by a cyclopean wall in Period III and associated with this were red polished ware and the Kaoline ware.

The excavations confirmed the occupation of the site from circa 4th cent. B.C. to 7th cent. A.D.

37. Excavations at Dwarka

The excavation of Dwārkā, a place intimately connected with Lord Krishna and a famous pilgrim centre on the west coast of Kathiawar undertaken in 1963, by Dr. H. D. Sankalia(21) was mainly intended to test the veracity of the theory concerning the submergence of the city in ancient times.

From bottom upwards three periods were brought to light. The Period I witnessed the use of iron and fine pottery sometimes painted. The deposit of this period was sealed by a thick deposit of sand. The next settlement showed the use of the red polished ware and the Roman amphorae but this deposit was also covered by sand. The site was reoccupied in circa 7th century A.D. — the earliest phase of the temple city.

Thus the excavations confirmed the submergence of Dwārkā which occurred first in about the 2nd century B.C.

38. Excavations at Broach

Broach situated on the bank of Narbada, identified with the ancient Bharukachchha of Indian literature and Barygaza of the classical geographers, was excavated(22) in 1959. It revealed a thick occupation of 8 metres divisable into three periods.

The Period I datable to 3rd century B.C. was characterised by Black-and-red Ware and associated miscellania of N.B.P. Ware and can be compared on the basis of analogues in the types of Black-and-red Ware with Timberva I and Nasik II. The bone arrow-heads of this place are also comparable to Ujjain II.

The next period yielded red polished ware, beads, decorated metal objects, an image of Chaturmukha Lingā in green Jasper and lead and copper coins of Kshatrapa rulers and could be assigned between third century A.D. to 6th-7th century A.D. The site was deserted and reoccupied during the medieval period on the basis of glazed Muslim pottery and coins found in the upper levels.

The first settlers of the town appear to have raised a mud rampart with a deep ditch on the outer side. The rampart was strengthened with heavy brick revetments in the next period though it gave way towards the end of this period. The last period saw the construction of a new rampart.

39. Excavations at Ujjain

Situated on the ancient caravan route (Sarthavāha patha) connecting Pātliputra (Pātna, Bihār) with Pratiṣthān (modern Paithan, District Aurangabad, Maharashtra State), Ujjain (ancient Ujjayini) is celebrated in ancient Indian literature as the capital of Avanti, one of the sixteen Mahājanjadās under the king Canda Pajjota, a contemporary of the Buddha. Ujjayini also played an important part in the political history of India and Ajatasatru is said to have fortified his capital Rajagriha in expectation of an attack by king Pajjota of Ujjayini.

The ancient mound locally known as Ghar-Kalika supposed to contain the remains of ancient Ujjayini, was excavated from 1955 to 1958 by the Archaeological Survey of India under the directions of Shri N. R. Banerjee.(23)

40. Growth of the fortified township of Ujjain

The excavation brought to light important evidence bearing on the growth of a fortified township in the wake of the introduction of iron in this part of India.

The earliest Period I, datable to circa 700 B.C. - 500 B.C. is characterized by the use of iron, in the form of spear and arrowheads and knives.

A massive clay rampart measuring approximately 1.6 K.M. x 1 K.M. with a basal width of 78 metres and height of 13 metres was built by dumping of dug up yellow and black clays, roughly in the shape of a parallelogram with a moat about 24 metres wide around it, except on the western and partly on the northern sides where the river Sipra flowed past. The rampart showed signs of breaches and clear traces of subsequent repairs. Towards the river side, the rampart was elaborately strengthened by an intricate construction involving the use of cut timber work.

41. Antiquities of Ujjaini found during excavations

Ceramic industry of the period included black-and-red, fine Red slipped and coarse granulated wares.

In Period II, assigned to circa 500 B.C. — 200 B.C. was one of all round prosperity. N.B.P. with a wide variety of colours and its associated ceramics was met with, though wares of Period I continued to be used in limited quantities.

A tile-roofed mud-house was found to have been used during this period as a workshop for the manufacture of beads of agate and arrow-heads and knitting needles of bone. One of the bone arrow-heads was stained with blood of a bird. Inscribed seals of ivory, coins, terracottas, ornaments and ear discs of copper, ivory, jasper etc. form a part of the rich variety of antiquities of this period.

Period III, covering a long period (200 B.C. — 1300 A.D.) though not studied in greater detail to determine the sub-periods, is represented by a large variety of antiquities like the votive tanks, hollow-cast terracotta figurines manufactured under the Roman influence, soap-stone caskets with lids, ivory combs, hair-pins etc.

Period IV marked the end of the Paramara rule and the beginning of the Muslim rule in India.

42. Excavations at Eran

Eran, (ancient Airakina) in District Sagar, (Madhya Pradesh) situated on the left bank of Bina, was taken up for excavations by Shri K. D. Bajpai(24) of the Saugor University since 1960, with a view to understanding the culture sequence and the antiquity of the site.

It revealed four periods of occupation, the Period 1 assignable to about the middle of the second millennium B.C., representing the typical assemblages of Central Indian chalcolithic culture. The town was fortified towards the end of this period by a mud rampart on one and a moat formed by the river on the remaining three sides.

The site was deserted and reoccupied after a gap when iron made its appearance. The common pottery was a coarse red ware, but the white painted Black-and-red ware found in Period I also continued. In the upper levels of this period N.B.P. was found.

43. Antiquities found during excavation of Eran

The other finds of this period were terracotta animal and human figurines, beads of terracotta, shell, paste and other semi-precious stones, a weight of jasper, shell bangles, punch-marked and cast tribal coins.

A circular lead piece bearing the impression of a die with the legend in Mauryan Brahmi reading "Rano Indagutasa" of king Indragupta is worthy of mention. Tile fragments, indicating use of tiled roof were also found.

Period III revealed the emergence of red polished ware associated with Roman pottery along with the hoard of punch-marked coins and coins of Ramgupta, the Naga dynasty and of Indo-Sassanian rulers and a broken seal of western Kshatrapa king.

An inscribed seal bearing Gaja-Lakshmi of the Gupta period mentions the name of the town as Airakina.

In the last period, the town was fortified by a stone wall and yielded the coins of Bhopal and Gwalior rulers assignable to 1600-1800 A.D.

IV

EXCAVATIONS OF SITES IN EASTERN INDIA

44. Excavations at Sisupalgarh

Śiśupālgarh a fortified township near the modern town of Bhubaneshwar in Eastern India,(25) has been identified with Tosali mentioned in Asoka's Dhauli Rock Edict and with Kalinga Nagar of Kharvela's Hāthigumphā inscription.

It was excavated in 1948, in order to work out a culture-sequence for north India in furtherance of the results achieved at Arikamedu. The excavations proved a signal success for Rouletted ware and other datable materials were discovered besides bringing to light a well-laid-out fortified township of the pre-Christian era.

45. Three periods of occupation at Sisupalgarh

The excavations revealed three periods of occupation. The life at the site started between circa 300 — 200 B.C. with plain pottery varied in colour from dull grey to terracotta red. In the lowest levels of Period II (A), black-and-red ware made its appearance with polished Red ware, decorated pottery and Rouletted ware in the upper levels along with terracotta ear ornaments, iron implements, beads of semi-precious stones etc.

The next Period II(B) defers from the previous by its coarser ware and indefinite firing. A turtle shaped spouted vase with a strap handle, clay bullae imitating Roman coins, a silver punch marked coin and a copper coin of Huvishka are the other important finds of this period.

In the last period circa 200-350 A.D., the pottery becomes very crude and ill fired, representing a degenerate stage. Terracotta ear ornaments are extremely abundant. Imitation coins of Kushān king Vāsudeva and Puri-Kushān coins came from this period.

46. Excavations of defences at Sisupalgarh

The earliest defences consisted of massive clay-ramparts over 8 metres high. From the occurrence of black-and-red ware in the first occupation layer contemporary with rampart, the clay-rampart of Period I, can be assigned to about 200 B.C.

Phase II merely saw the addition of a thick layer of laterite gravel, while in Phase III, a wholesale change in the make-up of the defences was seen by way of the construction of two brick walls, 8 Metres apart at the top of the laterite gravel with the space between them filled by debris. The phase came to an end in the middle of the first century A.D.

Phase IV which followed after some interval saw the construction of new revetment against the slope of the defensive mound and had a stepped exterior.

47. Excavations at Tamluk

Tāmluk in District Midnāpur is identified with the ancient Tāmralipti, a port-town on the eastern coast from where Indian merchants sailed abroad and traded with countries in south-east Asia. It is also referred to in literature as a great emporium and a seat of learning. It has long been known to archaeologists on account of the discoveries of coins, terracottas and pottery — some of unusual shape.

The place was taken up for excavations(26) in 1954 by the Author, partly in response to a public demand but primarily to find out its archaeological potentiality and cultural sequence.

48. Pottery sequence found at Tamluk

The Period I, characterised by neolithic celts and ill fired pottery, was scantly represented. The cultural component of Period II (third-second centuries B.C.) consisted of typical terracotta figurines of Mauryan and **Śunga** periods, cast copper coins and a pottery bearing close affinity to that of contemporary of Northern India.

In Period III (circa Ist-2nd century A.D.). **Tāmluk** seems to have shared with other ports on the Indian coast trade contacts with the Roman world, as witnessed by a sprinkler and the profuse occurrence of the Rouletted ware both believed to be ultimately originating from Rome. A brick-built stepped tank exposed in one trench and a ring well and a soak pit in another belong to this period.

The next period IV, which was not very well represented produced some beautiful terracottas of the 3rd-4th centuries showing **Kushān** and Gupta influence.

The subsequent history of the site was rather difficult of reconstruction. Sporadic finds of the sculptures of the Pala and Sena periods by the local people in the course of digging tanks threw some light on this otherwise dark period.

The remains of the last phase (18th-19th centuries) were represented by the topmost deposits, contemporary with a number of brick structures constructed by local Rajas and salt factory owners.

49. Excavations at Chandraketugarh

The fortified site of Chandraketugarh, 37 Kilometres from Calcutta, was taken up for excavations by the Calcutta University from 1956 onwards and revealed six periods of occupation ranging from the pre-Mauryan to Pala times.

The Period I was marked by a red ware often treated with a slip. Ivory beads, bangles and other small objects were other associated finds.

The Period II, which revealed N.B.P. Ware, black slipped, polished and unpolished Grey wares, Rouletted ware, punch-marked coins, beads, terracotta figurines and antimony rods of copper and ivory, was assigned to Maurya and Śunga times.

The next Period III assigned to late Śunga occupation was characterised by stamped ware along with the typical Śunga terracottas, sherds inscribed in early Brāhmī script, steatite caskets, cast copper coins etc. The Period IV yielded typical Kushān terracotta plaques and human figurines. The Period V noticed the introduction of kiln-burnt bricks and thick stamped grey pottery assigned to the Gupta Period.

50. Excavation at Ratnagiri

Shrimati D. Mitra of the Archaeological Survey of India undertook excavation of the Buddhist remains at Ratnagiri, District Cuttuck, between 1957 and 1960. Excavations brought to light remains of a large Buddhist monastic establishment belonging to circa 8th-9th century A.D. A terracotta sealing with the legend "Sri-Ratnagiri-mahavihariyarya-bhikshu-samghasya," found in the excavation, indicated that this Buddhist establishment was also known in ancient times at Ratnagiri.

The temple and monastery complex revealed interesting architectural features throwing light on the genesis and development of Orissan architecture. The large number of stone and metal sculptures such as of Buddha, Lokesvara, Tara, Manjusri, Shadakshari-Lokesvara, Vasudhara, Jambhala, Vajrapani, Arya-Sarasvati etc. have provided a mine of information for the study of later Buddhist art and iconography. This excavation is the only one of its kind undertaken during recent times solely intended for the study of later Buddhist art and reminds one of Fuhrer's excavations of Kankali Tila at Mathura, which revealed antiquities of the early Buddhist period.

V

EXCAVATIONS OF SITES IN PENINSULAR INDIA

51. Excavations at Arikamedu — First Indo-Roman port town

Explored in 1937, by G. Jouveau- Dubreuil, Arikamedu, situated about 3 kilometres south of Pondicherry (Poduke of the Greek geographers), was excavated(27) in 1945, by the Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler.

It revealed structural relics of the type of wharfs and warehouses ranging in date between the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. to 200 A.D.

The special importance of the excavation lies in the fact that this was the first Indo-Roman port-town of its type identified as such, on the basis of the excavated relics and provided a firm datum-line for the classification of pre-medieval South Indian cultures. Some of the wares and antiquities recovered from the excavation, being imports from the Mediterranean world, provided details for dating the associated Indian culture with a certain amount of precision.

52. Results of excavation of Arikamendu

The site was divided into two sectors for excavations. The northern sector revealed the remains of a warehouse about 45 metres long built on the vestiges of earlier occupation. It was abandoned after flooding at an early date.

In the southern sector the structural remains consisted of two walled courtyards associated with tanks drained by brick culverts. These tanks and culverts were possibly used in the preparation of muslin cloth exported outside India.

The earliest ceramic industry of this place was predominantly grey but later on red ware outnumbered the former and started degenerating. In these pre-Arretine deposits pots had basket impressions, incised designs and graffiti marks. The Black-and-Red of megalithic type was also present.

The pottery revealing Roman contacts from the end of the first century B.C. consisted of two-handled amphorae characteristic of the Mediterranean wine-trade of the period, smooth surfaced wide dish with concentric bands of Rouletted patterns and Arrentine ware which is limited between A.D. 20 to 50. The last pottery was sometimes stamped and was known from the Latin name of *Arezzo (Arretium)*.

The other finds were Greeco-Roman gems carried by Greeco-Roman gem-cutters, a Roman lamp and glass bowls.

53. Excavations at Dharanikota

Dharanikotā, an ancient town situated on the right bank of **Krishnā** near Amarāvāti in District Guntur, was excavated(28) in 1962, by Shri Venkataramayya.

The cutting laid across the western side of the fortified township revealed seven structural phases of which the earlier six related to the embankment-cum-wharf abutting the navigational channel and the latest one to the defence arrangement.

The navigation channel was cut in the natural laterite ridge in phase 1, while in phases 2 and 3 a huge wharf was raised upon wooden posts and a brick wharf added along the inner side of the channel with further heightening of the embankment by a mud ramp. Brick reinforcements were added in succeeding periods testifying to its long use till its abandonment and the filling of the channel and the conversion of the embankment into a defence wall in the latest period.

The structural phases described above were associated with the megalithic Black-and-red Ware in phases of 1 and 2, Roman glass bangles of varying shapes and colour including cameo-cut appearing in phase 2, the Rouletted and Arretine Wares in phase 3, while phase 6 yielded late Satavahana coins and phase 7 belonged to **Ikshvākū** period.

The initial date for the construction of the wharf is postulated as 200 B.C. This site is the second of its type located on the eastern coast, the other being Arikamedu, where structural relics of the type of wharfs and ware houses were also identified.

54. Excavations at Kaveripattanam

The ancient port capital of the early **Cholās** at **Kāveripattanam** in District Tanjavur was another important site excavated(29) by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1963.

Near this place, at Kilaiyur, has been brought to light a massive brick platform, 18.28 x 7.62 metres in size, having at one of the corners the remains of two wooden posts. The structure was built on natural sand and very likely represented a wharf in the back waters where boats can be anchored to wooden posts. The size of bricks is the same as in the Ikshvaku constructions at Nāgārjunakondā and megalithic Black-and-red Ware was found in the contemporary deposits.

At another place Velliyan Irruppu, literally meaning "the abode of white men" perhaps a Roman colony, was found a Roman copper coin. Kāveripattanam is reputed in Tamil classics as being the emporium of the Roman traders and antiquities found at this place provide ample traces of trade contacts with the Mediterranean world.

55. Excavations at Kolhapur

The Brahmapuri mound on the outskirts of the city of Kolhapur, Maharashtra State, was considered a promising site for excavation ever since its antiquity came to notice as a result of the find of Sātvāhanās coins at this place. Its importance, however, was enhanced by the discovery of a bronze Greeko-Roman statuette of Poseidon, the Roman God of Sea, as also other bronze vessels of Alexandrian workmanship.

The site was considered to be a very promising site for understanding the spread of Roman influence in India during the Sātavāhana period. The Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute(30) excavated this site in the years 1945-46.

The lowest level contained remains of the Satavahana period when the habitation consisted of well-baked brick houses. The people had trade and cultural relations with the Roman world and imported Roman objects. Terracottas and pottery of the period also bespeak of this contact.

After a period of desertion the site was occupied by the Silharas in the 11th-12th century. The Bahamani period remains constituted the latest occupation of the site.

56. Excavations at Nasik

Situated on the banks of Godawari, Nasik is well-known as a place of great antiquity. The proximity Buddhist excavations known as Pandu-Lena Caves to Nasik containing a number of inscribed records belonging to the early centuries before and after the Christian era adds importance to this ancient township.

Excavations(31) of the mound known as Matichi-Garhi, on the right bank of Godawari revealed remains of four periods, of which Period I brought to light the existence of a chalcolithic habitation characterized by painted pottery, Black-and-red, and microlithic blades of chalcedony. This period came to an end about the 13th century B.C. as could be determined by C-14 dating of material from 'similar levels at other sites in the Deccan.

In Period II (400 B.C. — 50 A.D.) is found N.B.P., Black-and-red pottery and structures made of mud-walls, ring-wells etc. Period III (50 A.D. — 200 A.D.) is characterized by sherds of Samian ware, sprinklers and bowls of red polished ware, houses of large burnt-bricks roofed with well made terracotta tiles, while the Period IV which is sub-divided into three sub-periods had early Muslim Maratha relics.

There is no overlap between period I and II while a definite overlap exists between Periods II and III.

57. Excavations at Nagarjunakonda

The excavations at Nāgārjunakondā(32) in Andhra Pradesh by the Archaeological Survey of India, during the last decade have been extremely thorough and brought to light remains from the palaeolithic times down to the medieval period.

In this case the urge came as a result of the needs of an irrigational project, which helped in furthering the cause of archaeology. The pre-historic remains include Early and Middle Stone Age tools, followed by microlithic industry of non-geometric type, polished stone age culture and megalithic burials.

58. Secular and religious structures excavated at Nagarjunakonda

The historical period was significantly rich and a large number of religious and secular structures were excavated, amongst which mention may be made of a stadium, having the arena-space of about 90 x 70 metres with a flight of steps around and a pavilion for dignitaries on one side.

The stadium, which is the only one of its type excavated so far, appears to have been constructed under foreign inspiration and one wonders whether the Yavanas, who came to Western India in the first few centuries of the Christian era and many of whom were converts to Buddhism, had conceived its construction in limitation of the classical models known to them.

Be it as it may, we have one of the finest examples of a stadium giving us some insight into the life of the urban population of the capital of the Ikshvakus.

The masonry Ghat along the bank of Krishna river, the fortification wall and other edifices bespeak of the attainments of the people in town planning and architecture.

59. Antiquities found during excavations of Nagarjunakonda

The site has also yielded a large variety of objects of artistic merit, like sculptures and terrûcottas, relic caskets, jewellery, goldsmith's equipment including moulds, coins of Sātavāhana and Ikshvākus including two Roman aurei, one each of Tiberius (A.D. 16-37) and Faustina the Elder, mother-in-law of Marcus Aurelius and queen of Antonius Pius, issued after A.D. 141.

Alas! all these excavated remains will not be available in situ for the visitor to see and admire, since the water level in the dam will rise with the completion of the project and the ancient city Nāgārjuna will for ever remain under water like the cities of the Naga kings described in the Buddhist Jataks! Thanks to the imagination of a special expert committee and the skill of the men incharge of the excavation, the remains from the valley have been bodily shifted and rearranged, exactly as they were found, on a hill which will stand out as an island in the Nāgārjunasāgar. The artistic relics will also find a place in specially erected museum and models and structures of lesser importance, made to scale will be on view in the precincts of the museum to give an idea to the visitor of the glory that was Vijayapuri.

VI

CONCLUSION

60. The Painted Grey Ware Period

From the results of important archaeological excavations briefly summarised above it is possible to draw some broad conclusions. The beginning of the use of iron in India can now be pushed back to the close of the second millennium B.C., on the basis of the find of iron implements from the Painted Grey Ware deposit at Atranjikhera, carbon samples from which have also been subjected to C-14 test giving 1025 ± 125 B.C. as the probable date.

The distribution of the Painted Grey Ware over a vast stretch of territory covering Northern and Eastern Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and a part of Madhya Pradesh would suggest that a large part of Northern India with foci in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab formed a homogenous cultural unit. The limited variety of ceramic types, such as dishes, straightsided bowls would indicate a sort of semi-urban economy.

In the absence of horizontal excavations, it is not possible to have a clear idea of the way of life of these people. From all that is known it can be surmised that agriculture formed the back-bone of the economy of these people, which was supplemented by cattle breeding and hunting. This culture, which had a long life, underwent a rather revolutionary transformation in about 6th century B.C., when regional kingdoms, the sixteen Mahajanapadas were established in the whole of the Northern India slowly ushering the emergence of the imperial power of the Mauryas.

61. Organized political and economic life during the power of Mauryas

The power of the Mauryas brought about an organised political and economic life, the chief nallmark of which is the systematized coinage and a uniform script for almost the whole of India. Trade and commerce increased within the country and intercourse with the western world also received impetus. Fortified cities with a considerable urban population came to be established giving a sense of security and peace to the community.

The Northern Black Polished Ware, which is the diagnostic ware of this period has helped in the demarcation of areas of concentration and defusion of this culture. This pottery is abundantly found in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and the area near Rajgir, Patliputra, Rajghat, Kausambhi can be considered as the home of this ware, while the contiguous parts of the Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan are peripheral regions coming under its direct influence. The culture, however, also had a wider horizon as can be surmised from the sporadic finds of this ware at important trade and religious centres in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal.

62. The rise of Sunga and Satavahana powers in Northern India

The rise of the Sunga and Satavahana powers in Northern India and Deccan brought in a number of extraneous elements in Indian culture. The monumental architectural activity during this epoch envisaged a substantial surplus economy with a strong regional character. During this period, the Yavanas, Sakas and Pallavas who had made in-roads in India, were being absorbed in the local population. Inland commerce got a great boost and mention of several trade guilds is met with in the contemporary inscribed records. Coinage with mints at several centres became widely current, facilitating inland commercial transactions. Great Indian epics also took their form during this period. The period can be described as of opulence characterised by sustained activity on all fronts.

63. Gupta Period

The next period culminating with the rise of the Guptas was a period of great cultural forment and archaeology has been able to supplement and substantiate the vast literary data thereby adding flesh and form to the skeleton of facts. The story of the progress of man including his artistic endeavours has been vividly brought to light by the excavations of sites, such as Sarnath, Nalanda, Patliputra, Ahichchatra, Kausambhi etc. The golden coinage of Guptas, the decorated pottery, the folk art of terracotta production bespeak of the artistic prediliction of the royalty and the people at large.

64. Archaeology of medieval period

The archaeology of medieval period has not, however, attracted the attention it deserves from the archaeologists, for the obvious reason that literature and the standing monuments provide a fairly good idea of the attainments of the people. There are, however, several lacunae in our knowledge about details of day-to-day life of the people during this period and further work is called for.

65. The task ahead

The pattern of Indian culture as unfolded by archaeology, however is far from complete. More extensive and intensive work is necessary to find out the cultural pattern of the life of the people in the different periods. The technological advances made by man have also to be studied in greater detail. The spade has, therefore, to go into action in a more systematic manner. A planned programme in the field of Historical Archaeology, to fill in the gaps in our knowledge, is a great desideratum.

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ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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The amount of material published in the field of Ancient Indian Art & Architecture is so immense that no single person can or can even hope to compile a complete or a near-complete bibliographical account.. The fields are also now more and more specialised. What could be profitably done, therefore, was to take stock of the situation as far as the main trends and developments are concerned. Also useful would be a review of the progress made in the solution of some problems posed by previous researches.

I

BEFORE 1885

1. Scope of the present paper

This is not a bibliography of the papers and books published by various scholars.

The amount of material published in the field of Ancient Indian Art and Architecture is so immense that no single person can or can even hope to compile a complete or a near-complete bibliographical amount. The fields are also now more and more specialised. What could be profitably done, therefore, was to take stock of the situation as far as the main trends and developments are concerned. Also useful would be a review of the progress made in the solution of some problems posed by previous researches. The researches published till 1960 are generally taken note of, although in some places slightly later publications are referred to for their uncommon value.

2. Some important periodicals devoted to the subject

For detailed bibliographies the reader is referred to the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute of Leyden.[1] The latest discoveries are reported as usual in the mouthpiece of the Archaeological Survey of India viz. *Indian Archaeology — a Review*.[2] 'Half a dozen of the most important journals dealing with this subject could be mentioned in this connection. They are, Mārg[3] *East and West*,[4] *Lalit-kala*[5] *Roopalekha*,[6] *Artibus Asiae*[7] and *Art and Letters*.[8] In addition, periodicals published by various learned societies and some of the universities discuss from time to time the particular topics with which they happen to be dealing.

3. Contribution of Cunningham and Burgess

The year 1885 marks the end of an epoch as far as the field of archaeological investigations is concerned. This date has to be brought down, however, by some five years when one is speaking of the work in the direction of architecture and art. While the former date saw the departure from the scene of the truly titanic figure of Cunningham the latter marks the withdrawal from active service of James Burgess.

These two men had brought together an immense mass of information. It was promptly presented to the students in the form of a processed treatise or often as raw data. The volume of this work was so great indeed that the contention of Burgess that the Survey could be wound up within the foreseeable future seems to have come perilously close to reality. These two and their assistants like Beglar, Cousens, Rea, E. Smith, were responsible for detailed surveys of so many parts of India that one is tempted to say that this contention came not only from a very limited perspective of archaeology, but also from sheer ability.

That the task was far less easy was conclusively proved within lifetime of Burgess itself. He had to retire from service mainly because he had in arrears material worth twenty more volumes. He had to stop collecting more information about more topics, if he was to do justice to what he already had. An architect by profession and training, he had as much fascination for monuments as for other types of finished works—especially well-illustrated exhaustive studies.

Cunningham had certainly a wider notion about the content of archaeology, but to Burgess archaeology was but the history of art, and during his times architectural studies received greater attention than before.[19] He brought forth exhaustive volumes on the cave temples of Western India, the monuments of Ahmedabad, Amaravati, Bidar, Northern Gujarat, Ellura, Kacch and Kathiawar. Rea, Smith Beglar studied the monuments of Agra, Madras, Mathura and South India.

In fact a glimpse at the list of the publications[10] of these people leaves one wondering about the scope they left for future investigators. At least one of the most capable of these had to declare in exasperation, 'because of their finality those publications often tended to stiffle rather than to stimulate further researches in the particular paths trodden by their authors.'[11]

These fears, however, did not come true. People continued to exercise their minds over the fields and problems touched by these giants. A very brief outline of the achievements of these new students is presented below, and a comparison between their achievements and approaches is made at the end of the paper.

II

ARCHITECTURE

4. Studies pertaining to history of Architecture

It has already been noted that the survey and study of monuments of the past was a highly developed aspect of Indological studies during the last century. In the period under review, quite a good deal of work is done in various branches pertaining to the history of architecture. In continuation of the regular explorations of the earlier scholars, hitherto unknown areas were searched for the remains of ancient monuments. Some of the areas surveyed have proved to be extraordinarily rich in this respect, and helped materially towards the reconstruction of the history of architecture.

5. Some of the new sites of architectural remains

The thick jungles of Madhya Pradesh around Jhansi contained a number of temples, especially Jaina shrines dateable to the Gupta period.[12] Approximately of the same date are the temples from the border areas of Gujarat and Saurashtra. At Alampur,[13] in the Mehbubnagar district, was discovered an interesting group of temples nearly contemporary with or slightly later than the structural shrines at Badami and Pattadkal. Pallava rock-cut shrines have come to light through patient surveys.

In addition, individual temples of various dates and stylistic affinities have been brought to notice from time to time. Notices of these have appeared with more or less precise records in *Indian Archaeology—a Review.*

All these together have certainly added to the richness of our knowledge. The data available is abundant and is helpful in a greater elaboration of earlier conclusions.[14] However, he would be a bold man who would assert that the discoveries from surface explorations have revolutionized or materially altered the style-time concordance originally worked out by Fergusson[15] and later on elaborated by Percy Brown.[16]

6. Excavation of some Buddhist & Puranic sites

In another direction efforts have been much more rewarding. Well known Buddhist sites and Puranic places have been excavated. These certainly have materially added to our knowledge on the subject. Especially in respect of Buddhist architecture and sculpture the role played by excavations cannot be overestimated. The same is to a certain extent true of Kushana and Gupta art. Among these large-scale excavations could be counted the ones at Ahichchhatra, Nalanda, Nagarjunakonda, Paharpur, Rajgir, Rajghat, and Taxila.[17] These have uncovered a number of stupas, monasteries and temples, all dating back to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The whole complex of Buddhist monastic architecture has been brought to light only through this source e.g. the apsidal chattya halls, the spoke-wheel based stupas, the quadrangular viharas as at Amravati and Sanchi.

7. Defence arrangements of Ancient Indian cities

Also exposed by the excavations were defence arrangements in ancient Indian cities. It is highly interesting for the student of military architecture in India to note that not one major city of the ancient times is without the protective girdle of mud-brick, mud, or burnt-brick ramparts, in many cases complete with screened gateways, towers, with loopholes and moats. What a grim and strong aspect these fortified cities must have presented and how would it have fired the imagination of the poets and the artists! Indeed, till now our knowledge about them largely rested on depictions in sculpture or literary descriptions. The former were (especially at Sanchi) dismissed as continuation of foreign traditions whereas the latter were branded as results of idle imagination. The excavated remains of places mentioned above have proved that it was neither, that it was plain, simple truth.

8. Some important clearance operations

Somewhat less severe in procedure are what are known as clearance operations. These have exposed a number of rock-cut caves whose existence was either forgotten or not even suspected. In this category fall some caves at Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad and a number of rock-cut shrines of the Pallava period. The most significant, however, was the clearance of the Pitalkhora[18] caves in the Aurangabad district.

9. Changing trends of researches in architecture

All these, it might be emphasised once again, are an addition, in many cases substantial, to the data or information regarding the various styles and periods. They have, however, added little that is absolutely novel. It might thus appear that the value of all the discoveries in this field is of limited importance. But this belief is not entirely true. Researches in the field of Indian architecture have been, indeed, very much fruitful during the last seventy-five years. The only thing is that their direction has changed. It has taken a different turn, new dimensions have come into play. All this is quite in keeping with the logic of the development of these studies. A few aspects of vital importance may be noted here.

10. Percy Brown's architecture

Better understanding of the formal aspects of the structures, their sculptural depictions and so on is the most elementary field of study. Research in this field has led to a slight reshuffling in the chronology or the stylistic labels of some monuments. But a stage has now arrived where the formal aspects have been investigated and interpreted to a near maximum stage. Mention of the masterly work of Percy Brown[19] is inevitable in this context. Basing himself largely on Fergusson's[20] analysis, Brown has utilized all the new data that has been brought to light and rearranged the monuments and styles. He is thus able to show to a better degree than before the generic growth, a more logical picture of the rise and decline of the various styles and their idioms.

11. Contribution of Temple survey projects

The steps taken in the direction of advance are various. One of the most important of them is the Temple Survey Project. The Archaeological Survey has in operation for some years now a separate section known as the "Temple Survey". The sub-division of this project into northern and southern circles is quite significant in itself.

The work (of the Survey) is in progress for about a decade or more and the results till now achieved have been embodied in several monographs. One, by Krishna Deva,[21] deals with Khajuraho, while the Pallava temples and the rock-cut shrines of the Pallavas have received attention at the hands of K. R. Srinivasan.[22]

If the published works of the Survey are any indication of the work of the Survey, of its aims and objects, it seems that a major place is given to precise elaboration of the stylistic and chronological affinities of various monuments or groups of monuments.

The efforts made by the Superintendent of the Northern circle to identify the Pratihara style and its various ramifications, among the group till now passing under the general denomination 'Indo-Aryan' are most noticeable.

12. Problem of genesis of Hindu temple

So also the problem of the genesis of the Hindu temple, of the structural and formal aspects, seems to be receiving considerable attention. The early temples of Saurashtra, of North Gujarat and of South Deccan (Aihole, Badami and Pattadkal) have been inspected again and the tentative conclusions arrived at have been published in the following manner: "The study of the last named group of monuments (Aihole, Badami, Pattadkal) undertaken jointly with the Superintendent, Temple-Survey-Project, Southern Region, has provided evidence for the derivation of the Southern and Northern styles from common sources and the gradual crystallization of the peculiarities of the respective style in course of their diffusion through time and space".[23]

What are the factors that have helped the investigators to arrive at this conclusion has not been mentioned—the notice is too small to do it. The discussion could not, in fact, end here. If the origin of the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian styles is to be traced to a single ancestor, the causes of their division have to be made clear. Again, the fact is not without its significance that once the basic division occurred, each group developed its own idioms but retained its individual identity — there was no further fragmentation. It would have to be explained why the division through evolution froze at a particular point and did not go further — a logical thing to expect. The efforts of the Temple Survey might provide the answer to this and other ancillary questions.

13. Some important problems connected with formal aspect of architecture

Studies in the formal aspect of architecture have not solved all problems. Especially the question of the origin of the so-called original form of a temple structure has continued to elude the formalists.

Then there was the problem of uniformity so very apparent in Indian architectural tradition. Groups and sub-groups could be marked out but the feeling of continuity never disappeared. The only explanation could be tradition and that tradition too in a written, codified from. These treatises on architecture present numerous problems. In the first place, their exact meaning and connotation had to be properly understood. Then their dates had to be ascertained, and as a concomitant of this the later interpolations had to be marked off.

14. Researches in treatises of Ancient Indian architecture

The first exhaustive study based mainly on texts could be attributed to Acharya who edited and translated the *Śilpa-sāstra* of Mānasāra.[24] It its wake came several studies of different *Śilpla-sāstras* the most noteworthy in recent years being *Dipārṇavā* by Sompura.[25] Previous to these Ram Raz[26] had published a study of Hindu architecture based on texts and monuments.

Other texts of a regional nature or dealing with particular aspects have also been edited, to cite, the publication of a treatise on woodwork of the 13th century by P. Shah.[27]

These texts, valuable as they are, present certain problems to which scholars have not given attention that they deserve. The regional prevalence of a particular text, the likelihood of difference of regional connotations attached to various terms during various periods of time, all these are not given their due share of study and thought. The absence of linear drawings of definitions in detracts the value of a work that has something to do with a visual art. This fact is not properly appreciated. The time priority of practice and precept is not always properly understood. And lastly, the separation of the scientific principles and the religious injunctions has not been perfected. In many cases, instead of the former the latter aspect is given more prominence.

If only it is fully understood that in all ancient societies, everything from social and political organization to pure scientific knowledge required the sanction of religion if it had to attain any permanence or authority, the balance would be restored. The form certainly was that of a religious doctrine, but the substance was or could be scientific This realisation would bring the whole literature on this subject into sharp focus.

15. Correlation of Ancient texts and monuments

A much more revealing line of investigation would be that of a correlation of the texts and monuments. This was to be done without reference to the philosophy involved and had to refer mainly to the various structural and decorative features. Not much work is done in this sphere.

Dutt in his *Town Planning in Ancient India*[82] has made a full comparison of the textual prescriptions on the one hand and the actual remains of the olden cities on the other. Their relationship, if any, is slender, either because the texts present too idealistic a picture, or because successive rehabilitation and modification have altered the original plans of the towns beyond recognition.

The most recent, in respect of time and also in respect of trends of thinking, is the work on the ceilings of the temples of Gujarat by Dhaky and Nanavati.[29] Here, the authors have collected a large number of examples of sculptured ceilings from medieval temples, analysed them and explained them with reference to various texts *on Silpa-śāstra like Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtrashāra Pramāṇmañjari, Jayāprcchā Viśvakarmā Vāstśāstra.*[30] etc.

Texts have been used much earlier in dealing with architecture, the treatise by Kramrisch on the Hindu temple being one of the most important.[31] However, the approach there is highly subjective; its points of reference fall beyond the scope of art history proper. There is every reason to believe that this particular line of investigation, that of correlation of texts and monuments, would now attain more importance, thus bringing theory and practice together. This in its turn means a better understanding of Indian architecture.

16. Question of Foreign influences

The question of foreign relationships and influences still continues to exercise the minds of scholars. The attributions might vary in case of details, some figures or motifs, but their un-Indian character continues to be emphasised.

There developed in its wake, in the early decades of this century, a school of thought that would shun any idea of foreign contact or influence, but would put forth a sort of counter offensive. Either chronology could be altered or literature interpreted or philosophical aspects emphasised. Extremist tracts of little scholarly value found their way into respectable journals.[32]

But this was a temporary reaction and today the general writings are much more balanced, non-partisan. The realisation that foreign motifs have been transmuted and assimilated, some times beyond recognition, in better artistic forms has been a stabilising factor. Here one cannot help stating that Smith's[33] views on this question happen to be the most balanced even after so much fresh ground has been broken.

17. Some Ancillary Studies

All these relate basically to the origin, growth and decline of various architectural forms. Some studies that might be called ancillary have also come forth. Instead of drawing conclusions about itself, but about the cultural conditions in which it had its about architecture, they glean information from architecture, not origin and growth. The studies are by no means novel. Nalanda,[34] Taxila[35] all have received their fair share of attention.

A recent and very interesting study comes from Sarkar[36] on the excavated remains of Nagarjunakonda. The author has demonstrated how the sectarian and ritual characteristics of the various Buddhists sects that made Nagarjunakonda their home, are faithfully reflected in several excavated structures. The Mahāsāṅghika have left their mark as indelibly on the place as have the Aparamahavina-seliyas.

18. Researches in domestic architecture

Domestic architecture is more prominent because of the relatively small attention paid to it. Original specimens are certainly non-existent, either because of destruction following every political and military victory, or because of the fragile nature of the materials used. In any case, the result remains tthe same. Alternatively textual descriptions or excavated remains might be expected to fill in the gap. Depictions in sculpture and—paintings would be yet another source.

All these sources have been tapped severally. Ajanta[37] paintings have been analysed. Nagarjunakonda[38] has been studied, whereas Sanchi sculptures are receiving attention in a monograph that is in press.[39] Works by Agrawal[40] like *Harshcharita* or by Puri[41] like *India in the times of Patanjali* have taken note of whatever information on this topic could be gleaned from these books. Mujumdar[42] in *Indian Culture* has elucidated a number of details. Sankalia[43] in his "Houses and Habitations through the Ages" has collected and correlated much information from excavations.

However, with all these, no comprehensive picture of the domestic architecture in ancient and medieval India has emerged.

19. Researches in Military architecture

About military architecture,[44] which was an important feature of the ancient Indian landscape, nothing expect the sketchy idea as gained from the excavations noted above and those in Ujjain, Sisupalgarh etc., is to be had. Certain sculptural representations like those at Sanchi do indicate the general aspect whereas the texts on Silpa-sastras or texts like *Arthasastra* give valuable information on the science of military engineering. Here also no complete study exists so far.

III

SCULPTURE

20. Research publications and papers on sculpture

The amount of research papers and publications on sculpture would easily sink into insignificance that about the other branches of art. From the point of view of substantial or significant contributions to the entire field of the study of Indian sculpture upto the end of the first millennium A.D., only a part of this literature could be really useful, at least for the purpose of this review.

21. Main divisions of research publications on sculpture

The entire literature on this subject could be divided into some broad groups. The first one concerns itself with the philosophical or iconographical aspects of sculpture. In this class fall the writings of authors like Kramrisch, Coomaraswamy, Zimmer, Havell and others. Also pertinent in this context are some papers by Leyden, Sarasvati, Moti Chandra.

More especially the recent work of Alice Boner[45] could not be ignored at all. This work is worthy of an independent and detailed review for its own sake. Unlike other authors who have approached the questions of form and substance with a certain bias in favour of either, Boner takes a very balanced stand and seeks for a coordinated understanding of these two elements with reference to Indian sculpture.

Another group mainly consists of notices of sculptures and images till now not known. As a corollary to the notice which is the chief object of these papers, their place in stylistic and chronological order is discussed, often ably. The articles and papers by among others, R. C. Agarwal happen to belong to this category. He has brought to notice a very large number of plastic works, especially from south-east Rajasthan. Notices pure and simple have always found their place in Annual Reports or Journals generally treating Indology or Archaeology.

The third group rests largely on the second. It is a more critical examination of various pieces of sculptures, attempts to fit those pieces in the stylistic and chronological picture already there;

but manly aims at introducing certain changes or improvements in the suggestions already made in this respect.

It might be pointed out here that the papers or books of such a nature are rather few. All these aspects were discussed in detail by the earlier authors and discoverers who have introduced and finalised the scheme of art history we know today.

The fourth group of papers consist of very elaborate studies, mainly based on inscriptional references, dated images or minor stylistic differences. All these chiefly aim at rearrangements and modifications in particular 'period' or 'school' groups. As an elaboration and through elaboration an exactitude of knowledge, these papers serve an important purpose.

The last group consists of general surveys of the entire range or particular periods or particular styles of sculpture. These present a *resumé*, as it were, of the knowledge till then accumulated. Many of these are more noteworthy on account of the pictorial or photographic representations, the size and quality of which is often remarkable.

22. Scope of the present review

The above mentioned varieties or groups of papers and publications have certainly a value of their own and a role of their own to play. However, from the point of view of the present brief review, it becomes rather necessary to have some preferences. And that preference would fall on two groups alone. The first one, viz. the interpretative literature and the third one that discusses the broad questions of stylistic evolution and affinities, could be discussed here. Others could not be. These other groups may alter and improve the scheme of things in one particular period—group or style-group, but would have no serious repercussions on the broader aspects. Hence these groups have not been taken note of here.

23. Smith's 'History of Fine art'—a starting point

What has been indicated in connection with architecture happens to be pertinent in connection with sculpture also. Smith's review of Indian art, especially Indian sculpture, in his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* is extremely important here. For it can be treated as a fairly representative exposition of the facts and views as existing at the beginning of this century, which might be roughly approximated to the beginning of the period under review.

The list of what he knew or had guessed on the basis of the information then available, would be a very interesting reading. The question of protohistoric terracottas or statues of the Indus Valley Culture did not arise at all, since they were at that time unknown.

Next come the Mauryan antiquities; their Persepolitan affinities were by then well recognized, the only possibility which is of a newer nature is the existence of pre-Ashokan pillars and capitals of Rupnath, Sasarm and Sankisa.[46] Their pre-Ashokan date might indicate an indigenous origin as distinct from Persian, especially in respect of their symbolism. It could be countered however, that they also copied from prototypes that were much earlier, although the full impact of Achemenian art was felt only under Ashoka.

Granting the indigenous origin of these pillars serves no useful purpose at all for in some other respects, evidence has come to light confirming the Persian affinities. The excavations at Pataliputra have revealed a hypostyle hall of great dimensions and it is suggested that this might be the hall of Pataliputra which Megasthenes had described and which reminded him of Susa.[47] So that the Achemenian element still persists.

Coming down from the post-Mauryan period, the art of the Sungas and Kushanas were also known and appreciated. So also was the school of Gandhara. The latter school had received much more attention at Smith's hands for obvious reasons, and he has indicated clearly that apart from a diluted Classical Greek; Roman, Romano-Coptic and slight Alexandrian elements could also be perceived in this art and in some of the aspects of the Mathura sculpture. His concept of the relations between the Gandhara and the Sunga or Mathura schools have of course been revised in recent years, how and why to be noted later.

Sanchi, Amaravati were known and appreciated, so also Nagarjunakonda. Gupta art and the later schools like the Pala, Sena, etc. were treated by him pretty exhaustively. The Pallavas and Cholas have also received due credit, though it is not possible to say that the possibilities of the situation and recognition of separate school bearing these titles had occurred to him.

24. Some important general surveys of sculpture from formal and stylistic angle

Leaving this work, one comes to a very recent survey by an equally knowledgeable person, and is surprised to find that the amount of fresh knowledge is of such a limited nature.

Goetz,[48] following the now common custom, cites the Indus pieces as the early examples of Indian plastic art. The next phase is Mauryan, afterwards Gandhara, Mathura, Andhra or Satavahana, Gupta and so forth. Additions in information by way of discoveries of statues around Patna, Rajasthan etc. do not alter the picture materially. His suggestions regarding Roman influence had been anticipated by Smith the only point of difference being that Goetz's suggestions are more pointed mainly due to the discovery of Roman and Roman Alexandrian objects in the excavations at several sites in the Deccan and some other places like Begram.

The work of Sarasvati[49] is a business-like survey and is not only a logical and up-to-date arrangement of information, but also matters pertaining to foreign influences, symbolism, the influences of Indian spiritualism and so on. It might be stated that this book looks like a slightly compressed and very dilute version of Kramrisch's[50] arguments, with the addition of a few details here and there.

The work by Sivaramamurti[51] has stretched the idea to its logical extreme and he has assigned a separate style, if not a style a school, and if not a school, at least an idiom to practically every important dynasty that ruled over parts of India. These are general surveys, taken by people who mainly rely on the formal and stylistic aspects of the subject matter.

25. Contribution of Havell, Coomaraswamy

In between these works and to a certain extent along with them, come works by a separate school of authors consisting mainly of Havell,[52] Coomaraswamy,[53] Kramrisch,[54] Zimmer[55] and a host of others. The latter often lack the deep perception and keen sensitiveness of these stalwarts and their works therefore happen to be full of cliches and phrases, in place and out.

Leaving these inferior attempts aside, the contributions of this school have a sterling value. For, although they have not been able to change chronological or stylistic grouping or revise in its entirety the relationships so long postulated, they have definitely explained why Indian sculpture is Indian. In other words, these authors have shown that although the process of the spread and borrowing of ideas, motifs and influences was quite an important active factor in the moulding of Indian art, the aspect of their assimilation or Indianisation is all important in any discussion.

It is due to the efforts of these people that today one knows that Indian sculpture is not a mere assemblage of plastic elements derived from various sources, foreign as well as indigenous but that it is a complete entity in itself. This has been fashioned out of numerous elements but following certain principles and ideals that are thoroughly Indian, having their roots in Indian tradition and thought. This particular aspect is in many cases overemphasised. But the overall effect is healthy. The main contribution of this school is that it has lifted the investigations from the field of pure form and taken it to the plane of the consideration of substance.

It has been shown that the Indian ideal of beauty was quite different than the one entertained by the Occident. It has treated any objects as beautiful only if it expresses a sublime conception, irrespective of such technical aspects as relief, proportion, frontality and so on. These points are elaborated in detail at a later stage in this paper.

26. Mention of individual sculptures

It was a fashion only a few years ago to state that the artist or sculptor in India preferred to remain incognito. However, as more epigraphic evidence has become available, it is now known that he was not of so self-effacing a nature. Like artists all over the world, he liked to, in fact was eager to, claim credit for whatever his handiwork was. Not only that but literary and inscriptional records show that often he was egostic to the hilt, and tried to outdo his father or teacher in the profession.

A very exhaustive analysis of this information is made by Sivaramamurti.[50] Utilizing epigraphic, literary and stylistic evidence from all over India, he has shown that the artists were aware of their 'selves' from early periods. The Śunga period has left a few names of sculptors on the pieces they carved. One such name comes from one of the most celebrated pieces they had carved, viz. the Yaksha from Parkham near Mathura. It was the handiwork of one Gomitra, a pupil of *Kuṇika*. Then onwards, a number of other names belonging to various regions and periods have been recorded.

Sivaramamurti has also noted scenes depicting a studio where a sculptor is busy with his chisel, while his pupils are observing his methods.

The existence of guilds in various trades is well known. The same was true of art. Especially in the field of architecture and sculpture, several guilds find mention in inscriptions.

All this information imparts a new life to the study of Indian art. Previously it was treated as something impersonal; flowing, flourishing and growing without reference to any person or individual. The account by Sivaramamurti helps in dispelling this idea at least in part. 'In part' because the number of such mentions is comparatively small. .

But there is every likelihood of a growth in the amount of information of such nature. This is a clearly interesting field of research, for it is going to show how, even in a tradition-bound society individuals could impress the stamp of their personality on works of art.

27. Researches in Portrait Sculpture

This concept of the self-effacive or impersonal nature of Indian art had found an echo in another direction. It was at one time thought that portrait sculpture was not common in Indian art. The earliest sculptures in the Deccan, those of the Nanaghat reliefs are portrait sculptures and to clinch the issue labels have been added to them. The Pallava monuments have preserved such portrayals. Late works in Rajputana have numerous portrait studies, especially from Nagari.

A comprehensive study of portrayal through stone as practised in South India, especially in the late mediaeval period, comes from Arvamuthan.[57] His period falls out of the scope of this review, but his approach and the direction he has given is pertinent to our period also.

However, whether all these were portraits in the real sense of the term or were idealised or generalised human forms has not become clear. In other words, whether there are likenesses of a person is not clear.

Until then, Coomaraswamy's dictum that the traditional conception of ideal portraiture envisaged 'a distinction between the looking glass image and the veritable spiritual essence of the man' would stand. He further informs that this distinction has been enunciated by the *Chandogya-Upanishad* (VIII 8.5).[58] Investigations in this respect would help much to bring out the man as an individual into something which is a human creation.

28. Researches in Polychrome sculptures

That sculptures were painted over with colours in Ancient and Mediaeval India is widely known. All books on sculpture and many on paintings also refer to the existence of this practice. The Śilpa-Śāstras give details of the colours and their iconographic significance.

Some papers have brought to light such information as the pigments used in ancient times, their various uses and textual prescriptions regarding them.[59] However, it is rather surprising to note that hardly any writer has dealt with the aesthetics of painting the sculptures. It is the belief of the present author that the entire aspect of a piece of sculpture created with polychrome paintings is vastly different than that of monochrome pieces. And since our analysis of Indian plastic art is based on sculptures in monochrome, their colour having been washed off through time and weather, our conclusions are likely to be fallacious. They are based on insufficient data. Any idea of the aesthetics of sculpture could be had only if they were studied in their original form, polychrome, painted statutory. No student has taken note of this aspect.

29. Summary of researches of period under review

To sum up, the data available is enriched through explorations and excavations, but not to such a degree as to alter the basic framework already known. The contributions of this age are a realisation of the proper importance of the multifarious forces and factors that have moulded Indian sculpture, that have made it Indian.

IV

TERRACOTTA

30. Researches in Terracotta objects

Objects of clay — burnt clay, either hand-made or prepared from moulds go under the common denomination of terracottas, irrespective of their purpose or period. These represent an extremely interesting phase of the plastic art of India. The subject matter treated here is of a wide variety and the range of the chronological and geographical distribution is wider still. In terms of artistic merit, all stages, from objects of the crudest workmanship to those of the most refined craftmanship and taste are available. As far as their interpretation is concerned, however, the study is not quite satisfactory. It cannot be said that the significance of some of the more important varieties has become clear, even after all these years. Since there is no single work except Das Gupta's[60] (which is out of date today) a gist of the information gathered during all these years has been given below.

31. Sites where Terracotta objects are found

Although terracotta objects were found from the protohistoric cultures of Jhob, Kulli and almost all the Indus Culture sites, and although terracotta objects represent to a great degree the plastic art of those cultures, large quantities of terracottas have come out from the excavated sites in the Gangetic planes like Ahichchhatra, Kosam, Mathura, Patna and Rajghat (Varanasi). Bengal has yielded large quantities of terracottas, the ones from Chandraketugarh being most noteworthy. The Indo-Greek or Gandhara centres like Taxila have to offer their own share in this field. Of all these, especially from the Gangetic planes and Bengal have been assigned to, from the late Mauryan to the Gupta period, mainly on stratigraphic and stylistic grounds. The largest, most varied and artistic concentration being described to the Sunga period.

32. The Gandhara Terracottas

The Gandhara terracottas mainly consist of pieces of Buddhist images and due to their artistic affinities form a separate group by themselves. Their complete treatment is to be found in the reports of the excavations at Taxila, and also in the notices of discoveries appearing in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. The objects going back to the protohistoric period and the early historic period could be grouped as follows:

1. *Bird or animal figurines*, either having some religious significance as in the case of the bull, or toys like whirls fashioned after the shape of an animal or bird, or toys like horse-carts etc.
2. *Toys* like carts.
3. *Human beings*, male or female, images, multiheaded cult objects represented singly.
4. *Mithuna plaques* of all types, representing couples in various postures, pairs standing near each other, in various attitudes of dalliance to intricate erotic postures. Some plaques represent mythological or day to day life scenes.
5. *Moulded bricks*, representing various scenes, mythological and secular, meant to decorate brick structures. These are mostly assigned to the Gupta period, some as at Devnimori in Gujarat go back to the Kushana times also.

33. Mode of production

Most of the objects of the early historic period were fashioned out of moulds, but very few moulds have been discovered yet. These objects were treated with monochrome with slip and wash or were painted over with a brush in a highly realistic manner. In addition to colour, especially in the protohistoric period, methods of decorating like pinching, incising of applique were used.

34. Terracottas representing Mother goddess

These objects have been studied from various angles. Some of the more common and important lines of investigation are indicated here.

The objects like the full breasted and broad-hipped 'mother-goddess' had an unmistakable connection and cultural connotation.[61] They were the local representatives of the mother-goddess cult prevalent throughout the ancient world. Most of the Indian examples come from the protohistoric cultures. Some of the more noteworthy forms being accurately dated to about the middle of the second millennium B.C. come from the Chalcolithic levels at Nevasa[62] and Chandoli.[63] Especially the one from Nevasa is the most primitive, yet the most eloquent statement of the theme.

35. Terracottas for decoration of walls

As indicated earlier, the use of terracotta for the decoration of walls, mainly of brick structures was quite well established in various regions of this subcontinent. Amongst these, those from Central India and Bengal are the more well known. All these generally belonged to the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods, that is, from about 450 A.D. to 900 A.D. Some good specimens are recently discovered from Devnimori and they are dated to the Kushana period.

The temples at Bhitargaon, those at Ter and Chezrala and the one at Paharpur are known for quite some time, especially the terracotta plaques from the last named place have formed an interesting group. Other centres like Nagari in Rajasthan had also utilised moulded brick decorations on a large scale. A late comer in this group is Kashmir with its later Gandhara (6th-7th cent.) Buddhist establishments.

36. Contribution of Fabri to Terracotta researches

Taxila had already given terracottas but there stucco predominated as at other Gandhara centres. Ushkar or Baramula and Akhnur have yielded large amount of terracottas.

Fabri,[64] who was mainly responsible for the proper appreciation of these terracottas gives their stylistic and chronological place in Indian art. Artistically they represent, according to him, the baroque style characterized by accentuation of all the features organic and decorative. In terms of technique the Akhnur terracottas confirm what Taxila had indicated. The temples of Central India and the Gangetic basin used moulded bricks. First they were moulded then fired and then placed in the wall. In the case of the Kashmir examples, the method is reminiscent of the stucco workers. Here the entire surface forming one frieze, is patted out in wet clay, complete in all details, against the rubble or brick wall and then it was fired *in situ.* It thus is a school of terracotta production artistically and technically independent of other Indian traditions. The date assigned to this school by Fabri is the first part of the eighth century.

37. Objects like votive tanks and lamps

Some of the other objects like the votive tanks and lamps, the origin of which could be traced to West Asia or even to the region around the Mediterranean have served as excellent reference points.

38. Figurines and plaques

The figurines and plaques have been treated as a source of information regarding ancient costumes, coiffure and ornaments prevalent. The wealth of these details is astounding in the terracottas of the Sunga period. These plaques and especially the moulded bricks represent religious or mythological scenes and as such are a source material.

Apart from these inferences from the objects, inferences about the objects themselves, their styles, method of manufacture, periods etc. have of course received close attention from students. It may not be too much to say that it was this aspect to which more attention was paid. The relation of terracottas with sculpture and with the evolution of the various plastic arts has also been studied.

39. Study of Terracottas from Ahichchhatra

The study of the terracottas from the excavations at Ahichchhatra[65] could certainly be considered as a really all round and near complete examination in all respects. Its classification is such as would be applicable to any future study and it has taken into consideration all the aspects, stylistic, chronological, religious, artistic, social, that the terracottas represent. Till now this is the only exhaustive study of terracottas. Literature on this subject consists of notices of discoveries through exploration or excavation. These are published in the *ASI-AR* or *IA-R*, or in journals connected with archaeology or art.

40. Difficulties in the study of Terracottas

However, it would be pertinent to point out here a difficulty in the study of the terracottas. Almost all the terracottas have come out from regular excavations and as such they are in the custody of the various institutions, departments or authorities who had conducted the excavations. It is an unfortunate fact that in India it has not been possible for exhaustive excavation reports to keep pace with the excavations themselves. Hence an immense amount of material, including terracottas remains idle, unstudied and unknown. A still more pernicious thing is that very few museum authorities are really willing to throw open their doors to outside students who could study and deal with the material. And for whatever reasons, the museums themselves, as pointed out earlier, do not produce much by way of studies. The author of this review had an occasion to visit some museums recently and the terracotta collection with some of them is of astonishing wealth and value.

Of the numerous aspects noteworthy in this regard is the rich collection of Sunga plaques depicting erotic scenes. Their bearing on the larger question of Indian erotic sculpture has not been noticed in any appreciable degree.[66] This is of course one aspect, may be one of the most important ones, on which terracottas could throw fresh light. It could be said in conclusion that neither in the field of data nor in the field of interpretation is our knowledge of Indian terracottas complete.

V

EROTIC SCULPTURE

41. Riddle of Erotic sculpture

Erotic sculpture on many of the temples of our country was too conspicuous to escape notice of the early students. Fergusson and others did notice them but avoided any descriptions, not to speak of illustrations. As late as 1910 Smith[67] merely mentioned that there were some very obscene sculptured representations on the walls of the temples at Khajuraho and Konarka.

The attitude of the scholars in the thirties was not much different. Mehta, discussing the miniature paintings using the Radha-Krishna motif as a symbol remarks, 'No amount of symbolic interpretation can explain away the amazing grossness of the sculptured walls of Khajuraho or Bhubaneshvar temples and the unabashed pornography of the so-called pictures of Kamasutra . . . !' His further comment might stand to reason even today, after all the explanations and justifications that have been put forth. 'But symbolism which rests on fundamentally incorrect and what are generally considered immoral relations is dangerous for the masses, the men of flesh and blood, and no amount of esoteric explanation or philosophic interpretation will diminish the quantum of blame attached to this pernicious doctrine so far as its grosser results in art, literature and in the life of the people are concerned'.[68]

This attitude is today branded as 'prudery'. Denunciation of any opinion with which one does not agree as "outmoded' or 'old fashioned' is quite common. But it does not touch the heart of the matter. Anyway, we do not any longer remain prudes. We enjoy the display of the frank statement of sexual relations in these sculptures, and claim to have understood the underlying philosophy.

42. Hypothesis of Alain Danielou

This intellectual fashion or movement of interpretation of erotic sculpture has come into its own mainly during the last twenty years or so. A practically complete discussion has been published by Mārg in Volume 2 (1948).[69] In this article, the author Alain Danielou has discussed all the possibilities of the situation. Starting with the idea that the union of a man and a woman represents the symbol of creation, he comes down to the probability that these sculptures might have been intended to attract the attention of the non-pious. Within this span of a sublime metaphysical concept on the one hand, and a very practical worldly consideration on the other, Danielou presents a series of hypotheses. All of these he presents as tentative explanations, there is nothing dogmatic about it. It would not be far off the mark to say that all that has appeared afterwards is more or less an elaboration of one or another of his suggestions.[70]

43. One more Hypothesis

The idea that they were an expression of the feelings or the mental attitudes of a debaucherous feudal society is not accepted by most of the scholars, although the necessary preconditions for such an artistic outburst certainly do exist in a feudal society.[71]

44. Comparison with Ancient Mediterranean erotic art

More important still is an exposition of the common points and contradictions between the ancient Mediterranean and Indian erotic art, that Julius Evola[72] gives in *East and West.* In addition to India the author has taken into account products from the Far Eastern countries also. The whole of the ancient 'Fertile Cresent' of course, is in the picture. Thus the erotic symbolism would stand out to be a common heritage of this ancient culture. The emphasis might change but the basic concept remains constant. If later philosophical encrustations are removed the core might still have some common characteristics of that older lineage.

The difference in chronology between the Egyptian or other early civilization is considerably reduced when one takes into consideration a rather late discovery. That discovery, as is pointed out earlier, is that of the vast amount of Sunga terracotta plaques bearing erotic scenes. If they are properly interpreted the whole sequence would be clear, and the present element of conjecture or guesswork in our explanations would be reduced greatly.

45. Explanations still unsatisfactory

As it stands today, the explanations are not fully satisfactory. For, they fail to explain the widespread occurrence of such sculptures and also their huge chronological span. Then they do not show why the sculptures that Fouchet describes as a crude parade of eroticism came into existence at all. 'Copulation, sodomy, fellatio, fondling and titillation are elaborated in a frieze of carnal pleasure, a gallery of pleasures, a triumphant orgy'.[73] Various scenes showing animals enjoying themselves also occur.

All this leads to the inevitable conclusion that our explanations are insufficient. That in turn seems to be due to non-appreciation of all the data available, our attention being mainly focussed on the more artistic pieces. The works today available are more literary than investigative. A change in the latter direction might bring full knowledge.

VI

METAL SCULPTURE

46. Problems of researches in metal sculpture

The word 'bronzes' is used rather indiscriminately and hence the term 'metal sculpture' as suggested by Kar,[74] is adopted here as being more appropriate. The story of the study of metal sculpture has several turns and twists not found in the case of many other objects because of their nature.

Most of these pieces have long back left their original or intended homes and have involuntarily chosen habitats not very much to their taste. These are sometimes spotlessly clean, airy, spacious museums, but very often the dingy cells of some antique dealer. Unless the images are very lucky they may not see the light of public notice ever again. Since metal sculpture was generally of smaller size and as such very much portable, (indeed, it was meant to be so), it could be transported easily. Ancient literature contains reference to life size metal images, but most of the surviving specimens are much smaller, barring some from South India.

These travels of the images had a twofold effect. In the first place their discovery became a matter of pure chance. Knowledge about them was at the mercy of some jealous individual. Systematic data collection was not quite easy in these circumstances. Secondly, the images were torn from their ritual and geographical context and so their interpretation became rather difficult. And hence exact knowledge of one of the arts in which Indian craftsmen had achieved great proficiency from very early times was sketchy and shaky.

47. Chief sources of research

Excavations as at Taxila[75] or chance discoveries of hoards as at Sirpur and the very recent ones at Akota or patient search of some museums and private collections became a source of our knowledge. Images preserved as in the case of South India in the various temples was another source. In spite of all this one cannot assert that everything worth knowing is known.

48. Instances of metal sculpture in India

Instances of metal sculpture in India go back to very ancient times. Leaving aside the bronze dancing girls from Mohenjo-daro, the gold repousse from Lauriah, the Siva-Parvati plaque from Kukrihar (Pataliputra) and probably the Parshvanath in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay all go back to the Mauryan; and post-Mauryan periods. The first to the fourth centuries find representation in the Taxila (Gandhara) and Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) metal objects. Both these have been adjudged to have drawn their inspiration and even techniques from foreign lands, they might be of foreign workmanship even.

From the Gupta period onwards the sequence of development is continuous, with a probable break (at least for North India) between the Gupta period and the beginning of the Pala-Sena supremacy.' Henceforth, the entire continent was continuously producing metal images of various sizes and religious denominations. In the North the art came to a sudden end due to Islamic conquest, though it continues to flourish in Nepal till today; whereas South India reaches new heights in this art in the late medieval period.

Thus the entire range of metal sculpture is divided into so many schools, Gupta (A.D. 450-600), Pala-Sena (A.D. 750-1000), and Nepal and Tibet, contemporarily with the Pala-Sena school. This is for North India. For the South, some pieces have been recently recognised as Andhra, 'on stylistic grounds', which at present seem to be meagre. And in the same vain Badami Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Later Chalukyas all have got credit. Whether it is chronological or stylistic is really obscure. Pallavas, Cholas and the later dynasties together, (Hoyasalas, Yadavas and Vijayanagar) were individually responsible for encouragement of this art and the development of separate idioms.

49. Some important contributions to metal sculpture research

The most precise exposition in respect of chronology, techniques, schools etc. till then known has been made by Kar in his small but valuable work on Indian metal sculpture. Metal sculpture from South India has received attention from Gangoly[77] and very recently from Sivaramamurti.[78] A brief overall survey has been taken by Thapar.[79]

50. Researches in Jain metal sculpture by Shah

Among the more noteworthy studies during the last decade, that is those that follow chronologically Kar and Gangoly, are to be counted the ones connected with the metal sculpture of Western India and of Brahmapuri. The first comes mainly through the efforts of Shah. Starting from some pieces in the Prince of Wales Museum, he has discovered a large number of Jaina metal images from Vasantgarh and Akota.[80] Although previously some bronzes[81] had been noted from these regions, nothing in the nature of a separate school or idiom had been recognised.

The sequence Shah has built covers a span of nearly eight hundred years from A.D. 450 to AD. 1200. There are two points in this study that deserve mention. The so-called Western India School is for all practical purposes a Jaina School. A vast majority of images presented by Shah are of Jains faith. Other varieties like dipalakshmis, incense-burners etc. are extremely few in number. This leaves one wondering why a geographical denomination is used when the existing facts enable us to give a more precise term 'Jaina School of metal sculpture in Western India.' The non-inclusion of any Buddhist or Brahmanical or secular bronzes would justify this suggestion.

Another interesting fact is that the references to the Gurjara-Pratihar influence or the Gupta influence, are vauge; there is no indication as to the precise characteristcs of these. It is a defect common to all our discussions on art and aesthetics, one chooses to be ambiguous rather than precise.

Shah's study gives an excellent summary of metal sculpture of North India from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. and he has also presented in a very copious manner all sorts of literary evidence—references to metal works in literature as such as well as works on metal sculpture. Sarasvati's was a similar attempt antedating Shah's.

51. Hoard of bronzes at Brahmapuri

Khaṇdalavala[82] discusses a large hoard of bronzes from Brahmapuri in Kolhapur. A figure of Posedian was excavated and identified by Sankalia as far as 1952.[83] The hoard is of a multifarious nature, consisting of pots, tools, statuettes and so on. All these are of Roman or Mediterranian origin. Roman influence on early Andhra art, at least Roman contact is now a well established fact. Apart from the re-examination of the excavated evidence from Kolhapur, and a detailed study of Roman antiquities with reference to original Roman works the paper does not elaborate any points that would indicate Roman influence on Indian art in general.

52. Summary of metal sculpture research

A score of articles by way of notices of pieces of metal sculptures of iconographic import or in the nature of portrait sculpture appears in the art journals mentioned earlier. None of these, however, has such significance as to introduce a new trend or alter the direction of the existing ones. To sum up, the most important aspects of the study of metal sculpture are the elaboration of the schools, idioms etc. of the Deccan and Western and Southern India.

VII

PAINTING

53. New trends in researches in Indian painting

Painting is the one topic which had not received much attention from the nineteenth century scholars. And hence a good deal by way of new discoveries has come about after 1875. Once it was realised that a great artistic tradition existed in India, the attempts at filling in the gaps were intensively undertaken. As a result it is now possible to narrate a near-continuous story of painting on this sub-continent.

54. Some important paintings from ancient times

The earliest remains of paintings from the historical period come from the rock-cut shrine at Bhaja. Almost all the Buddhist chaityas and probably viharas in the Western Ghats were also painted. The earliest of the Ajanta caves bear traces of paintings. All these could be dated back to the first century B.C. These paintings depict the Jataka stories, and technically and stylistically are the precursors of the highly refined products of the Gupta-Vakataka age. These latter treat the same subject matter, but with due regard to the changes that had by then come about in Buddhist iconography, especially with the predominance of the Mahayana sect. A gap of about two to three hundred years is discernible between the Satavahana and the Vakataka paintings at Ajanta. Paintings have been noted in the Bagh caves in Central India, and also some caves in Saurashtra.

55. Paintings at Ellora

As in tihe case of architecture, Ellora carried forward the tradition of Ajanta regarding painting also. Pieces of painted plaster, in some cases superimposed, have been noted in the Kailas[84] temple and also in some of the Jaina temples there. The discoverer feels that although the technique is the same, the skill and imagination of these artists was far inferior in order. The point he wanted to emphasize was that there was a continuity of tradition, quality apart.

56. Paintings at western three Chalukyan centres

Contemporary to these are the various structural and rock-cut monuments of the three Western Chalukyan centres of Aihole, Badami[85] and Pattadkal. At the second, viz. Badami, paintings were noticed in Cave III that was excavated in 578 A.D. These are presumably the earliest Brahmanical paintings so far noted. Especially a scene depicting the betrothal of Siva and Parvati, is quite well known.

57. Paintings of Pallava period

The paintings in the cave temples at Sittanavasal were noted as far back as 1923.[86] According to the first notices, their technical processes were similar to those adopted at Ajanta. A very recent paper in *Lalit Kala* makes an appraisal of their aesthetic merits.[87] Other places like Tirumalaipuram and Kanchipuram preserve fragments contemporary to the ones at Sittanavasal, and all of these belong to the Pallava period. A connected account of the Chola[88] paintings has also been published. Unlike the Ajanta paintings these are executed in the tempera process.

58. Paintings belonging to 8th century and later

Fragments of 8th century paintings existing in the Travancore area, indicate, according to the discoverer a subtle Chinese or Javanese influence.[89] Tanjore has preserved some paintings but neither as flowery as at Ajanta nor as technically perfect. It is likely that the next evidence is to be found in palm-leaf illustrations rather than in architectural context. The palm-leaf illustrations come mainly from Gujarat and Bengal, especially under the Palas in the case of the latter.

It can be deduced from actual evidence of the paintings as well as from the literary or textual references, that colour formed a very important aspect of structural ornamentation and also that it mostly took the form of mural paintings as at Ajanta.

59. Some important researches regarding subject matter, style etc.

Apart from the discoveries of paintings of various periods, papers about their subject-matter, their techniques styles, etc., have come forth in substantial numbers. Of these, apart from the large number of paper published in *JISOA* or Mārg and *Roopa-Lekha*, some books could be mentioned as important.

Brown[90] has given a short but really exhaustive account of Indian painting. Havell[91] has his own contribution to make especially regarding the various conventions followed by the artists as well as the symbolism implied in their work. Kramrisch[92] has established a cogent picture of the development of art in the Deccan. The credit for reproducing most faithfully and with annotations the Ajanta frescos goes to Yazdani.[93] A more recent survey of Indian painting comes from Rawson.[94]

60. Studies of culture as depicted in ancient Indian paintings

The handiwork of the painter has received attention not only on account of their aesthetic value, not only from the place they hold in the field of the history of art in India, but also as a very good source of information that would enable one to reconstruct the culture of the societies in which they grew. The paintings, at least at Ajanta, are not portrait paintings, that is their scope is not limited. They are narrative paintings and as such contain numerous details. Each picture is in fact an encyclopaedia of information regarding the material culture of contemporary society. As early as 1930 Codrington had classified certain information. But the studies were by no means exhaustive. Some topical studies like the women of the Ajanta cave paintings had also come forth. Very recently Dhavalikar has critically analised the entire Ajanta material.[95]

A large number of commercial publications on this subject could be omitted although some of them are quite well known and well produced.

VIII

ROCK PAINTINGS

61. Significance of Indian Rock paintings

Rock paintings represent the more sophisticated versions of the art of the painter. There is an aspect which is more primitive. Rock paintings generally fall within the sphere of the prehistorian rather than that of the art historian. They are usually treated as yet another aspect of the remains of prehistoric man, significant for tracing the various phases of the development of his culture.

However, they cannot be ignored by any one interested in art, if art means expression through significant form. May be, the means at the disposal of the artists and the techniques they have adopted are crude. All the same they remain visual expressions of human ideas and thoughts. Secondly, Indian rock paintings range over a period of nearly three thousand years or more, starting with neolithic and coming down to a date that is more or less contemporary or even later than the Ajanta paintings.

62. Some important sites of Indian rock paintings

Active interest and conscious attempts at the discovery and interpretation of rock shelters and paintings are not a very old phenomenon. In fact, rock paintings by themselves attracted attention of the scholars only during the last decade or so. Previous to that, they were taken note of by students of prehistory as one of the several factors of their investigation about prehistoric culture.

The Kaimur range, the Mirzapur area and the area round the Pachmarhi hills were known for the occurrence of rock shelters with paintings in them, from the early years of this century.[96] Chance discoveries continued to be made till some twenty-five years ago, particular regions of this subcontinent could be easily marked off as the areas most likely to bear paintings.

In terms of states or provinces, the following could be mentioned: Andhra, Bihar, Karnatak, Madhya-Pradesh, Punjab, Orissa, Sind and Uttar Pradesh. In addition to the cultural context in which they have been found, the geology of these regions is not without its significance. The hills in these areas are susceptible to wind action leading to the formation of natural crevices and shelters with over hanging roofs.

63. Rock paintings at Hoshangabad-Pachmarhi region

Of all the areas, the Hoshangabad-Pachmarhi region has attained great importance today, on account of the attention scholars have devoted to it, as also the importance the entire valley has achieved in the field of prehistoric researches.

64. Rock paintings at Raichur-Bellary region

Lately, there are indications that the Raichur—Bellary region of the Andhra and Mysore states may attain more importance. This is mainly due to certain factors. In the first place more and more of them are being brought to light and secondly there is a yet undefined association of these paintings with the South-Deccan Neolithic cultures. So also there is a greater technical variety in tthe Raichur—Bellary area.

65. Some important researches in rock paintings

These paintings pose a number of problems and perhaps their most comprehensive study has come forth from Gordon.[97] His earlier discoveries and observations are, so to say, rounded off in the chapter on rock paintings in his work on Indian prehistory. Earlier authors to dwell upon this subject at any length were Ghosh[98] and Mitra,[99] notices of discoveries being published by the discoverers from time to time. In very recent years investigators from Madhya Pradesh area, especially from Saugar, have undertaken a good deal of field studies. Pande and Varma may bring forth some studies in the next year or two.

66. Contribution of Wakankar

Amongst the recent workers in this field, the most noteworthy however, is Wakankar of Ujjain. Wakankar is an artist by profession and an archaeologist by interest. He has not only been responsible for the discovery of a large number of rock shelters, but has also copied and recorded most of the paintings in these shelters. The most important aspect of his work however, is the excavation he had undertaken on behalf of the Madhya Pradesh Government at the site of Modi.[100] Here a painted rock shelter, or rather the debris in the rock shelter were systematically excavated. His conclusions have been recently published.

The paintings are of various types, from highly stylized to completely realistic. They have, at least in the later periods used a variety of colours, although in the earlier phases white and red ochre predominated.

67. Researches in rock engravings

Apart from paintings proper, engravings are a common phenomenon, especially in the Indus region, as also the Bellary area. About the appearance of these two varieties, Gordon says, 'Rock engravings are on the whole much more widespread than rock paintings. With very few exceptions the paintings are all in the rock shelters, and where there are no such shelters, they are unlikely to be found. Engravings on the other hand appear on any smooth rock surface and it is likely that they will be found eventually in most of the regions.'[101] A milder variety of these engravings is what are now known as bruisings.

68. Subject matter of rock paintings

All these, whether paintings, bruisings or engravings present a highly varied array of subject matter. Animals, animal hunts, dancing parties, sophisticated processions with caparisoned and bedecked horses, warriors with bows and arrows and harpoons and spears, in some cases even erotic scenes or rather abduction scenes have found a place in these paintings. A large variety of unrecognised symbols also occur.

Apart from the style and the super-imposition of various layers of paintings, the material equipment represented in the paintings is a factor in determining the dates and the cultural levels of the authors of these paintings. Gordon has laid a good deal of emphasis on this aspect and Wakankar also treats it as a major factor.

69. Chronology of Indian rock paintings

The rock paintings of the Mahadeo hills of Madhya Pradesh have been used as a representative phenomenon and Gordon treats them as a criterion or a point of reference in relation to which other paintings were to be examined, classified and dated. He ascribes 700 B.C. as the earliest date. With reference to the painting of a rhinoceros hunt, in the Ghormanpur Cave, the date given is 800—500 B.C.

For the bruisings and paintings in the Raichur-Bellary area, a general date of the first millennium B.C. is given, mainly on the basis of the neolithic association of these rock shelters.[102] It has been pointed out by him that the later superimpositions depicting highly sophisticated cultural stages may reach upto the tenth century A.D.

Wakankar,[103] however, has tried to establish about 1500 B.C. as the date of the earliest paintings of the Modi range. The basis of this dating is some similarity between the paintings of the rocks and the motifs on Chalcolithic pottery excavated from these shelters. Whether such a correlation could be established from the point of view of the science of pottery and also from the point of view of the development of art, is a factor of some doubt. The present author feels that this brings together two different traditions, a thing which is not scientific. However, the solution would become more and more apparent when further researches in this direction are carried out. An excavation undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India near the Adamgarh hills does not seem to have been useful in this direction.[104]

70. Purposes behind rock paintings

The author of this note had an opportunity of seeing some rock bruisings in the Bellary region and some of them are surprising specimens of the facility of line and sense of composition they display. They certainly have an aesthetic value of their own. This brings in the next question about their purpose. Whereas the earlier authors chose to ascribe, even for European paintings spiritual or sorcorial motives, today it is out of fashion to say. so. Gordon declares unequivocally, 'only a few of them had the slightest religious significance'.[105] But is not able to give any other hypothesis of his own, except a suggestion, more implicit than explicit, that the aim was recreation through painting.

Here again Wakankar and others might add something after their investigations of the M.P. hill shelters are complete. Till that time the question remains open.

IX

INDUS VALLEY CULTURE ART

71. Literature regarding Indus valley, architecture

The discovery of the Indus Valley Culture is an entirely twentieth century phenomenon. As such its detailed notice would not have been quiet out of place here. However, most of the materials pertaining to this ancient civilization is now so well known that there is no point in repeating it.[106]

Most of the literature and the researches that have appeared in this respect concern themselves with the origin, decline and the date of the Harappan culture. Very little that is really new in respect of the architectural remains or the plastic art of the complex has come forth.

The well planned cities of the Harappans have very little new to offer except Wheeler's discovery of the ramparts at Harappa.[107]

It has given one more link in the eventual chain of connection that might be established with other ancient civilizations.

The other discovery comes from Saurashtra. At Lothal the Archaeological Survey of India under Rao has been able to unearth a huge brick platform and enclosure. The descriptions of the dockyard as appearing in *Indian Archaeology — a Review*, from year to year are piecemeal and a much more complete description has appeared in *Lalit Kala* from Rao himself.[108]

72. Researches in plastic art of Indus valley culture

About the plastic art a few pieces like the statues of the bearded figure, the copper dancing girl, the armless torso in limestone, the various terracotta and steatite seals, the figures, etc., are quite famous. It is claimed often that these pieces do not belong to the Indus culture proper, but come from later debris of some Indo-Greek colonies on these spots. The badly muddled stratigraphy of most of the early Indus excavations helped these arguments a great deal.

Gordon[109] has claimed in his recent study of prehistoric India that the statues are Greek or Indo-Greek in origin. It was pointed out to this author by an eminent scholar, however, that there is no parallel to the detachable limbs of the Indus statues in the entire range of Indo-Greek works. Secondly, nothing that could connect these pieces with the Indo-Greek period stratigraphically has been found at any of these sites.

73. Connection of Indus valley art with Indian plastic art

The attempt to bring in Indus culture plastic art into the discussion of the evolution of Indian plastic art are unscientific.[110] They impart a wrong notion about the continuity of tradition, whereas there is a distinct, well-recognized break of more than a thousand years between the Indus Culture and the Early Historic cultures. To imply that Indus art is the earliest phase of Indian art is misleading, it is an Early Art in itself. And hence its separate discussion here.

X

THEORY OF ART

74. Earlier views regarding Aesthetics of Indian architectural monuments

After having surveyed rather briefly the researches or the progress in the understanding, that these studies have brought out, a topic which embraces all these, has to be taken note of. As objects that had a utility and also were beautiful, that is, as artistic objects and creations, the architectural monuments, sculptured pieces or the paintings were appreciated from the point of view of art. Whether they were beautiful or not, was the first and basically important question.

The answer to this query that the pioneer students gave was clear enough. Ancient art in India was not artistic or beautiful. Not only that it was not beautiful but it was grotesque and often monstrous. In no case Indian art could be admitted to the exclusive circle of the world's 'Fine Arts', it was more a craft, an applied craft or art.

This was the view prevailing at the beginning of our period. In addition whatever had any clamins to beauty, was often borrowed from foreign lands, Rome, Persia or West Asia in general. These were the views of the Western students and the Indians who had received Western education. This wholesale condemnation was bound to touch off a strong reaction.

75. Formation of theory of art applicable to Indian art

For a long time this remained a reaction only, replying to this or that specific criticism. But it was soon realised that the whole intellectual, philosophical background from which Indian art has sprung is immensely different from that of the West. It was not only a conflict between the modern and the ancient but also between the Occident and the Orient. Works of art brought out in accordance with ancient Oriental formulae could not be properly appreciated, still less judged with reference to Western standards.

This realisation led to the formulation of a theory of art applicable to Indian art. In other words, a search was made for those principles or standards with reference to which Indian art could be judged. This means we have to know those concepts and precepts that governed the ancient artists. Indian principles of art had to be discovered or rather re-discovered.

76. Contributions of Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch and Havell

The most mature statement of this theory comes from Coomaraswamy, although the parts played by Havell and Kramrisch are by no means insignificant. It has to be made clear at the outset that Islamic art in India is excluded from the application of this theory.

77. Theories of art evolved by Indian school

Indian artists did not copy or imitate natural forms in their handiwork. This was true even of portraits. '. . . realism which is in the nature of imitation of an actual object actually seen at the time of painting is quite antipathetic to imagination and finds no place in the ideal of Indian art'. '. . . for he desired to suggest the Ideal behind sensuous appearance, not to give detail of seeming reality, that was in truth but Maya—illusion'.

'In purely Hindu art and religious art, however, even portraits are felt to be lesser art than the purely ideal and abstract representations'. 'It is beauty of type, impersonal, aloof'. 'The conscious aim of Indian art is the portrayal of Divinity.' Object and aim of Indian is thus representation of the absolute reality or Brahman as contrasted to Maya, illusion.

However, this representation has certain limitations. It could be done in certain forms with which the artist is acquainted. How is this transition achieved? How could abstract and purely ideal things be expressed in concrete (all the same illusive) forms? 'In art practice, the artist is asked to become one with the object to be portrayed in a self-induced state of trance. It is then that the image of the deity appears as a reflection in his mind, conditioned by those forms and canons which the artist already knows by experience.' 'The artist sits in meditation and purges his mind of all disturbing elements and concentrates like a yogin on the subject of his creation. The result of such concentration is that his mind leaves the world of forms and soars high in the world of the formless. When the mind is thus merged in the formless, the impregnated desire of creating forms, draws spontaneously from out of the formless, the desired form, the deity associated with its articular posture, gesture, colour and his whole mind becomes suffused as it were with the radiant form of the deity'.

Thus the journey from the ideal of beauty to the actual realisation of a piece of art is completed. It penetrates the outer realism of forms, goes beyond into the essential truth, which is divinity itself and from there again comes back with a form. This form does not approximate to the seeming reality or objects as seen from day to day, but is an idealised form.

As in sculpture it reveals the living force, the transcendental reality; in the case of architecture it is the symbol of the Universe, of the cosmic design. How could the objects or artistic creations be judged? 'It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of Gods. To make human figures is wrong, even unholy... One may, for instance, depict the sport of Krishna with the Gopis but it must be represented in spirit of religious idealism, not for the sake of sensuous imagery itself.... In India also, the work of Ravi Varma whose gods and heroes are but men cast in a very common mould is unholy as compared with the ideal pictures of Tagore'. Nothing that is unholy could be beautiful.[111]

Moreover, its beauty is not to be judged by the external visual effect it creates, but it has to be perceived by going beyond the exterior and realising its true symbolism.

For the benefit of the future generations and the unenlightened in contemporary societies the ancients have embodied in textual prescriptions and idealised representations their definitions of what was beautiful. If an object conforms to any of these or both, it could be pronounced as beautiful. Conformity or otherwise to tradition becomes the criterion for assessing the beauty and artistic merits of an object.

This would be a rather rough and ready summary of the theory evolved by the Indian school. It has to be admitted that it does not present all the finer points made out in the writings of these scholars, so also it has to be pointed out that there are minor variations in the emphasis laid by the several authors, but generally this is the line of thought.

78. Points of criticism against Indian theory of art

The points of criticism against this theory are now few. However, many of them are directed against the various corrolaries flowing from this theory rather than the main body of the argument. In the first place, utilization of idealised forms is not a thing peculiar to Indian art alone, most of the art traditions of the world do have some sort of symbolism or idealised forms. In Indian art tradition, the basis of this idealisation is not the perfect specimen of the particular type, as in Greek or European art in general, but it is the reflection of the inner qualities of soul in particular that has been responsible for the idealised form.

The whole line of reasoning adopted could be understood, as Leyden[112] has aptly pointed, only if one is well versed in Indian Philosophy. In other words, it shifts the discussion from the plane of art criticism based on formal considerations and takes it to the sphere of metaphysics. In the case of the former, a logical sequence with reference to forms, periods, styles etc. could be traced; in the latter, their place is taken by revelation.

Secondly, the idealised forms may not be the results of divine revelation, but of a very close observation of nature, and by a strict process of elimination of the unessentials and the addition of the essentials these ideal forms could have been arrived at. In addition, the outright negation of what is called Maya or external appearance, removes the whole process of observation, understanding and learning by experience from an important human activity. And that is something fallacious, underestimating the various powers of the human being.[113]

79. Rediscovery of Indian principles of art

The main contention of the Indian school is that it has served as a corrective to the earlier criticism and given impetus to the rediscovery of Indian principles of art.

80. Summary of researches in the field of Art & architecture

To sum up, a few trends in the methods and in the conclusions, could be pointed out as the contribution of the last seventy years. An important source of knowledge, excavations, is now open to investigators in this field. With new methods bringing more and more accuracy in the dating of the excavations, the question of relative chronology of styles would be simplified.

Secondly, architecture, sculpture etc. no longer remain curios, they are being interpreted as the expressions of the culture of the societies producing them.

Thirdly the relationship of ancient texts and the actual works of art is being investigated.

Lastly comes the important development—the evolution of a theory of Indian art, in other words, a basis is being created for the proper appreciation of that art.

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EPIGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

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It is not only political history that epigraphical research has benefited. It has been of a great use for the history of religion, literature and art. It was from the pillar of Heliodorus at Besnagar that we came to know of the conversion of a Greek to the Bhagavata sect. Epigraphical research is thus an unfailing guide in determining the evolution of religion, literature and art.

I

PROLOGUE

1. Itihasa-Purana Fifth Veda in ancient times

Itihāsa (history) was regarded in ancient times as a subject of study of as great an importance as the Vedas themselves. In fact it was venerated as the fifth Veda, the knowledge of which was indispensable for the correct understanding of the four Vedas.[1] When Nārada was asked by Sanatkumāra what he had studied, he told him that he had studied the four Vedas viz., the *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda,* together with the fifth which was the most important of all the Vedas viz., the Itihāsa-Purāṇa.[2] The name itihāsa of a branch of literature occurs in very early Vedic works such as the *Atharvaveda,*[3] the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[4], the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[5] and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*[6] There was a School of Vedic Interpretation called the Aitihāsika School, which explained the Vedic mantras in the light of past history. in his *Nirukta,* Yāska cites in some places the Itihāsa relevant to the Ṛgvedic mantra under discussion.[7]

2. Some important historical works

The type of historical works written in ancient times is illustrated by the Epic *Mahābhārata* which is described as the Itihāsa named *Jaya,*[8] as it described the victory of the Pāṇḍavas over the Kauravas. Genealogies of dynasties were preserved by the Paurāṇikas, who incorporated them under Vaṁś-ānucarita in their Purāṇas. These include the lists of many historical families such as the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Andhras (or the Sātavāhanas etc., who ruled in India till the close of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.[9] But these lists do not give any information about these kings except their reign-periods and their order of succession.

3. Importance of Epigraphical records

There is an almost total lack of historical works in Sanskrit, the only exception being the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. This want is to a certain extent supplied by the numerous epigraphical documents discovered in all parts of India during the last two centuries and interpreted by the devoted labours of scholars, Indian and foreign.

II

DECIPHERMENT OF ANCIENT SCRIPTS

4. Dilemma of decipherment of Epigraphical data

Many of the available epigraphical records are in the form of copper-plate grants. Some sanskrit works such as the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (II, 318-320) give details about the forms of such grants. Still, during the five or six centuries that had elapsed after the fall of the last Hindu kingdoms, people had forgotten all about these grants and very few could decipher even the latest of them.

When Feroz Shah Tughlaq brought with herculean effort the **Aśokan** pillars from Topra and Meerut and erected them in Delhi, none could decipher the edicts of the great Buddhist Emperor incised on them. Akbar also was curious to know what was written on these pillars, but none among the scholars whom he invited to decipher the writing could satisfy his curiosity.

5. Some early attempts of decipherment

With the formation of the Asiatic Society in 1788, an impetus was given to the discovery and collection of records as was the case in other branches of Indology. In the very first Volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, which was the journal of the Society, the Thana plates of the **Śilāhāra** prince Arikesarin were translated by General Carnac from the transcript made and explained by one Ramalochan Pandit.(10) As the inscription on these plates was in later **Nāgarī** characters, it did not present any insuperable difficulty in decipherment. But earlier inscriptions written in **Brāhmī** and Gupta characters were found very difficult to read.

6. Contribution of Jain Munis.

Still, there were a few scholars especially among the Jaina Munis, who had knowledge of some of these early characters. Vol. XV of the *Asiatic Researches* contains an interesting account of the decipherment of the Rajim plates of **Tīvaradeva** which are written in box-headed characters. These plates were sent by Richard Jenkins, British Resident at the court of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, to the Asiatic Society for decipherment; for none of the Pandits whom he consulted could make any thing of them. They were equally unintelligible to the Pandits of Calcutta, but they were read by a Jaina Muni named **Śrī Varma Sūri** 'who had long been engaged in deciphering the inscriptions of the Deccan'. He was asked to read the record on two occasions, separated by an interval of more than two months. 'As he accomplished this task with perfect readiness and without the least deviation from his (previous) **Devanāgarī** version, little doubt could be entertained about his being really acquainted with the characters.[11]' The plates were later translated by H. H. Wilson and published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.

7. Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar's contribution

Another similar instance is that of Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar. He was in the service of Richard Jenkins, who asked him to tour in Chhattisgadh and decipher the inscriptions found there. From the account given by Aurangabadkar, Jenkins supplied 'a Memorandum of inscriptions found engraved on stones in Chhattisgher' to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which is published in Vol. XV of the *Asiatic Researches*.[12] Aurangabadkar's report in Modi characters is still preserved in the India Office Library, from which Prof. Randle supplied me some extracts many years ago for my Kalachuri Volume. From them I found that Aurangabadkar had deciphered fairly correctly the inscription of Bhavadeva **Raṇakesarin**, which was found at Arang in the Raipur District. This inscription is written in the so-called **kuṭila** or acute-angled characters. It is creditable to Aurangabadkar that he could decipher so correctly this inscription of about the seventh century A.D.[13]

8. Decipherment of Gupta script

The Gupta script which was current earlier by about three centuries, could not, however, be deciphered so easily. In 1785

J. H. Harrington discovered the Nagarjuni and Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions of the Maukhari king Anantavarman, but he could not succeed in reading them. They were later read by Charles Wilkins, who laboured on them between 1785 and 1789. These inscriptions are written in the later Gupta script. Wilkins succeeded in reading nearly half the letters of the Gupta script.

The first attempt to read the early Gupta script was that of Troyer, who read part of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta in 1834. The inscription was read fully by Mill later in 1837. Thereafter Prinsep read a number of Gupta records existing at Delhi, Kahaum, Eran and Girnar, and thus prepared a complete Gupta alphabet.

9. Decipherment of Brahmi script

The **Brāhmī** script, which was current much earlier than the age of the Guptas, was still undeciphered. In 1836 Lassen deciphered the name of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles on his bilingual coins.

But the whole alphabet was first deciphered by James Prinsep in 1837-38. He compared the script of the **Aśokan** edicts on several pillars, and thus determined several letters and signs of medial vowels. He next collected the impressions on the **stūpas** at Sanchi and noticed that most of them ended in three identical letters. By a happy conjecture he concluded that the first might be the Genitive affix *sa* and the last two the word *dānaṁ* (meaning 'a gift'). With the recognition of these three letters the decipherment of the **Brāhmī** alphabet was complete.[14]

Since then six more letters have been read by some other scholars like Cunningham, **Bühler**, Senart, and Hoernle. **Bühler** finally published a complete and scientific table of the **Brāhmī** alphabet.

With the complete decipherment of the **Brāhmī** alphabet, the progress in the reading of later scripts such as acute-angled, box-headed, proto-Bengali, **Śāradā** etc. was rapid. It has now been proved that all these scripts current in India as well as those in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, and South-east Asia are ultimately derived from **Brāhmī**.

10. Decipherment of Kharosthi script

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet was deciphered with the help of the bilingual coins. Col. Mason was the first to notice that these coins have the same names and titles of the Indo-Greek kings on their two sides — in Greek on the observe, and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. Mason communicated his discovery to Prinsep, who with its help succeeded in reading the names of as many as twelve kings. Further progress in the decipherment of this script was made with the discovery of the Shahabaz-gaḍhī version of Aśoka's edicts.[15] The Kharoṣṭhī script is, however, imperfect and often elusive, which accounts for the different readings of the same letters given by scholars.

11. Some comprehensive publications dealing with Indian Palaeography

A comprehensive work dealing with the various matters concerning Indian palaeography was published by G. Bühler under the title *Indische Palaeographie* as Part II of Vol I, of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research). An English translation of this work was later brought out by Fleet as an Appendix to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII. In 1918 G. H. Ojha published a similar work in Hindi. Both these works contain illustrative plates.

Recently R. B. Pandey and Sivaramamurti have published their works on palaeography. Pandey's work, of which only the first part has so far been published, discusses general problems connected with the subject such as the origin of the scripts, writing material, types of records, mode of dating, eras used etc. Sivaramamurti's work deals mainly with South-Indian scripts, but he has traced the development of the letters of the alphabet both in North and South India through the centuries.

12. Scripts of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa

In 1922 R. D. Banerji discovered certain strange seals at Mohenjo Daro, the like of which Cunningham had previously found at Harappa in the Panjab. This led to the discovery of the prehistoric sites of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, where excavations carried on from 1920 onwards have revealed the remains of a culture which is generally regarded as pre-Aryan. The seals discovered at various sites such as Harappa, Mohenjo Daro, Lothal etc. contain brief inscriptions which have so far defied all attempts at interpretation.

Several theories about their script have been put forward by Pran Nath, Heras etc., but none has as yet succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of them. The most comprehensive analysis of them is that contained in G. R. Hunter's *Script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and its Connection with other Scripts.* Hunter considered the script to be proto-Brāhmī.

III

ABUNDANCE OF INSCRIPTIONS

13. Some important lists of Indian inscriptions

Epigraphic records are the most authoritative and abundant source of ancient Indian history. They are more authoritative than any other source because they are contemporary documents and as their object was not to record history they are generally free from bias. They are more abundant than any other source.

Nearly twenty-five years ago when D. R. Bhandarkar made a list of till then known inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 200, they numbered more than two thousand. Several more have been discovered since then. As regards inscriptions of South India, their number is legion. In view of their vast number it was found necessary to establish a separate branch of South Indian Epigraphy to deal with them. Lüders *List of Brāhmī inscriptions* published as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia India*, Vol. X (in 1909-10) contains 1353 inscriptions. Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of South India* from about A.D. 500 contains more than 1020 entries. A more comprehensive list of South Indian Inscriptions was brought out by R. Sewell and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in 1932.

14. Publications of inscriptions in various journals

At first, inscriptions were published with eye-copies in research journals such as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, that of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Indian Antiquary*. It was soon realised that eye-copies were not reliable. It was therefore considered necessary that all editions of inscriptions should be accompanied by facsimile plates in order that 'scholars who cannot examine the original records themselves may, nevertheless, be in a position to check the published results'.

15. Publication of 'Epigraphica Indica'

It was also realised that there should be an authoritative journal solely devoted to the publication of epigraphic material. So the wellknown journal *Epigraphia Indica* was started in 1892 under the editorship of a Government Epigraphist, specially appointed for the purpose with his office at Ootacamund. Till now as many as thirty-four volumes of this journal have been published. The records published in this journal are edited with meticulous care by eminent epigraphists, and are illustrated with facsimile plates not worked up by hand. Hundreds of inscriptions have till now been published in a reliable form in this journal. They have given a fillip to the study of ancient Indian history.

IV

COLLECTIONS OF INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions of different dynasties are scattered in the volumes of different research journals, since they are published as they are discovered from time to time. For their systematic study, however, scholars require all records of a particular king, dynasty or province collected together.

16. Appearance of 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

As early as 1837 James Prinsep pointed out the need of such systematically arranged epigraphical material. He also suggested the name which the collections of epigraphical material should bear viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Collection of Indian Inscriptions).

17. Dr. Fleet's collection of Gupta inscriptions

The first volume of this Series was published in 1837 by Alexander Cunningham. It contained the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka. They were illustrated with only eye-copies of the records. The next volume of this Series to be published was Vol. III, which came out in 1888. Fleet, who was Collector in the Revenue Department of the Bombay Presidency, was placed on special duty for about 3 years and 6 months, and was sent to England to get the facsimile plates of the inscriptions prepared. Fleet's Volume contains a lengthy introduction detailing various attempts made by scholars to determine the exact epoch of the Gupta era. With the help of the newly discovered Mandasor inscription of V. S. 529, he succeeded in fixing the epoch of the era as Chaitra Su. di. 1 in A.D. 319.

Fleet could not, however, write the historical chapters which were to form the second part of the Volume, as he was called back to official duties before he could take up that work. In the Preface to his Volume he wrote, "And the writing of the Historical Chapters will entail so enormous an amount of miscellaneous reading and annotation for the purpose of tracing to their origin, in order to explain and completely refute all erroneous theories, in every connected line of inquiry, which have been started during the last fifty years in order to support any epoch rather than the correct one, that having again to give all my principal attention to the ordinary duties of official life in the Revenue Department, I doubt much whether these chapters will ever be written by me." And, as a matter of fact, Fleet did not write these chapters in his life time.

18. Other volumes of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

Vol. II of the Series was split into several parts, of which Part I, containing Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (with the exception of those of Aśoka) was published by Sten Konow in 1929. Part II, which was to contain Brāhmī inscriptions, was entrusted to Dr. Lüders, but he died during the Second World War, before he could submit his work for publication. His papers also were scattered in the bombing of the place where he lived. Some papers containing his editions of the Brāhmī inscriptions from Bharnut were collected by his student Waldschmidt, who has since revised them with the help of M. A. Mehendale. They will soon be published as Part II of Vol. II of the *C.I.I.*

In the meantime new editions of Vols. I and III were found necessary. Vol. I (second edition) containing the inscriptions of

Aśoka was edited by Hultzsch and was published in 1925. The revised edition of Vol. III was entrusted to D. R. Bhandarkar in 1935. He handed over his typescript of it to the Archaeological Department just before his sad demise in 1950. It is still unpublished. It is now being revised by B. Ch. Chhabra.

19. Inscriptions of Kalachuri-Cedi and Vakatakas dynasties

Vol. IV of the Series containing inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Cedi era was entrusted to me by the Archaeological Department in 1935. After working on it for nine years, I handed over my typescript of it to the Department in 1944, but it could not be taken up for printing immediately on account of the Second World War prevailing at the time. It was ultimately published in 1955.

Another volume of the same Series (viz. Vol. V) containing the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas was also edited by me and will soon be published by the Department. Sixteen more Volumes containing the inscriptions of several dynasties of ancient India were planned by the Department, and were entrusted to different scholars more than twelve years ago, but none of them has yet been published or even prepared for publication.

V

INDIAN ERAS

20. The Vikrama Era

An important feature of the epigraphic records of ancient India is that many of them are dated in some era or other. The epochs of the eras must be known for determining the exact dates of these records.

Two of these eras viz. the Vikrama and the **Śālivāhana** are still current, and so their epochs are known, but the circumstances that led to their foundation are still uncertain.

What we now call the Vikrama *Saṁvat* was originally called Kṛta. Different views are held about its founder; for in the first century B.C., when it commenced, there was no king named

Vikramāditya anywhere in India: Some scholars ascribe its foundation to Azes I and some others to Vonones. No satisfactory explanation of its early name **Kṛta** is yet forthcoming. It was, however, in early times, associated with the **Mālavas** and it is not unlikely that it commemorates some brilliant victory of that **gaṇa,** which issued also its coins with the legend. **'Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ'.**

21. Salivahana or Saka era

As regards the **Śālivāhana** era, it is now proved beyond doubt that its earlier name was the **Śaka** era or the era of the **Śaka** kings and that it was probably started by the **Kuṣāna Emperor Kaniṣka.** It became known as the **Śaka** era, because it was used for a long time by the **Śaka** Satraps of Malwa and Kathiawad. It disappeared from North India in the fourth century A.D. Its later dates are found in the records of the Early **Cālukyas** of Badami.

How it migrated to the South was a mystery which was solved, when I published some coins of the **Śaka king Māna** more than fifteen years ago. This king was related to **Nahapāna,** the **Śaka** Satrap of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Konkan, the device on whose coins he imitates. He or his ancestors must have moved to the South when **Nahapāna** was vanquished by **Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Māna** seems to have had a large kingdom comprising the Southern parts of the former Hyderabad State and the adjoining **Kannaḍa** districts. He is one of the few kings mentioned in the **Purāṇas.** The **Śaka** era spread in the South with the extension of his power. So we find it used in the records of the Early **Cālukyas** of Badami, who rose to power in the **Kannaḍa** districts. When the Early **Cālukyas** extended their rule to Maharashtra, Kalinga and Andhra, the **Śaka** era followed suit.[16]

22. The Kalacuri-Cedi Era

As early as 1859 Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, while editing some inscriptions in the old Central Provinces, found that they were dated in an era which commenced in *circa* A.D. 250. This was confirmed later by Cunningham, who showed that some dates in the Kalacuri inscriptions appeared quite regular with that epoch. In the meanwhile, some grants of the Gurjara, **Cālukyas** and **Traikūṭaka** princes were discovered in Gujarat, in which the same era was found used. Bhagwanlal Indraji gave it the name of the **Traikūtaka** era on the evidence of the Kanheri plate dated in the year 245. He also suggested that it was started by the **Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta** who flourished about the **Śaka** year 170, and issued coins dated in the first and second years of his reign.

In 1888, Kielhorn examined twelve dates of the era, and showed that the era must have started on **Bhādrapada śu.** di. 1 in A.D. 249. Later, he changed his view slightly and suggested that it must have commenced on **Āsvina śu.** di. 1 in A.D. 248.

In 1905 Fleet showed that the evidence of the Kanheri plate did not substantiate the view that the era bore the name of the **Traikūtakas.** R. C. Majumdar ascribed its foundation to **Kaniṣka,** but this view did not receive any support from others.

K. P. Jayaswal thought that it was started by the **Vākāṭaka** Pravarasena I, but this view is disproved by the fact that the **Vākāṭakas** themselves never used it in their records which they invariably dated in regnal years.

In 1937, I showed from an examination of thirteen dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time that the **Kalacuri-Cedi** era could not have commenced in **Āśvina** but must have begun on some day between **Āśvina śu.** di. 15 and **Phālguna** va. di. 7, and so it appeared probably that like the Southern Vikrama year, the Cedi year commenced on **Kārttika Śu. di. I.**

It was also shown from an examination of all the discovered dates of the era that in Gujarat and Maharashtra, where it was current at first, its epoch was A.D. 248-49, but in North India and Chhattisgadh, where it was introduced by the Kalacuris in a later age, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones, and so the epoch applicable to the dates from these parts of the country is A.D. 247-48.

I showed also that the founder of the era was probably the **Ābhīra** king **Īśvarasena** (to be distinguished from the **Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta**), whose inscription is found in one of the Nasik caves. All these questions have been discussed in detail in the Introduction to *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. i-xxx.

23. The Gupta Era

The problem of the commencement of the Gupta era was discussed by scholars for full fifty years from 1838, when James Prinsep edited the Kahaum pillar inscription, to 1888, when Fleet published his *C.I.I.,* Vol. III, in which he edited the newly discovered Mandasor inscription dated in V. S. 529.

Scholars were divided into two schools. The first school headed by J. Fergusson held that the Gupta era commenced in A.D. 318 on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king or from any particular event, but was simply regulated by the completion of four of the sixty-year cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the **Śaka** era. The second school, relying on Alberuni's statement that the era was established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power, placed its commencement in an earlier age. According to E. Thomas, it was identical with the **Śaka** era with the epoch of A.D. 77-78; according to Cunningham, its epoch was A.D. 166-67; while according to Clive Bayley, it was A.D. 190-91.

Fleet examined all these theories at great length in the Introduction to his Volume of Gupta inscriptions, and showed on the evidence of his newly discovered Mandasor inscription that (i) any statement by Alberuni that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319 must certainly be wrong and (ii) the epoch of the Gupta era must be taken to be A.D. 319-20. He also concluded that the arrangement of the fortnights of the Gupta era was the **pūrṇimānta** northern system. He discussed the question of the origin of the era, and came to the conclusion that the so-called Gupta era was a Licchavi era, dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Licchavis was abolished in favour of a monarchy or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadeva I as the founder of a royal house that had settled in Nepal. In the calculations necessary for determining the epoch of the Gupta era Fleet was ably assisted by the Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, whom he has thanked in the Preface.

According to the epoch fixed by Fleet, most of the dates of the Gupta era would be in current years. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, pointed out that the Hindus' usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'.[17] This view was accepted by Kielhorn, who revised his epoch of the Kalachuri era in its light. So the epoch of the Gupta era should be A.D. 318-19 for a current year and A.D. 319-20 for an expired year.

The question of the epoch of the Gupta era was re-examined by K. B. Pathak in the light of the evidence furnished by Jaina tradition. He supported the view of R. G. Bhandarkar.[18]

24. The Gaṅga Era

The first record of the **Gaṅga** era to be published was the Chicacole copper-plate inscription of Indravarman III, edited by Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 f. This record does not specify the era to which its date 128 is to be referred, but Fleet conjectured that it was the **Gāṅgeya** era.

Since then several more records of the **Gaṅga** era have been discovered and published. Scholars who have discussed their dates have proposed various years as marking the epoch of the era. For the commencement of the era G. Ramdas proposed A.D. 349-50 (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 291), Subba Rao, A.D. 494 (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267 f.), J. C. Ghosh, A.D. 496 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 f.), B. V. Krishna Rao, A.D. 497-98 (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 f.), R. C. Majumdar, some date between A.D. 500 and 557 (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, pp. 179 f.), R. D. Banerji, A.D. 741 (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239), B. C. Majumdar, A.D. 772 (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62) and Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar, A.D. 877-78 (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 58).

The palaeography of early **Gaṅga** grants dated in that era shows that it must have been founded some time about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Again, most of the scholars who attempted to solve this problem did not give any further details about the era e.g. whether the years of the era cited in epigraphic records were current or expired, and the months **pūrṇimānta** or **amānta** and what were the initial month and *tithi* of the **Gaṅga** year.

Krishna Rao attempted to settle these questions and concluded that the **Gaṅga** era commenced in the **Śaka** year 419 (A.D. 497-98) and the **Gaṅga** year began on the **amānta Bhādrapada** *bahula* 13. These conclusions did not, however, suit all dates of the era.

In 1942 I contributed an exhaustive article on the Epoch of the Gaṅga Era to the *Epigraphia Indica*, the publication of which was postponed for some years on account of the Second World War. In that article I calculated the dates of four crucial records of the Gaṅga era, and showed that the era began in the expired Śaka year 420 (A.D. 498-99), probably on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra and that the months of the Gaṅga year were generally amānta. I next examined twelve dates of the era which contained details useful for calculation and showed that my epoch explained all the dates quite satisfactorily.

As regards the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Gaṅga family and the commencement of the era, I showed that the Vākāṭaka Emperor Hariṣeṇa had conquered Kaliṅga and exacted tribute from the ruler thereof about this time. When the power of the Vākāṭakas declined towards the close of the fifth century A.D., the Gaṅgas appear to have risen to power and to have started their era.[19]

Subsequently, in the period from 1947 to 1960, I verified the dates of four more Gaṅga records which were discovered after my aforementioned article was written, and showed that they all corroborated the era fixed by me.[20]

In 1961 I contributed a comprehensive article on the Gaṅga era to the *Orissa District Gazetteers*. In it I discussed various questions concerning the era such as the discovery of the era, the verification of its dates, the circumstances relating to the origin of it, the locality in which it was current, various details about the calculated dates such as the Jovian years, intercalary months, eclipses, Saṅkrāntis etc. The epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me has now generally been accepted by scholars. All dates discovered since I fixed it have invariably corroborated it.

25. The Bhatika Era

This era became known from S. R. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Rajputana and Central India* in 1904-05 and 1905-06. The report mentioned two dates of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat viz. 813 and 993, found in inscriptions on a Vaiṣṇava and a Śaiva temple in Jaisalmer.

I discussed the epoch of this era in an article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 191 f., and showed that it is

A.D. 623-24 for a current year and A.D. 624-25 for an expired year. Since then G. S. Gai[21] and Dasarath Sarma[22] have pointed out several more dates of this era from the Jaisalmer region.

The circumstances that led to the foundation of this era are not known, but while editing a copper-plate grant found at Dhulev, I suggested that the **Bhāṭika** era was founded by an ancestor of **Mahārāja** Bhetti, who made the grant in the year 73 of an unspecified era.[23] This matter will have to be finally decided by future research.

26. The Harsan Era

The epoch of this era was settled as A.D. 606 on the evidence of a statement of Alberuni that **Srī Harṣa** was 664 years later than **Vikramāditya.** Recently R. C. Majumdar has called this epoch into question, and suggested that it might be identical with the **Bhāṭika Saṁvat,** commencing in A.D. 623 or 624.[24] The controversy was carried on for some time in the pages of the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

In this connection I pointed out that some of the dates from Rajputana, Panjab and Central India which are usually referred to the **Harṣa** era belong properly to the **Bhāṭika** era and work out quite satisfactorily if referred to that era.[25]

27. The Newar Era

Cunningham first pointed out that the Newar era was peculiar to Nepal and that it was introduced there in October A.D. 880. But it was Kielhorn, who first determined its exact epoch by calculating the extant dates of that era. He fixed its epoch as A.D. 878-79 and proved that it began on the 20th October A.D. 879.

As regards the arrangement of fortnights in the months of the Newar year, Kielhorn found that the dark fortnight followed the bright fortnight. There has been no further discussion of the dates of this era.[26]

28. The Kakmanasena Era

Beveridge, drawing attention to a passage in the **Akbarnāmā** of Abul-Fazal, fixed the commencement of the **Lakṣmaṇasena** era in **Śaka** 1041 or A.D. 1119-20. Later, Dr. Kielhorn, calculating six verifiable dates of the era, showed that the era commenced on amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 1041 (on the 7th October A.D. 1119).[27]

Three early dates of the era contained a peculiar expression such as 'Śrīmat-Lakṣmaṇasenasya atīta-rājye saṁ' which was interpreted differently by different scholars. Kielhorn and following him, R. D. Banerji took it to mean that the years were counted from the commencement of the Era of Lakṣmaṇasena, but his reign was a thing of the past. R. C. Majumdar first put forward the ingenious explanation that when the Muslim invaders destroyed the Hindu kingdom in Bihar and Bengal, the people, unwilling to refer to the pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya of the Muslim conquerors, counted the dates with reference to the destruction of the last Hindu kingdom.[28] This view has been corroborated by the discovery of the biography of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin who was in India in the period A.D. 1234 to A.D. 1236.

Both R. C. Majumdar[29] and A. S. Altekar[30] have pointed out that the reference to Buddhasena, king of Magadha, can be reconciled with the date 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena Saṁvat in the Janibigha inscription of his son Jayasena only on the supposition that the era was counted from about A.D. 1200.

As for the epoch of A.D. 1119-20 fixed by Kielhorn for the Lakṣmaṇasena era, it seems to have been supposed in later times to mark the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Lakṣmaṇasena era was thus an artificial era set up at a later time to mark a past event, the date of which was not definitely known when people first began to use the era. The riddle of this era has thus been solved at last.

VI

NUMERICAL SYMBOLS

29. Symbols denoting numbers

As ancient inscriptions began to be studied, it was soon noticed that they contain some uncouth letters in the portion recording their dates. It was then realised that they were symbols denoting numbers. In some cases the dates were recorded in words as also in these symbols, which helped in understanding the values of the latter.

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this system. Bhagwanlal Indraji thought that the numerical symbols used in inscriptions of the **Brāhmī** alphabet and its derivatives had the forms of letters with certain ligatures for numerical notation.[31] They underwent changes as the alphabet changed. Bhagwanlal was, however, unable to find the key of this system.

Burnell differed from this view and stressed the impossibility of finding a principle according to which **Brāhmī** letters were made to serve as numerical symbols. He pointed out the similarity of these symbols to the Demotic signs of the Egyptians, and suggested that the Indians borrowed them from Egypt and with suitable modifications, turned them into **akṣaras.** Bayley thought that 'the majority of the Indian symbols have been borrowed from Phoenician, Bactrian and Akkadian figures or letters, while for a few a foreign origin is not demonstrable'.

Finally, **Bühler** held the view that 'the **Brāhmī** numerical symbols are derived from the Egyptian Hieratic figures and that the Hindus effected their transformation into **akṣaras** because they were already accustomed to express numerals by words.'[32]

30. G. H. Oza's critical analysis

G. H. Ojha has critically examined these views in his *Prāçina-lipi-mālā* published in 1918. He has rightly pointed out that had the Indians borrowed their numerical symbols from the Egyptians, they would have used a combined sign to denote 2 and 3 and, not two or three unconnected horizontal strokes as we notice in early inscriptions. Besides, the forms of several Demotic signs show that they were written from left to right, which clearly signifies that those signs were borrowed from a foreign source — probably from India.[33]

Though **Bühler** thought that the Indian symbols might have been imitated from the Demotic signs, he had to admit that their varying forms in **Aśokan** edicts show that they had a long previous history, and that the two **upadhmānīya** signs indicated that they were developed by Brahmanical schoolmen.[34]

31. Misinterpretation of numerical symbols.

These numerical symbols were sometimes misinterpreted, and so led to wrong conclusions as regards the dates of kings. The well-known instances of these are three dates in certain records of the Gurjara **Pratīhāra** kings Bhoja I, Mahendrapāla and Vināyaka pāla. Fleet and Kielhorn read them as 100, 155 and 188 and referred them to the Harṣa era. These kings were therefore supposed to have flourished in the eighth century A.D.

D. R. Bhandarkar, however, pointed out that the correct readings of the dates were 900, 955 and 988 respectively and as these dates referred to Vikrama Saṁvat,[35] these kings must be referred to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. This has now been accepted by all scholars.

Another instance is that of the Arang plate of Bhīmsena II, Hiralal read its date as 282 and as it expressly refers itself to the Gupta era, he took it as equivalent to A.D. 601-02. On the palaeographic evidence of these plates, the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, whose records are in somewhat later characters, were relegated to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.[36]

I corrected these views nearly thirty years ago and showed that the date of the Arang plate is G. 182, not 282, as the horizontal stroke which is usually added on the right to the symbol for 100 in order to convert it into one signifying 200 is absent in its case. The date is therefore equivalent to A.D. 501-02. This has antedated the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kosala by more than a century.[37] The dates of other connected dynasties of Dakṣiṇa Kosala had also to be changed consequently.[38]

VII

DECIMAL NOTATION

32. Some instances of decimal notation

The numerical symbols gave place to the decimal notation in course of time. The earliest epigraphic instance of this noted by **Bühler** is the year 346 of a fragmentary copper-plate grant from

Sankheda, which, being referred to the so-called Cedi era current in Gujarat in that period, becomes equivalent to A.D. 595. It was therefore supposed that the decimal notation was introduced in Gujarat in the sixth century A.D.[39] In other parts of India it was not introduced till the eighth or ninth century A.D.

Fortunately, the first plate of the set, which was missing for a long time was discovered recently at Māṅkaṇi in the same Sankheda taluka, from which I was able to show that the grant was spurious.[40]

The earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shergadh Buddhist inscription of the Sāmanta Devadatta, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 847 or A.D. 791-92.[41] It would seem therefore that decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

VIII

CALCULATION OF DATES

33. Some important tables of dates

Many Indian inscriptions from the fifth century A.D. onwards contain details necessary for computation such as a week-day, a nakṣatra, a solar or a lunar eclipse etc. For the verification of such dates tables were provided by a number of scholars such as Warren, Prinsep, Cunningham, Jacobi etc.

Warren's *Kāla-Saṅkalīta* was published in 1825. It gives an elaborate exposition of the Hindu solar and luni-solar measures of time with an account of Bṛhaspaticakra or Jupitor's Cycle of sixty years. James Prinsep published his *Useful Tables* in 1834. They are based on Warren's work, but 'his tabular forms are much more handy.' Cunningham published his *Book of Indian Eras* in 1883. It gives useful information about the eras that were current in India and also contains tables for the calculation of Indian dates. Jacobi published his 'Tables for calculating Hindu dates in true local time' in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II (1892-93), pp. 487 f.

When Sh. B. Dikshit calculated dates occurring in Fleet's *Gupta Volume,* he utilised for computation the Tables published by Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre. In 1896 R. Sewell and Sh. B. Dikshit brought out the *Indian Calendar* with tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan dates into A. D. dates and *vice versa.* "This work contains in an Appendix by Robert Schram the tables for the eclipses of the Sun visible in India. Later, Sewell published his Tables according to the First Ārya Siddhānta in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, pp. 17 f., and those according to the Brāhma Siddhānta in the same Volume of the Journal, pp. 123 f.

34. Difficulties of computing historical dates

Numerous tables were thus provided for the computation of dates, but, as observed by S. K. Pillai, 'any attempt to enable the historian or the epigraphist to be his own computer of *tithis* and nakṣatras seems predestined to failure. The historian has not often the aptitude requisite for undertaking such computations; and he has still less often the time necessary for making a number of alternative calculations before selecting the one that rigorously or most nearly satisfies all his data.'

35. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephimeries — 700 A.D. to 1799

Swamikannu Pillai published in 1922 the *Indian Ephimeris A.D.* 700 *to* 1799 in seven volumes, which has made the task of the verification of dates more than easy. This work gives for all the 1100 years (from A.D. 700 to 1799) the full calendar current in different parts of India, including the lunar month, the fortnight, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra,* eclipses, solar and lunar, as well as the English month and the day. For the earlier period, the author has given the necessary tables with the help of which the dates can be calculated without much effort. He has also provided the New Moons and Eclipses for all the years from 1 B.C. to 1999 A.D. according to principal siddhāntas. This work has become invaluable for the calculation of dates.

IX

EPILOGUE

36. Contribution of Epigraphic Research to the studies of history

Epigraphic researches have been of immense service to the cause of the ancient history of India. Without the help of epigraphy our knowledge of the ancient history of our land would have been next to nothing.

We had forgotten the achievements of most of our glorious ancient dynasties such as the Mauryas, the Suṅgas, the Śātavahānas, the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, the Cālukyas, the Raṣṭrakūṭas, the Paramāras, the Pratīhāras, the Çolas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Palās and the Senas. Who had ever heard of Samudragupta, the Indian Napoleon, or of his son Candragupta-Vikramāditya, the great patron of the world-renowned poet Kālidāsa, before their inscriptions were discovered?

We had indeed some legendary stories about great kings like Paramāra Bhoja, but, as shown by epigraphic records, they are not reliable. The evidence of epigraphic records, being contemporary, is generally unbiased and therefore trustworthy.

37. Contribution of Epigraphy to the history of Religion, Literature and Art

It is not only political history that epigraphical research has benefited. It has been of as great use for the history of religion, literature and art. It was from the pillar of Heliodorus of Besnagar that we came to know of the conversion of a Greek to the Bhāgavata sect.

The lower limit for the date of Kālidāsa is furnished by an epigraphic record viz. the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, which mentions his name. The date of Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of Nalacampū, is settled by his mention as the poet who drafted the Bagumra grants of the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III, dated Śaka 836 (A.D. 914-15).

Even for dating works of art, epigraphic research has been of great help. In its absence, the dating of art objects is conjectural and often wide of the mark. To take one instance the Ghaṭotkacha caves, about 10 miles from Ajanta, were supposed by some art-critics to be anterior to Caves XVI and XVII at Ajanta on the basis of general architectural style and the sculptures in them,[42] but as I have shown elsewhere on the evidence of an inscription incised in one of them, they were excavated in the time of the same minister Varāhadeva who served the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa. Epigraphical research is thus an unfailing guide in determining the evolution of religion, literature and art.

References

1. See **Mahabharata**, I, i, 267 —

   इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
   बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

2. **Chandogya Upanishad**, VII, 2.

   ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि, यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम् ।

3. **Atharvaveda**, XI, 6, 11.
4. **Satapatha Brahmana**, XIII, 4, 3, 12.
5. **Taittiriya Aranyaka**, II, 10.
6. **Chandogya Upanishad**, IV, 2, 1.
7. **Nirukta**, II, 10.

   तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । देवापिश्चार्ष्टिषेणः शन्तनुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः ।

8. **Mahabharata** (Chitrasala ed.)

   जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा ।

9. Pargiter, **Dynasties of the Kali Age**, pp. 1 f.
10. **Asiatic Researches**, Vol. I, Art. XIX.
11. **Ibid.**, Vol. XV, p. 506.
12. **Loc. cit.**, p. 505.
13. Kielhorn was wrongly informed that the inscription was brought from Ratanpur.
14. Buhler, **Indian Palaeography** (Eng. Tr.), p. 29.
15. **Ibid.**; p. 18.
16. Mirashi, **Studies in Indology**, Vol. II, pp. 95 f.
17. **J.B.B.R.A.S.**, Vol. XVII, Part II, pp. 80 f.
18. **R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume**, pp. 195 f.
19. Mirashi, **Studies in Indology**, Vol. II, pp. 110 f.
20. **Ibid.**, Vol. II, pp. 128 f.
21. **Ind. Hist., Quart.**, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 f.
22. **Ibid.**, Vol. XXXV, pp. 227 f.

23. **Studies in Indology.** Vol. II, p. 150
24. **Ind. Hist. Quart.**, Vol. XXVII, pp. 183 f.
25. **Ibid.**, Vol. XXIX, pp. 191 f.
26. **Ind. Ant.**, Vol. XVII, pp. 246 f.
27. **Ibid.**, Vol. XIX, pp. 1 f.
28. **History of Bengal.** Vol. I, 233 f.
29. **J. N. Banerjea. Volume**, pp. 71 f.
30. **Ibid.**, p. 110 f.
31. **Int. Ant.**, Vol. VI, pp. 42 f.
32. Buhler, **Indian Palaeography** (Eng. Tr.), pp. 81 f.
33. **G. H. OJHA, Pracina-lipi-mala**, (Eng. Tr.), p. III f.
34. Buhler, **Indian Palaeography** (Eng. Tr.), p. 82.
35. **J.B.B.R.A.S.**, Vol. XXI, pp. 392 f.
36. Mirashi, **Studies in Indology**, Vol. I, pp. 231 f.
37. **Loc. cit.**
38. **Loc. cit.**
39. Buhler, **Indian Palaeography** (Eng. Tr.), p. 83.
40. **C.I.I.**, Vol. IV, pp. 160 f.
41. **Ind. Ant.**, Vols. XIV, p. 45 and XXVI, p. 152.
42. **A.S.W.I.**, Vol. IV, p. 60; **G.C.I.**, p. 4.

ICONOGRAPHY

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The subject of Iconography is a vast one, and there is still much scope for further researches in the field. Many new varieties of cult images are being discovered from time to time in different parts of India, the correct identification of which awaits further study. The proper interpretation of many of the already known groups of temple reliefs requires fresh study and research: It requires a band of earnest workers in the field to devote their energy and scholarship to the general as well as regional studies of this fascinating branch of Indology.

1. Introduction

The decipherment of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi scripts by James Prinsep in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century inaugurated the study of Indian archaeology. Alexander Cunningham, Prinsep's able younger contemporary, and the other Indologists of the period, however, were mostly engaged in the fields of epigraphy, numismatics, art and architecture, where their contributions paved the way for further studies in these branches of the subject. But iconography proper did not engage any serious attention of these scholars, and very few scholars of those days knew its importance.

2. Iconography — interpretative aspect of religious art

Iconography really constitutes the interpretative aspect of the religious art of a country, and it is a well-known fact that the ancient art of almost every nation is primarily and intimately associated with its religion.

The art of ancient and medieval India was no exception to the rule, and in most of her various creeds the practice of making images of the different deities belonging to their pantheon, and of worshipping them by the followers of the respective creeds served as their main ritualistic feature.

3. Birth of Indian Iconography

Iconography came to be specially prominent at the time when sectarian religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Paurāṇic and Tāntric Brāhmaṇism developed in India, and numerous images associated with them came to be made in different media like clay, wood, stone, bronze and other metals.

Those that were made of easily perishable materials like clay or wood did not survive for any length of time, but many others made out of much more durable materials like stone or metal are still extant. These have latterly, specially during the last 75 years or more, been the subject matter of more or less intensive study by a select band of occidental and oriental scholars from various angles of view. The funerary monuments of the early Buddhists and the Jaīnas, and the temples enshrining the different cult deities of the Brāhmaṇical creeds also contained numerous reliefs illustrating the mythology connected with them.

4. Early attempts to the study of Hindu Iconography

The early attempts to the study of only one of the aspects of Brāhmaṇical Hindu iconography were mainly in the line of the elucidation of the mythology underlying these gods and goddesses.

E. Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, published in 1810, (reprinted in 1864 with notes by Revd. W. O. Simpson) was really a crude attempt to explain such mythology, with a large number of sketches and line-drawings, some of them being based on South Indian relievo-sculptures.

This was followed by such works as Vans Kennedy's *Ancient and Hindu Mythology* (1831), John Dowson's *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (1879), and W. J. Wilkin's *Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Purānic* (1882).

But all these publications can hardly be described as works on Hindu iconography, for they did not deal with its background of art in the shape of the extant religious sculptures, relievo representations and paintings, the interpretation of which actually constitutes the main aspect of the subject, as it has already been stated.

5. First serious attempt of study in ancient Buddhist religious art

One of the first serious attempts to tackle this aspect of ancient Indian religious art was associated with the appreciation and interpretation of the extant remains of early Buddhist art. This German publication named *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (Berlin, 1893) was from the pen of Albert Grünwedel

It was received with high praise by the Indologists who realised that an English translation of it was necessary in order that it might reach a much wider circle of scholars. Miss Agnes Gibson translated it into English; but it was found that the sculptural and other discoveries that were made by the Indian Archaeological Survey since and even from before the date of the publication of the original work in German necessitated its revision and enlargement.

James Burgess undertook this task, and incorporated many new additions and several modifications. This revised and enlarged English translation entitled *Buddhist Art in India* was published in 1901, and ran into several reprints. For a good many years it remained a standard work on early Buddhist art and iconography.

But its scope was limited, for it did not go much beyond the consideration of the known **Gandhāra** images of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas. Thus it touched only the fringe of the **Mahāyāna** art, having practically nothing to do with the developed **Mahāyāna** and **Vajrayāna** art and iconography of the medieval period.

6. Alfred Foucher's contribution to Buddhist Iconography

Another notable European savant who made contributions of outstanding merit on Buddhist art and iconography, both in their earlier and later phases, was the French scholar Alfred Foucher.

He made his debut in the study of Buddhist iconography with his monumental publication, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de'l'Inde* in two volumes (Paris, 1900 and 1905), where he first showed how the medieval **Vajrayāna** texts on the **Sādhanas** could be utilised for throwing light on numerous figures of such divinities appearing in their stone, metallic and pictorial representations. The first volume mainly deals with the iconographic study of many of the miniature paintings in the illustrated manuscripts like the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and others, while the second deals with that of medieval sculptures representing the Buddhist deities like **Avalokiteśvara**, **Mañjuśrī**, Jambhala, **Tārā**, Trailokyavijaya, and others, belonging to both the primary and the secondary orders.

Another monumental work from his pen, *Les bas-reliefs greco-bouddhiques du* **Gandhāra** was also published in two volumes, (Vol. I in 1905, and Vol. II in two fascicules, in 1918 and 1923, — Paris). In these volumes he made such a painstaking and thorough study of the **Gandhāra** art and iconography, that we are yet to meet with any work on these topics, which can rival them.

It is true, as it will be shown later, that the attributive epithet *Greeko-Buddhist* given to this art has been challenged by some subsequent scholars, but this term was a sort of legacy which he partly received from the earlier scholars like Grünwedel and Burgess who were, however, not in favour of using it in designating the art.

7. Other notable works of Alfred Foucher

During the years when these scholarly publications were coming out from the pen of M. Alfred Foucher, he wrote several articles and delivered some addresses in French, which dealt with special aspects of Buddhist art and iconography. Nine of them were gathered together, revised by him, and translated into English by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas. This English translation with the name *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (the caption of its first article) was simultaneously published in Paris and London in 1917-18.

Another French work of Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha d'apres lex textes at les monuments de'l'Inde* (Paris, 1949) should be mentioned in this connection. Here he treated fully and systematically the life history of the Buddha on the basis of textual and monumental data. The aforesaid works of Foucher, Grünwedel and Burgess's already noted work, as well as Alice Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1914)—all these published during the first two decades of the present century gave a great impetus to further advanced studies in Buddhist art and iconography in their earlier and later phases, a brief account of which will be given later.

8. T. A. Gopinath Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography

In the field of iconographic study of Brāhmaṇical Hindu gods and goddesses, it was the great south-Indian savant T. A. Gopinath Rao who made his debut with two big volumes on *Elements of Hindu Iconography* published in Madras in 1914 and 1916.

Each of these volumes was divided into two parts, in the second part of each being incorporated copious extracts from original texts of an iconographic character (some even unpublished at that time) throwing a great deal of light on the innumerable images of Hindu gods and goddesses.

This was the first systematic and pioneer work on Hindu iconography containing detailed descriptions of the deities on the basis of iconographic texts, which were illustrated mostly with reproductions of south-Indian temple reliefs and sculptures.

It seems that he had little access to the iconographic wealth and variety of their north-Indian counterparts, but his descriptive study of a large number of south-Indian images arranged cultwise was fairly exhaustive.

9. Short-comings of Gopinath Rao's studies

It should be remembered that Gopinath Rao's was a pioneer work in this field of study, and a few short-comings inevitable in such works are noticeable in it. Only one may be mentioned in this connection; it lacked consideration of the developmental aspect of the subject, for which a fairly exhaustive use of relevant numismatic and glyptic data was indispensable.

How numismatics could help the seeker after such knowledge was hinted first by Macdonell in his articles on 'The Development of Hindu Iconography' published in *J.R.A.S.* (1916, 1918 and 1920), and then by Coomaraswamy in his article on 'Early Indian Iconography' printed in *The Eastern Art* (a Quarterly art journal of Philadelphia, Vol. I). But it must be pointed out that most of these articles were published after Rao's volumes on Hindu iconography.

10. Two Other less important works on south Indian Iconography

Two other publications, mostly in the nature of Gopinath Rao's work but far less exhaustive in nature, were H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Gods and Goddesses* (Madras, 1916), and B. C. Bhattacharya's *Indian Images*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1921), the latter giving an imperfect account of the images of several north Indian **Brāhmaṇical** Hindu deities.

11. A. K. Coomaraswamy's 'Yakshas'

A. K. Coomaraswamy's *Yakshas*, Parts I and II (Washington, 1928 and 1931) was a very important contribution to the study of non-and pre-Aryan animism establishing its significant position in religious and iconographic evolution in India. Norman Brown rightly remarks about it, "The entire study is most informing and gives a solid basis for the understanding of early Indian iconography, while it adds much to our comprehension of Aryan animism' (*JAOS*, LI, 287).

12. Some earlier notable contributions to Buddhist, Brahmanical & South Indian Iconography

A very notable publication of the time was N. K. Bhattasali's *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1929); though in the form of a catalogue it was practically an iconographic survey of Eastern Bengal anciently known as Vaṅga and Samataṭa.

Alice Getty dealt exhaustively with the mythology and iconography of the elephant-headed deity Gaṇapati in her monograph, Gaṇeśa (Oxford, 1936), on the basis of textual and archaeological data.

G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Iconography of Southern India* (English translation of the original French by A. C. Martin, Paris, 1937) not only dealt with the Vishṇuite Śivite and other miscellaneous icons of the region in the first three chapters, but also discussed in the last two the history of religion according to iconography, costumes of the images, and other allied topics.

The present writer in his two editions of *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1941 and 1956) and in his fairly exhaustive account of Vishṇu and Sūrya images published in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vols. XIII, XIV and XVI studied the general principles as well as the developmental aspects of Hindu iconography. He put a great deal of stress on the systematic utilisation of numismatic and glyptic data, the importance of which in such studies was first pointed out by Macdonell and Coomaraswamy.

13. Studies in Jaina Iconography

Jaina iconography appears to have engaged less attention from scholars than the other two branches of Indian iconography. There are fewer monographs on the subject, though an appreciable number of well-written papers on its different aspects have been published from time to time.

One of the earliest authoritative, though succinct, accounts of 'Digambara Jaina Iconography was from the pen of no less an antiquarian than James Burgess; it was published in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXXII (pp. 459-64, pls. i-iv). It contained the essential iconographic details of the 24 Tirthankaras, their respective Yakshas and **Yakshiṇis** (also known as **Śāsanadevatās**), and of a few **Brāhmaṇical** divinities included in the Jaina pantheon; it also had short descriptions of some Jaina symbols and auspicious objects like *Oṁkāra, Hrīṁkāra, Siddhachakra,* **Pañchatīrtha** and *Chauvisvaṭā.* The 56 beautiful line-drawings accompanying the article illustrate many of the matter described in it.

Helen M. Johnson supplied the need of a **Śvetāmbara** corollary to it by her paper on '**Śvetāmbara Jaina Iconography**' in the same journal (*IA,* Vol. LVI, pp. 23-6). It was based on Hemachandra's **Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacaritra** where a detailed description of each of the **Śāsanadevatās** is given.

The value of W. Norman Brown's *'A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Jaina* **Kalpasūtra** *as executed in the Early Western Indian Style* (Washington, 1934) was mainly iconographic for it enriched our knowledge of medieval Jaina iconography.

B. C. Bhattacharya in his *Indian Images,* Vol. II (Lahore, 1939) set forth the essential details about the iconography of the various units of the Jaina pantheon. He further showed on the authority of such Jaina texts as *Āchāra Dinakara. Uttarādhyāyana, Sūtra* and **Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi** that many of the subsidiary divinities were mere adaptations from the **Brāhmaṇic** pantheon.

But it was U. P. Shah who instituted a thorough and detailed study of such topics as 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess **Ambikā** (*Journal of the Bombay University,* 1940), 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess **Saraswatī** (*ibid,* 1941), 'Age of Differentiation of Digambara and **Śvetāmbara** Images' and the Earliest Śvetāmbara Bronzes' (*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay,* Vol. I), etc. This study when completed will form an authoritative nucleus for a monograph on the subject scientifically written.

V. S. Agarwala also published many interesting and original articles on different topics associated with Jaina iconography in antiquarian journals of repute.

14. Further studies in Buddhist Iconography

Studies in Buddhist art and iconography inaugurated by such earlier writers as Grünwedel, Burgess, Foucher and others were further continued by a band of earnest and capable scholars from India and outside.

One of the foremost among them was B. T. Bhattacharya, the author of *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (London, 1924). It was the first systematic treatment in English language of the Mahāyāna and Vajrāyāna images mainly based on the descriptions of various such gods and goddesses given in the Sādhanāmālā texts, and on some mediaeval sculptures and paintings reproduced in it.

The texts were mostly collected by Hara Prasad Sastri from Nepal; they were subsequently edited by B. T. Bhattacharya in two volumes, Sādhanāmālā Vols. I and II in the Gaekwar Oriental Series (Vols. XXVI and XLI, Baroda, 1925 and 1928), in the introduction to the second volume of which there was a lot of iconographic matter.

The Indian Buddhist Iconography ran into a second revised edition (Calcutta, 1958) in which a great deal of new matter collected from the descriptions of the Vajrāyāna deities given in the *Nispannayogāvalī* text (G.O.S., Vol. CIX, Baroda, 1949) was incorporated.

Walter Eugene Clarke brought out two big volumes on *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Harvard) which contained the reproductions of a large number of Buddhist miniatures in the Royal Temple at Peiping. Bhattacharya noticed that these images were pre-eminently Indian in character, and based entirely on Indian Vajrayāna texts as Nispannayogāvalī and Sadānāmalā. He thus rightly included a good many of them in the second edition of his book which contained many other new features.

Sometime after the publication of the first edition of B. T. Bhattacharya's work, A. K. Coomaraswamy brought out his book on *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (Cambridge, Harvard, U.S.A., 1935), where the early phase of the subject was studied from a new angle. He tried to find traces of the iconographic expression in early Buddhist art in the symbolism pervading the whole Vedic literature, and the topics discussed by him were 'Tree of Life', 'Earth-lotus and World Wheel', 'Place of the Lotus-throne', etc.

Jeannine Auboyer in her *Le trone et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1943) dealt with the various forms of the Indian throne-motif as described in ancient literature and illustrated in art. The chronological development of the throne motif was studied by her, and she attempted to interpret the symbolism and the cosmological significance behind it. This was quite a novel way of projecting the iconographic method to the study of a common literary and art motif in India.

Marie-Therese de Mallmann's *Introduction a' l'etude d'Avalokitesvara* (Paris, 1948) is another painstaking and serious work, in which an example has been shown how the topic of a single iconographic unit (Avalokiteśvara) of the developed Buddhism can be studied from the textual and representational point of view. A companion volume on the iconography of Mañjuśri entitled *Étude Iconographic Sur Mañjuśrī* written by her has recently been published (Paris, 1964). It is also full of useful data, and it shows her critical and scientific approach to the subject.

Reference may also be made in this connection to her recent publication *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de L' Agni-Purāna* (Paris, 1963), which though not associated with Buddhist iconography but its Brāhmaṇical counterpart, shows how thorough and critical her handling of the textual and artistic data could be.

Mention may also be made here of Odette Viennot's *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne : Textes et Monuments brahmaniques et bouddhiques* Paris, 1954). Her book is full of iconographic documentation, its Part II, chapter III containing an account of the role of the 'Tree' in the biography and iconography of Sākyamuni Buddha.

15. Studies in Gandhara Iconography

It has been noted earlier that the term 'Greco-Buddhist' applied to the Gandhāra sculptures and bas-reliefs by earlier scholars like Foucher has been called in question by subsequent writers.

It must be noted, however, that **Grūnwedel** and Burgess discussed the appropriateness of such expressions as Greco-Buddhist, Arian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Bactrian, etc., in designating this branch of early Buddhist art, but were reluctant to use any of them for fear of giving an inaccurate account of its art origin. They chose the topographical designation **Gandhāran** as the most apposite and innocuous, though that would not indicate anything about its original character.

Foucher stuck to the name Greco-Buddhist which appellation was later partly modified by John Marshall as Hellenistic.

H. Buchthall in his monograph on *The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture* (Hartz Trust Annual Lecture on Art, British Academy, 1945) expressed his definite opinion that the alien element in this art was Roman in character.

R. E. Mortimer Wheeler in his article on Romano-Buddhist Art: An Old Problem Restated' (*Antiquity*, Vol. XXIII, 1949, pp. 4-19, 10 pls.) discussed the question thoroughly and endorsed Buchthall's view. He emphatically designated the art as Romano-Buddhist chiefly on the evidence of the development of a stucco art in **Gandhāra** which according to him undoubtedly owed its origin to the stucco art of Roman, Alexandria.

Wheeler also refuted Marshall's classification of the **Gandhāra** school into two sections, the 'Greco-Buddhist' and the 'Indo-Afghan', and the latter's chronological emplacement of them.

The present writer in his article on 'Some Problems of Art and Iconography during the age of the **Kushāṇas** and the **Sātavāhanas** (*Seminar on Indian Art History*, New Delhi, 1962) discussed this problem to some extent, and observed, 'that the main foreign element in the composite art of north-western India was Roman in character. But, the use of the term "Hellenistic" in designating it may also be partly justified, for was not the Roman art of the times itself influenced by Hellenistic art trends?' Again was not such a theme as '**Garuḍa** lifting a **Nāga** maiden or a **Nāga** couple by its beak, frequently found in **Gandhāra** art, a case of direct borrowal or local adaptation of the famous sculpture 'Rape of Ganymede' by the Hellenistic artist Leochares?

16. Some allied studies in Indian Iconography

It will be impossible to incorporate in this short article the names of many more contributions in the shape of scholarly monographs, articles and other writings, which though not directly connected with the different branches of Indian iconography, contained very valuable information about them.

These were mostly in the series like Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, both Old and New, the annual issues of the *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, the previous Imperial Series publications, the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, *Ancient India* (the present day periodical publication of the Survey), etc.

The collaborative publications like the *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I, the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vols. II-IV (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay), etc., also contain sections on the different branches of the subject.

Then there are separate publications like B. M. Barua's *Bharut* in three volumes, his *Bodh Gaya* in two volumes, John Marshall's *The Monuments of Sanchi* in three volumes, in sections of all three of which valuable information about the iconography of the relief carvings on these early Buddhist monuments have been supplied by Barua and Foucher.

There are also various handbooks and catalogues of different museums, mostly in India and some outside, which contain very valuable materials of an iconographic character. Among the Imperial Series publications foremost place should be given to R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture* (New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVII, Delhi, 1933), the 96 plates of which contain iconographic matter of inestimable value.

Such Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, also from the pen of the same author, as The Śiva temple of Bhumāra (No. XVI), *The Bas-reliefs of Badami* (No. XXV), *The Haihayas of Tripuri* (No. XXIII) are full of rich iconographic knowledge.

Foucher's Memoir on '*The Iconography of the Nativity of the Buddha* (No. XLVI) is full of interesting iconographic data. B. B. Vidyavinode's *Varieties of the Vishnu Image* (No. II) contain useful information about the Chaturviṁśatimūrtis of Vishṇu.

J. Ph. Vogel's *Mathura Museum Catalogue* (Allahabad, 1910), M. Ganguly's *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the* Vangīya Sāhitya *Parishat* (Calcutta, 1923), V. S. Agrawala's sectional catalogues on the different sculptural collections of the Mathura Museum and the Lucknow Museum, his revised edition of Vogel's *Catalogue*, are of great use for the study of early Indian iconography. Many other contributions of Agrawala of iconographic character published in various issues the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, and several other antiquarian and art journals are of great merit.

Alice Boner's *Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture — Cave Temple Period* (Leiden, 1962), is a new approach to the study of some of the magnificent reliefs carved on the walls of the cave temples of Ṃahābalipur, Ajantā, Elora and Elephanta.

S. K. Saraswati's *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, originally published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, (1937) recently brought out in a revised and enlarged edition (Calcutta, 1962), throws a lot of light on the iconography of the Pāhārpur and other early sculpture groups of Bengal.

17. Studies in Iconography of greater Indian countries

In the above brief survey of work done in the field of Indian iconography during the 19th and the 20th centuries, an attempt has been made to indicate the general trend of the growth and development of advanced studies in its various branches. No mention of similar work in this field in countries adjacent to India and owing part of their culture to her has been made.

The contributions of N. J. Krom, G. Coedes, H. Parmentier, G. Tucci and others to the iconographic studies in Indonesia, Indochina, Tibet and other neighbouring countries are of a very high order.

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya's *Les Religions Brahmaniques Dans L'Ancien ,Cambodge* (Paris, 1961) contains much useful information about Brahmanical Hindu iconography in Cambodia.

18. Regional language studies in Indian Iconography

It is also a good sign that works on iconography are being composed in some regional languages of India. The Bhārat Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala of Poona has done a good work in publishing G. H. Khare's Mūrti Vijñāna in Marāthi sometime ago (1950). More such works in this and other regional languages are desirable.

19. Future lines in the research of Indian Iconography

The subject of Iconography is a vast one, and there is still much scope for further researches in the field. Many new varieties of cult images are being discovered from time to time in different parts of India, the correct identification of which awaits further study. The proper interpretation of many of the already known groups of temple reliefs required fresh study and research. In fine the writer of this article can only reiterate what was written by him several years ago: It requires a band of earnest workers in the field of devote their energy and scholarship to the general as well, as regional studies of this fascinating branch of Indology) in order that many facets of the composite culture of India may be correctly interpreted' (*DHI*, 2nd Edition, p.x.)

NUMISMATICS

Shri P. J. Chinmulgund,
I.C.S.

Though a few coins of Greco-Bactrian rulers were noticed as far back as in 1738 by Bayer, the first notice of ancient Indian coins was taken in India in the year 1790 and some coins and medals were noticed in "Asiatic Researches." This can rightly be called the beginning of Numismatic research in India.

I

RESEARCHES IN 19TH CENTURY

1. Beginning of researches in Indian Numismatics

Though a few coins of Greco-Bactrian rulers were noticed as far back as in 1738 by Bayer, the first notice of ancient Indian coins was taken in India in the year 1790 and some coins and medals were noticed in "Asiatic Researches".

The first quarter of the 19th century witnessed significant activity in the field of Indian Numismatics in India. In 1824, Colonel Tod published a paper in the *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society* dealing with Greek, Parthian and Indian coins. This paper also exhibited engravings of some of these coins. Colonel Tod was a keen numismatic and systematically collected coins from the sites of ancient Indian cities. Eventually he formed a valuable and important collection of coins consisting of several thousand pieces.

Several other persons, among whom may be mentioned Colonel Ventura and Charles Masson, also made collections and studied Indian coins.

It was this preliminary work that enabled Princep to study the available evidence and, from a study of the Greek and Kharosthi inscriptions on the Indo-Greek coins, to decipher the latter script.

2. Some earlier catalogues of Indian coins.

In 1837 Wilson compiled the first list of the coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Princep prepared a brief catalogue of the contents of the coin-cabinet of the Asiatic Society.

In 1841 Wilson prepared a concise summary of the researches in the field of Indian Numismatics carried out till that date. All this work prepared the ground for Alexander Cunningham to lay the foundations of Indian Numismatics by his tireless work in this field, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1858, E. Thomas rendered great service to the study of Indian Numismatics by editing Princep's *Essays on Indian Antiquitics.*

3. Contribution of Alexander Cunningham

Cunningham's great work, which is enshrined in his Archaeological Survey Reports running into 23 volumes, is still extremely valuable for a student of Indian Numismatics. Apart from this, he published the well-known books, *Coins of Ancient India, Coins of Mediaeval India* and *Coins of Alexander's Successor's in the East,* which are still indispensable to a student of the subject, and even modern scholars have to refer to these to obtain help in their studies.

4. Some important catalogues of Indian coins

Between the period 1880 to 1900 many catalogues of collections of coins in the different museums were compiled. This was work of fundamental importance since a scientific catalogue of coins of a particular period is the main basis on which all future research takes place. The collections in Lahore and Calcutta Museums were catalogued by Rodgers. Gardener's *Catalogue of coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* was published in 1886. In the then Bombay presidency the study of the coins of Western Kshatrapas and Satavahanas was undertaken by scholars like Bhagwanlal Indraji and R. G. Bhandarkar.

These studies culminated in the publication by Rapson in 1908, of the catalogue of coins of these rulers in the British Museum — a work of fundamental importance.

5. Contribution of Elliot & Rapson

The important work *Coins of Southern India* of Elliot came out in 1886. In 1897 Rapson published his book *Indian Coins* which gives in a short compass a masterly survey of Indian coins. The value of the book is further enhanced by the excellent illustrations of the more important coins.

Rapson's researches continued well into the 20th century right upto 1930, and formed a very valuable contribution to Indian Numismatics.

6. Contributions of V. Smith, Allan & Whitehead

Along with him Vincent Smith, John Allan and Whitehead made great contributions to this subject. Allan's well-known catalogue of the coins of Gupta dynasty came out in 1914, which year also saw the publication of the Punjab Museum catalogue Volume I, by Whitehead.

A little prior to this, in 1906, Vincent Smith brought out the catalogue of ancient Indian Coins in the Indian Museum, which deals comprehensively with the coins of this period and the historical introductions to the various sections in this book give extremely valuable material on the political history of the ancient period.

It was Vincent Smith, who first made full use of numismatic knowledge in the reconstruction of political history in his work "Early History of India". It was from this time that the study of the subject received attention from Universities like Calcutta and Banaras. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar delivered his lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatic in 1921 and R. D. Banarjee published a book in Bengali on the same subject.

II

RESEARCHES IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 20TH CENTURY

7. Foundation of The Numismatic Society of India.

The numismatic supplements of the journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal began to appear from 1904 and in 1910 the Numismatic Society of India was established. From that period onwards the *journal of Numismatic Society of India* and *the supplements of J.A.S.B.*, have been the main publications in India in which papers on the subject have regularly appeared. Almost all the great names in Indian Numismatics from that period onwards have been associated with the society, among whom may be mentioned Nelson Wright,

R. B. Whitehead, G. P. Taylor, Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. M. V. V. Merashi and Durga Prasad.

Macdonald and Rapson contributed two chapters XVII and XXII to the *Cambridge History of India, Volume-I*, which are a masterly treatment of political history as deduced from the study of coins.

8. Preliminary researches, in punch-marked coins

In the field of Punch-marked coins, important contributions were made by K. P. Jaiswal, Durga Prasad, Whitehead and Walsh. Whitehead also carried out important research in the field of Indo-Bactrian coinage. Vincent Smith and John Allan made special contributions to the study of Gupta coins. Allan also made a special study of the coins of ancient India and the results of his researches are summarised in his catalogue of coins in British Museum dealing with the subject.

9. Singhal's bibliography of Indian coins

Coming to more recent times, it may be mentioned that the number of workers in this field is on the increase. One of the very important publication which deserves special mention is the *Bibliography of Indian coins, (Parts I and II)* by Mr. C. R. Singhal. This book which gives a summary of all papers on Indian Numismatic upto 1950 is invaluable to a student of the subject.

10. New researches in punch-marked coins

It was in 1940s that the large cupshaped punch marked coins came to be studied in detail and as a result of this study it was possible to identify coins of the pre-Mauryan period, and now it is possible to assign such coins of Kingdoms like Kosala, Panchala and so on.

In this particular field noteworthy contributions were made by Walsh, Durga Prasad, Allan and K. P. Jayswal. Their contributions appeared in the various issues of *Numismatic Supplement, JNSI* and *the Numismatic Chronicle.*

11. Researches in Indo-Greek coinage

Whitehead and Vincent Smith, as has been mentioned above, continued their researches on Indo-Greek coinage. The former published some important papers on the subject in the Numismatic Supplement and The Numismatic Chronicle. In 1923 Whitehead published his *Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics.* This is an exhaustive publication and brings the study of these coins and its results upto-date since the publication of his Lahore Museum Catalogue.

About the same time, Rapson was able to identify the coins of Bhumaka. The coins of Western Kshatrapas received much attention at the hands of Rapson and Acharya. Their studies were facilitated by the discovery of the great Sarvania Hoard of the coins of these rulers.

12. Researches in Gupta and mediaeval Rajput coinage

We have already mentioned Vincent Smith's researches into Gupta coinage and Allan's catalogue of these coins in the British Museum. Ganguli correctly ascribed the Dvadashaditya coins to Vainyagupta. A. S. Altekar advanced fresh reasons in favour of the Theory that the Chandragupta Kumaradevi coins were issued by Chandragupta-I and not by Samudragupta. In this, he agreed with Vincent Smith.

Nelson Wright, Vincent Smith, R. D. Banerjee and V. V. Mirashi made important contributions to the study of the coins of mediaeval Rajput Kingdoms, like — Tomaras, Chauhans and Kalachuris.

III

RESEARCHES IN THE LAST 20 YEARS

13. Contributions of Bhattacharya, Mirashi, Altekar & Agrawala

During last 20 years a great deal of material on ancient and mediaeval coinage has appeared in various journals dealing with numismatics and ancient India, prominent among which is the *Journal of the Numismatics Society of India.* The number of workers in this field is also on the increase.

In 1940 Mr. Bhattacharya published a study of the Purnea Hoard of Punch marked coins. This appeared as Memoir No. 62 of the Archaeological Department. Dr. A. S. Altekar contributed many papers dealing with Gupta and tribal coins whereas Prof. V. V. Mirashi did considerable work on the coinage of the Andhras and the Shakas. In particular, he made a close study of the Taralha find of Andhra coins and brought to light many unknown kings of that period. He also published coins issued by minor Shaka rulers of the Hyderabad area who were feudatories of the Andhras.

Dr. V. S. Agrawal has assiduously collected material dealing with coins and coinage from ancient texts like Panini, Mahabharata and others and published the results of his studies in *JNSI*. This is work of great importance.

Whitehead contributed papers on some Indo-Greek copper coins and parthian coins, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

14. Further researches in Gupta coins

The most important discovery during last 60 years has been that of the Hoard of Gupta coins at Bayana in Bharatpur State. This was studied exhaustively by Dr. A. S. Altekar who also published the well-known catalogue on these coins. This hoard brought to light many new coin types of the Gupta rulers, among which may be mentioned the Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta II, Chhatra, King and Queen Rhinoceros, Lyrist and King and Queen types of Kumargupta I, and finally the Chhatra type of Kramaditya.

V. S. Sohoni and P. J. Chinmulgund also contributed to Gupta numismatics. The former by a study of the coin motifs and the latter by publishing new coin types. P. L. Gupta published many papers dealing with many aspects of Indian Numismatics dealing with coins of different periods. He also brought out a brochure on the Western Kshatrapas.

15. Researches in Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coinage

J. N. Unwala contributed substantially to the study of Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coinage. Other workers in the field of Indo-Sassanian coinage have been M. G. Dixit and P. J. Chinmulgund. As a result of these studies the provenance of these coins is found to be much wider than was supposed before and it is established that they were also circulating in Maharashtra.

16. Researches in metrology and metal contents of ancient coins

Though the question of metrology and metal content of ancient coins had received great attention of scholars like Cunningham, W. Elliot and Vincent Smith, the study of this important subject was rather neglected from 1920 to 1950. Recently, however, some scholars have taken up this question for further study and contributions of great interest have been made by A. S. Altekar, A. K. Narayan, K. S. Maity and P. J. Chinmulgund. Their papers on this subject have appeared in *JNSI*. In view of these studies it may be possible eventually to put the metrology of Indian coins on a rational and scientific basis.

17. Researches in South-Indian Numismatics

In the field of South Indian Numismatics, the first name is that of W. Elliot. His well known work *Coins of Southern India* published in 1886 is still a standard work of reference. R. H. C. Tufnell also, was an early pioneer in this field and J. F. Fleet with his wide interests enriched this branch of study. J. E. Taracy's work must also be mentioned in this connection.

South Indian coins have not so far been studied with the same attention and care as the coins of North and Central India. Scholars who have made special contributions in this field are few. R. S. R. Ayangar contributed several papers dealing with the coinage of the Cholas, Chalukyas and the Vijaynagar rulers. These papers appear in *Numismatics Supplement* and *The Journal of Indian History*.

M. H. Krishna has considerably added to the knowledge of South Indian Coins by his papers in the annual reports of Mysore Archaeological Department. In particular, they have greatly enriched our knowledge of the coins of Pandyas, Chalukyas, Pallvas and Vijaynagar. Further noteworthy contributions were made by T. Deshikachari. His books *South Indian Coins* and *Dravidian Coins* are not as well known as they should be.

Of all the South Indian issues those of Vijaynagar have received more attention and the important workers in this field have been J. F. Fleet, Father Heras, C. H. Biddulph, and E. Hulztch. K. D. Swaminathan has published some interesting papers on Kakatiya coins. Panchmukhi has also contributed some noteworthy papers on South Indian Coinage.

18. Researches in Muslim coinage

Coming to the Muslim period, as was the case with the ancient period, interest in these coins was first taken principally by British Officers in India, who were in the Army Service or in the Civil Service. The first significant contribution was a paper by H. T. Colebrooke on the coins of Bengal Sultans in *J.A.S.B.* This was followed in early 1846 by a paper by J. W. Laidlay on the same coin series. This paper for the first time gave a fairly complete history of Bengal Sultans.

One of the great figures in the field of Muslim coinage was E. Thomas. He studied the coin series of the Kings of Gazni and Sultans of Delhi. He made a special study of the coinages of the Sultans of Delhi. In 1871 he published his well-known monograph *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.* His work was followed up by Blochmann. Significant contributions were made in this field by Hoernle, who studied many issues of the slave Kings, Tughlaqs and Suris. C. J. Rodgers also worked in this field and published many papers dealing with newly discovered coins of these dynasties.

19. Researches in coins of Bengal Sultans

The coins of Bengal Sultans were carefully studied by Bayley in the sixties of the last century. The study of this series received great attention as a result of the discovery of a hoard of more than 13,000 silver coins of the Sultans of Delhi and Sultans of Bengal. This hoard disclosed coins ranging over a period of more than 100 years. All these studies were made use of by E. Thomas in his well-known little book *The Initial Coinage of Bengal.*

Wilson and Rodgers in 1846 and 1886 published papers on the larins of Adilshahi Sultans and the coins of the Muslim Kings of Malabar. The coins of Gujarat Sultans were the special field of G. P. Taylor, in which he made valuable contribution. The coins of the Sharki Kingdom of Jaunpur received attention for the first time at the hand of Blochmann. Bahamani coinage was studied by Codrington and Gibbs during the period from 1880 to 1890.

C. J. Rodgers was the first to study the coins of the Gazni rulers of the Punjab.

20. Some earlier researches in Mughal coinage

During the first half of the 19th century there were few scholars interested in this study of Mughal coinage. Rajendralal Mitra published some papers in 1850 dealing with some Mughal coins and the Zodiac rupees of Jahangir. The study of Mughal coins received its due share when C. J. Rodgers, who was earlier interested in ancient Indian coinage, entered the field in 1880. He wrote a number of papers on Mughal coinage which appeared in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.* His work is still of great importance and has been a source of constant interest to later scholars.

The large collection of Mughal coins in the British Museum was carefully catalogued and published by S. Lane-Poole. This catalogue is still a standard work of reference. C. J. Rodgers brought out five catalogues of these coins in the Lahore Museum and four catalogues of these coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta. He was occupied in this great work from 1890 to 1897.

21. Recent researches in Mughal coinage

As has been noticed earlier the *Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* have been the principal Indian Journals where researches on Numismatics by Indian scholars have appeared. In the 20th century the study of Muslim and Mughal coins received the attention of scholars like K. N. Dixit, V. S. Agrawal and C. R. Singhal. The last scholar has been and is one of the foremost workers in the field of Muslim and Mughal Numismatics in recent years. His work *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India* is a standard work on this subject.

The coins of the independent Sultans were studied by G. P. Taylor, S. H. Hodivala, P. S. Tarapore and C. R. Singhal among others. These scholars concerned themselves with Kashmir, Gujarat and Malva Sultanates. The Bahamani coins received the attention of R. Burn (1905) and H. M. Whittle (1918). These studies were continued by P. S. Tarapore, C. R. Singhal, H. A. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi. The material on the coins of Kutubshahi Sultans has been brought together by M. A. Wali Khan in his Monograph dealing with these coins.

We have already seen the work done in Mughal Numismatics by earlier scholars. A well known name in this field is that of S. H. Hodivala who contributed a large number of papers on this subject. He also studied contemporary documents and brought to light many new facts on the basis of these sources. His essays on Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics are of great value. The Mughal coins in Indian Museum Calcutta, Lahore Museum and Lucknow Museum were catalogued by H. N. Wright (1908), R. B. Whitehead (1914) and C. J. Brown (1920). It is a matter of regret that workers in the field of Muslim and Mughal coins are getting less and less.

22. Researches in coins of Indian States

Though the coins of the Indian States have been studied in the late 19th and early 20th century, not much further work has been done in recent years. In view of the merger of the Indian States in the Indian Union and the disappearance of all local coinage it is necessary that whatever records are available from the various States are studied and the results of this study published as early as possible.

23. Publication of 'Corpus of Indian Coins'

Lastly, we must mention the *Corpus of Indian Coins*, the publication of which has been planned by the Numismatic Society of India. Volume IV in this series, *The coinage of the Gupta Empire* by A. S. Altekar has already been published. In addition to this The Society has published two memoirs and 10 monographs dealing with special aspects of Indian Numismatics. These monographs are invaluable to the students of the subject inasmuch as they give exhaustive information in compact books on special subjects. Some of these monographs are :—

(1) *The Coin Types of Indo-Greek Kings,*

(2) *The List of Satvahana Coins,*

(3) *A Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch Marked Coins and*

(4) *The Gold Coin Types of the Great Kushnas.*

Section V

RELIGION

VEDIC RELIGION
Dr. R. N. Dandekar

VAISNAVISM
Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri

SAIVISM AND SAKTISM
Dr. G. T. Deshpande

BUDDHIST STUDIES
Dr. V. V. Gokhale

JAIN STUDIES
Dr. A. N. Upadhye

PURANIC STUDIES
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar

VEDIC RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

DR. R. N. DANDEKAR

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In 1805, Henry Thomas Colebrooke published his essay, 'On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus', and thereby became entitled to the distinction of being the first Western scholar ever to write about the Veda. Since then, Western scholars like Bopp, Roth, Weber, Max Muller, Muir, Ludwig, Bergaigne, Hopkins, etc. have contributed to a very considerable extent to the knowledge of Vedic Religion and Mythology. An attempt is made here to take a survey of these contributions of Western scholars to the study of Vedic Religion and Mythology.

1. Colebrooke's pioneering effort

In 1805, Henry Thomas Colebrooke published his essay, "On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus",[1] and thereby became entitled to the distinction of being the first Western scholar ever to write about the Veda.[2]

In this essay, Colebrooke deals with what may be called the 'externals' of the Vedic literature rather than with its contents. He gives, mainly on the strength of the manuscripts collected by himself, the first sketch, in any European language, of the **Ṛgveda** and, to a smaller extent, of the other three Vedas. He also speaks of the Vedic **ṛṣis**, the various Vedic schools, and the Vedic commentaries, and incidentally touches the question of the authority of the Veda. He further refers to the **Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa**, the **Śāṁkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa**, and the **Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa**. From among the **Vedāṅgas**, he mentions the **Sūtras** only in passing, but he emphasises the importance of the *Nirukta* and evinces special interest in **Jyotiṣa**. About Vedic religion and mythology as such he has hardly anything to say.

Whatever information about the Veda Colebrooke has given in his essay is generally correct, but his writing also shows that he had not made any deep study of the Veda. Indeed, Colebrooke cannot be said to have even formed a proper estimate of the Veda. He says that the Vedas are far too extensive to be translated in entirety and that the ancient dialect in which they are written is exceedingly difficult and obscure, and further adds that their contents are such as would render such translation hardly rewarding either to the reader or to the translator.

Colebrooke's attitude towards the Veda was thus somewhat 'resigned', and, accordingly, his essay did not prove particularly conducive to further Vedic research.

2. Bopp, the father of Sanskrit philology and comparative linguistics in Europe

Franz Bopp, who must be regarded as the real father of Sanskrit philology and comparative linguistics in Europe, reproduces in his work, *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache*,[3] some specimens from the Vedas and a few episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in German translation;[4] but, his interest in the Veda being linguistic and grammatical, he has completely ignored the subject of the religion and mythology of the Veda. Even *Vyāsa*, the German journal which was founded by Othmar Frank in 1826 for the study of 'the philosophy, mythology, literature and language of the Hindu', did not carry any article on Vedic religion and mythology.

3. Von Bohlen's and Benfey's contribution

In 1830 was published von Bohlen's *Das alte Indien mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Aegypten*.[5] In this book the author does mention the four saṁhitās of the Veda, but what he seems to have known about them is, indeed, very little. In the section on religion and cult, a reference to the Vedic religion is wholly absent, and Indra, Varuṇa and Agni appear only as Lokapālās. According to von Bohlen, in India, as in Egypt, religion had its beginning in the worship of the sun-god.

Even in Benfey's long article entitled "Indien",[6] Vedic sources have remained conspicuously unutilised. Later, however, Benfey produced some remarkable work in the field of Vedic studies, such as the edition of the Sāmaveda,[7] the glossary of which might be regarded as the first attempt in the direction of a Vedic dictionary, the monographs on Vedic grammar and accent, and the translation of ṚV which had come up to I. 130.

As for the Vedic mythology, Benfey accepts the suggestion that Sārameyau in ṚV are to be related to Geek Kerberos. Further, according to him, Dionysos is to be understood as *Dyu* and *Niś*, or day and night.[8] Incidentally, both Benfey and Max Müller derive śrat in the word śrāddha—obviously wrongly—from the root *śru*.

4. Rosen's 'Rig-vedae Specimen'

Friedrich Rosen was a devoted pupil of Bopp, about whom it is said that he, being himself great in research work, accomplished more through his power of stimulating others than by systematic instruction, and his work *Radices Sanscritae*[9] clearly reflected the influence of the master.

But Rosen's true genius was revealed in the bold plan which he had conceived to publish the entire ṚV-saṁhitā with Latin translation and notes. In 1830, he published his *Rig-Vedae Specimen* for which he had utilised Yāska, Pāṇini, and Sāyaṇa. His work on the edition of ṚV was, however, interrupted by his ultimely death, and the part of it, which is now available, was published only posthumously.[10] This part contains the text of the first 121 hymns with translation (which is, to a large extent, based on Sāyaṇās commentary). The exegetical notes cover the portion only up to ṚV I.31.6.

This edition of ṚV, sadly incomplete as it had been, served as the basis of Vedic philology in Europe for a pretty long time. A new branch of knowledge was, as it were, taking shape, albeit falteringly, out of this edition. What is, however, significant in the context of the present study is that Rosen's work affords a few glimpses in what later on developed into comparative mythology. He it was, for instance, who, in connection with the legend of the Paṇis and the cows, first drew attention to the comparable myth of Cacus and Evander.

5. Inauguration of the era of critical scholarship

Eugene Burnouf (1801-1852) was 'essentially a pioneer and pathmaker', and, though he himself wrote little about the Veda, his lectures on the subject at Paris proved a veritable source of inspiration to his many pupils, among whom may be specially mentioned Roth, Max Müller, Regnier, and Néve.

Roth's first work, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda,*[11] written at the age of twenty-five, is truly epoch-making. Verily it was this monograph which, small as it was, must be said to have inaugurated the era of critical Vedic scholarship. The monograph consists of three sections dealing respectively with the Saṁhita, the Prātisākhya, and the history in ṚV.[12]

6. Roth's contribution to Vedic studies

It would be interesting to compare Roth's work with that of Colebrooke. As against the latter's counsel of despair, for Roth, the Veda offered a very rich and fertile field for research. In his view, for the history of Orient — indeed, for the entire history of antiquity—, there was perhaps nothing more important than the study of the Veda. Roth was interested more in the contents of the Veda than in its form — his work was 'philological' rather than linguistic, 'lexical' rather than grammatical. He believed that the hymns of ṚV were not the creation of a theological speculation, nor did they grow out of minute liturgical practice (which, according to him, definitely belonged to a later age). Their language, religion, and cult were more indigenous than those of the subsequent periods. The Indian commentators did not possess a key to these—they were overpowered by prejudice and did not have a sense of historical development.

Roth's slogan, therefore, was: 'Away from Sāyaṇa'. He insisted that the ṚV - exegesis must seek to make the texts yield their own sense. One must bring together and study comparatively all such passages as are related to one another verbally or from the point of view of contents.

Roth further emphasised that ṚV and the Brāhmaṇas had no direct connection, that there was a considerable gulf between the two.[13] Incidentally it may be pointed out that, through his essay, "Geschichtliches im Rigweda: Vasishthas Kampf mit Viśvāmitra,"[14] Roth has made the first truly critical attempt towards a historical estimate of ṚV.[15]

7. Roth's contribution to the study of Vedic religion and mythology

Even in the field of religion and mythology, which are our chief concern here, Roth's contributions are truly classical in character and mark the beginning of a new era. He insisted that the Ṛgvedic religion was by no means the outcome of priestly cunning, and tried to establish its human-natural character.

Roth's general attitude was ethical-aesthetic as against the ethnological-scientific of the subsequent periods. He spoke feelingly of the ṚV-hymns with which the ancestors of the Indians, living on the banks of the seven rivers, invoked the blessings of their gods for themselves and their kinsmen, worshipped the rising sun and dawn, sang of the wars between the thunderbolt-bearing God and the demon of darkness, and called for the help of the heavenly powers in their own battles.

Roth's "Zur Geschichte der Religionen"[16] consisted of three essays: 1. Die Brahma-Religion, 2. Die Buddha-Religion, and 3. Die Ormuzd-Religion. In the first essay, and, to some extent, also in the third, he deals with Vedic religion and mythology.

Roth's other essay "Die höchsten Götter der arischen Völker",[17] he has devoted mainly to the consideration of Varuṇa and Ādityas. Roth believed that Varuṇa personified the all-encompassing brilliant vault of the sky. „This sky-god was once the supreme god of the Aryans (before the Indians and the Iranians had separated), but, in ṚV, he was being gradually represented as a 'dethroned' sovereign.

Roth identified *Ādityas* with Amesha Spentas and *Varuṇa* with Ahura Mazdah, and sought to explain the connection of this ancient sky-god with the god of the ocean. *Aditi* was for him the personification of infinity.

According to Roth, Aśvins were the two bright streaks of the heaven ushering in *Uṣas*—the two harbingers of light in the morning-sky. The shining ether belonged to Indra.

Some other minor points of mythological interest made by Roth were that *brahman* (which word he derived from the root *bṛh*) symbolised the stirring up of thought and the fullness of feeling for God, that Saraṇyū was the storm-cloud, and that only heaven, as the abode of the righteous, was referred to in ṚV, the existence of the wicked having ended with death.

8. Contribution of Regnier and Felix Neve

From among the two other pupils of Burnouf, the approach to the study of the Veda of the one was grammatical, while that of the other was mythological. Adolphe Regnier's *Étude sur l' Idiome des Vedas et les Origines de la Langue Sanscrite*[18] constitutes the first critical and exact study of the Vedic language as such, while in his comprehensive monograph, *Essai sur le mythe des Ribhavas*,[19] **Félix Nève** treats critically of the mythology relating to Ṛbhus, which, according to him, represents the first apotheosis in the Veda, and incidentally of the whole Vedic mythology in general.[20]

9. Adalbert Kuhn's contribution to comparative mythology

Nève's work is spoken of approvingly by Adalbert Kuhn,[21] who is regarded as perhaps the most enthusiastic sponsor of comparative mythology. The basis of Kuhn's comparative mythology was threefold. Kuhn believed that, just as the Indo-European peoples had, since *Urzeit*, a common language, they also had not a few religious and mythological concepts (as also customs and manners) in common. He further believed that the etymologies of the names of the various Vedic gods provided ample material for the study of these common religious and mythological concepts. In other words, comparative linguistics and comparative mythology went hand in hand. And finally he believed that most of the Vedic (and, therefore, Indo-European) gods were personifications of natural powers and phenomena, particularly the meteorological phenomena. In his "Zur altesten Geschichte der indogermanischen Völker."[22] Kuhn first applied his comparative study of Indo-European languages — particularly Vedic, Greek, and Germanic — to the reconstruction of the Indo-European antiquity.

10. Common pantheon of Gods

But Kuhn's principal work in the field of comparative mythology is *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks.*[23] Here he points to the traces, among the various Indo-European peoples, of a common pantheon of gods and a common mythology. These traces he discovers mainly in legends and folk-tales.[24]

For this purpose, Kuhn has brought together a considerable amount of material, suggesting a large number of etymological equations (which are, however, not always acceptable) and mythological comparisons. He seems to think of the Vedic mythology not as an 'Indian' mythology, but merely as an aspect of the boundless Indo-European mythology. All that the Veda does for him is to provide materials for comparison.

This has resulted in the undue prominence which he has given to such concepts as Saraṇyu and Sārameya, whose counterparts, according to him, may be easily found in Erinys and Hermeias respectively. Uṣas reminds him of Brünhild. He identifies Ṛbhus with Greek Orpheus—even with Germanic Elben—and the Gandharvas with Kentauren.

In his above-mentioned book, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, Kuhn has studied, among others, the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī and of Cyavana from the point of view of comparative mythology. His papers on "Pitars as phenomena of light", "Dwarfs as souls of the dead", and "Dwarfs as phenomena of light" are included in the second volume of *Mythologische Studien von Adalbert Kuhn.*[25].

In the same volume he has dealt with "Cows in Indo-germanic mythology". According to him, they represent clouds and rays of light. He believes that the Paṇis, who are said to have stolen the cows, are mythological beings, and emphasises their connection with Asura Vala.

11. Contributions by Sonne and Lassen

A reference may be made here to the linguistic and mythological investigations made by W. Sonne with special reference to ṚV I.50,[26] which reveal the unmistakable influence of Kuhn's approach and methodology. Speaking of Aśvins and Dioscuri, Sonne points out that two parallel rafters tied together by means of pieces of wood placed crosswise are the symbol of Dioscuri,[27] and are referred to in the Veda as the contrivance with the help of which Aśvins rescued Bhujyu.

In his *Indische Altertumskunde,* Vol. 1,[28] Christian Lassen has represented the gods of ṚV mainly on the basis of Roth's "Zur Geschichte der Religionen", resorting to much false etymology. In the second edition of that volume,[29] however, he has made ample use of the findings of comparative mythology, particularly as set forth by Kuhn whose *Herabkunft* he has cited quite frequently.

12. Albrecht Weber's Work

Albrecht Weber was one of the most prolific Ṣanskritists in Germany. His interests extended over various branches of Sanskrit and Prakrit philology, but he has written comparatively little on Vedic religion and mythology as such.[30]

However, at a very early stage in his career, Weber directed his attention to a critical study of Vedic legends. As early as in

1850, he published in the first volume of his journal, *Indische Studien*, a paper on the two legends from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, namely, the legend of Manu and the Deluge and the legend of **Videgha** Māthava. This latter legend, according to Weber, clearly referred to the expansion of the Vedic Aryans from the region of the river Sarasvatī to that of Sadānīrā in Kosala-Videha.

Later, Weber also dealt with other legends, such as those of the rejuvenation of Cyavana, the revengeful requital after death, Vāmadeva's two mares, and Pururavas and Urvaśī. Of course, in the course of his profuse writing, Weber had many occasions to discuss the nature of Vedic gods. While doing so, he has depended, to a large extent, on the etymologies of the names of these gods. At one place, for instance, he has identified Aśvins with the Gemini stars and has added that they were called Nāsatyau because they appeared 'like nose (or island) in the ocean of the morning-sky'. Elsewhere he has accepted the equation, Sārameyau = Kerberos. He has also referred approvingly to the identification of Dyauṣ-pitā with Zeus Pater and Jupiter, and of Sūrya with Helios and Sol.

13. Studies by Aufrecht and Burnouf

The principal achievement of Theodor Aufrecht in the field of Vedic studies was that it was he who published the first complete edition of ṚV.[31] This edition, which gave the text transcribed in Roman characters, must be said to have exercised, for a pretty long time, by far the greatest influence on the Vedic studies in Germany.

As for the Vedic religion, Aufrecht believed that Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Dyauḥ and Viṣṇu were the oldest gods, and that, in ṚV, the worship of these gods seemed to be superseded by the worship of newer gods.

About the same time when Aufrecht's edition of ṚV was nearing completion, that is to say, in 1863, Émile Burnouf, the nephew of Eugéne Burnouf, published his *Essai sur le Véda*,[32] which as the subtitle indicated, consisted of studies on the religion, literature, and social organization of India from the early times to the brahmanic period.

In this book, the younger Burnouf has dealt, among others, with such topics as the origin of caste, the absence of any hierarchy among the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedic ritual, and the origin of gods and their symbolic nature.[33] His treatment of the Vedic religion was oriented by comparative linguistics and comparative mythology, but his general approach was essentially speculative. According to him, Vedic ritual was but an abridged representation of the grand working of nature. For him, Agni personified the principle of fire as also of life. Many of Émile Burnouf's ideas about the Vedic religion and mythology seem to have been later adopted and developed by Bergaigne.

14. Max Muller's contribution to the study of Vedic religion

In the field of Vedic studies, the name of Fredrich Max Müller is celebrated as that of the scholar who gave to the Vedists the *Editio Princeps* of the ṚV-Saṁhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. But Max Müller must also be regarded as the first scholar who roused genuine interest for the Veda among the generally educated people of the West.[34]. He did not write only for the specialists, and yet his expert knowledge of the facts of the Veda invested his writings with a kind of authority.

It was while attending E. Burnouf's lectures in Paris that Max Müller received the inspiration for the edition of ṚV with Sāyana's commentary. The first volume of this edition was published in 1849 and the last in 1874.

As for Vedic exegesis as such, Max Müller has not done much except perhaps his English translation of the Hymns to Maruts.[35] His main concern seems to have been the religion of Veda.[36] Max Müller believed that the true history of mankind was the history of man's religion. And he further believed that from no other source did one understand the origin and development of religion so thoroughly as from the Indian scriptures.[37]

"While Hesiod gives us" he writes, "as it were, the past history of a theogony, we see in the Veda the theogony itself, the very birth and growth of the gods, i.e. the birth and growth of the words for god".[38] Max Müller did not approve of the tendency to study the mythology of the Veda as isolated from the religion of the Veda. According to him, myth-building was something morbid; a mythological religion always presupposed a healthy religion. Another favourite contention of Max Müller's was that religion was closely connected with language, and that, therefore, the approach to the science of religion should be similar to that to the science of language.[39]

15. Max Muller's views regarding Vedic religion

Max Müller started his discussion of the Vedic religion with certain firm assumptions. All religions, according to him, had some common basic elements, such as the realisation of the Divine in the actual, the feeling of human weakness and dependence, the faith in the divine ordering of the world, the consciousness of good and bad, and the hope for a higher and better life. Again, all religions, howsoever much they might differ in other respects, agreed in one point, namely that their evidence was not entirely supplied by sensuous perception.

If, then, all religious ideas transcended the limits of sensuous perception, to what did they owe their origin? Two possibilities could be suggested in this connection. Firstly, one might think of some kind of external revelation. Or one might assume that man possessed a religious instinct by which he, alone of all other living creatures, was enabled to perceive the infinite, the invisible, the divine.

Max Müller was not inclined to subscribe to any of these two views in entirety, though, in connection with the Vedic religion, he does seem to have accepted an Uroffenbarung — an original revelation — as implied by the word **Śruti.**

Proceeding further in his own peculiar way, Max Müller pointed out that, by a simple psychological analysis, one could discover "*three classes of things,* which we can perceive with our senses, but which leave in us three very distinct kinds of impression of reality"[40]: (1) *Tangible* objects, such as stones, shells, and bones, which were supposed to have been the earliest objects of religious worship by the religion-historians who held fetishism to be the beginning of all religion;[41] (2) *Semi-tangible* objects, such as trees, mountains, rivers, the sea, and the earth; and (3) *Intangible* objects, such as the sky, the stars, the sun, the dawn, and the moon.

The testimony of the Veda, Max Müller further pointed out, showed that, out of the three foregoing classes of objects, the first was "hardly represented at all among the so-called deities of the Rig-Veda".[42] In other words, there were no traces of fetishism in ṚV though, according to Max Müller, they began to appear in more modern hymns, particularly those of the *Atharvaveda.* As for the semi-tangible objects, each one of them could be met with among the deities of the Veda. Max Müller has characterised such deities as semi-deities. In the intangible objects could be discovered the germs of what might be called full deities. Indeed, the various objects belonging to the second and the third classes were the windows through which the ancient Vedic Aryans first looked into infinitude — into divinity.

16. Max Muller's conception of Vedic religion

This, then, is a brief, but certainly not quite adequate, sketch of Max Müller's view regarding the origin of the Vedic religion. Max Müller's conception of the Vedic religion was essentially naturalistic. He believed that Vedic poets always sought to perceive the 'divine', the 'supernatural', the 'infinite', behind the 'natural'. All 'divinities', except those which, like the sky, the sun, etc., were actually visible, were anthropomorphised. And, usually, a name was given to a god, which denoted the special characteristic of the nature (or form) of that god, such as Indra (from *indu*=drop) the rainer, Rudra the howler, Maruts the thrusters, and Varuṇa the all-encompasser.[43]

Max Müller was a comparative religionist and a comparative mythologist, and he raised the superstructure of his theories pertaining to the subject of religion and mythology on the three basic assumptions, namely, the assumption of a common Indo-European pantheon of gods and a common Indo-European mythology, the assumption that most of the mythology was made up of natural phenomena translated into the language of myths and legends, and the assumption that etymologising the names of the Vedic gods helped, on the one hand, to illumine their character, and, on the other, to establish their relationship with their counterparts in other Indo-European mythologies.[44]

Max Müller accepts, for instance, the identification of Sārameyau with Hermeias (as suggested by Kuhn) and of Dyu-Niś with Dionysos (as suggested by Benfey). Saramā is compared with Helena, and consequently with Uṣas. Vivasvat and Saraṇyū

(Erinnys) personify the sky and the dawn. Urvaśī also is Uṣas or the dawn. Aditi, implying infinitude or immortality, is one of the oldest names of the dawn, that is, of that portion of the sky whence every morning the light and life of the world flash forth. She personifies the golden sea behind the dawn. Aśvinau represent 'the day and the night, and Yama is the setting sun. Other linguistic and mythological equations accepted by Max Müller are: Prajanya and Perkunas (Lith.), Dyauḥ and Zeus, Uṣas and Eos, Naktā and Nyx, Sūrya and Helios, Agni and Ignis, Bhaga and Bogu (old Slav.), Varuṇá and Ouranos, Vāta and Wotan, and Vāk and Vox. *Brahman* is connected with Latin *verbum* (which is, of course, evidently wrong).

Max Müller also speaks of the struggle for supremacy between Dyauḥ, the old primeval god, and Indra, the more modern and personal god. In the name Maruts can be seen the seeds of the Italian war-god Mars. Prometheus may have been the counterpart of Pramantha Orpheus of Ṛbhu and Pan of **Pavana.** In the word *asura,* meaning originally 'endowed with breath', and afterwards god, one may recognise the first attempt at what has sometimes been called *animism* in later religion. Two essential concepts of the Vedic religion, apart from the semi-divinities and the full divinities mentioned above, are those of Aditi (infinity) and Ṛta (from the root ṛ = go: the path of the sun; therefore, order). Max Müller thinks that, side by side with śraddhā,[45] there are, in ṚV, traces of atheism or disbelief in god. But, according to him, atheism is a relative concept in the Veda.

17. Max Muller's solar interpretation

It will be seen that a distinctive feature of Max Müller's view of the Vedic mythology is that, in his naturalistic conception of that mythology, he always emphasized a solar interpretation.[46] One did not need to wonder, he said, why so much of the old mythology, the daily talk, of the Aryans was solar.

In his inimitably eloquent way Max Müller wrote: "What else could it have been? The names of the sun are endless, and so are his stories; but who he was, whence he came and whither he went, remained a mystery from beginning to end ...... man looked up to the sun, yearning for the response of a soul, and though that response never came, though his senses recoiled, dazzled and blinded by an effulgence which he could not support, yet he never doubted that the invisible was there, and that, where his senses failed him, where he could neither grasp nor comprehend, he might still shut his eyes and trust, fall down and worship".[47]

It should, however, be remembered that solarisation of many Vedic divinities marked but a subsequent stage in the evolution of the Vedic mythology, and that Max Müller's solar interpretation might refer only to that particular stage.

18. Max Muller's theory of Henotheism

Max Müller's special contribution to the study of the Vedic religion is his theory of henotheism in ṚV. The earliest form of the religion of the Veda, he says, is neither polytheism nor monotheism; it is what he prefers to call henotheism or kathenotheism, that is to say, "a successive belief in single supreme gods".

This Henotheism is to be clearly distinguished "from that phase of religious thought which we commonly call polytheism, in which the many gods are already subordinated to one supreme god, and by which therefore the craving after the one without a second has been more fully satisfied. In the Veda one god after another is invoked. For the time being, all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet, while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other gods".[48]

To identify Indra, Agni, and **Varuṇa** is one thing; it is syncretism.[49] To address either Indra or Agni or **Varuṇa** as, for time being, the only god in existence with an entire forgetfulness of all other gods is quite another. It is this latter tendency, the henotheistic tendency, which is fully developed and predominantly reflected in the hymns of ṚV.[50]

By way of tracing the further development of Vedic henotheism, **Max Müller** refers to the tendency of identifying one god with another, to the formation of dual divinities, to the concept of **Viśve-Devāh**, the All-gods in their collective capacity, and finally to the expedient of making one of the gods supreme above all the rest.

Max Müller mentions three main directions of development—towards organized polytheism, towards exclusive monotheism, and towards atheism.[51] Speaking of the Vedic religion as a whole and correlating the different stages in its growth with the different periods of Vedic literature, Max Müller says that the majority of the hymns of ṚV represent the childhood of that religion, the Brāhmaṇas with their sacrificial, domestic, and moral ordinances, its busy manhood, and the Upaniṣads its maturity and old age.

19. Gubernatis's study of animals in Indo-European mythology

The Italian scholar, Angelo de Gubernatis, was a comparative mythologist, and, though he had been a pupil of Weber, he mostly followed Kuhn, Max Müller and George Cox.[52] He wrote his principal work on the animals in the Indo-European mythology in Italian, but it was first published in an English translation under the title *Zoolical Mythology*.[53]

In this book, Gubernatis has dealt with the animals under three categories, namely, the animals of the land (the bull and the cow being the most prominent among these), the animals of the mid-region, and the animals of water, and the starting point of the treatment in each chapter is ṚV.

The relationship between the gods and the animals is variously expressed. A god is compared with an animal, as, for instance, when Indra is called **vṛṣabha**; or a divinity is represented as assuming the form of an animal, as, for instance, when Aditi is represented as a cow; or animals are said to drive the vehicle of a divinity and thereby reflect its character and power.

Gubernatis's interpretation of mythology is naturalistic; he believes that the myths based on the phenomena relating to the sky are brought down to the earth and carried forward in the form of fables, legends, and fairy-tales in ever newer variations. Accordingly, whatever has been said about animals in mythology he traces back to the sun and the moon, the thunderbolt, the lightning, the dawn, the clouds, the night, and the darkness, and explains it in the light of the mutual connections between these natural phenomena.

Gubernatis further points out that a large number of myths have originated out of 'contradictions' and 'antetheses', that is to say, out of the contrasting forms in which these heavenly phenomena appear to one and the same observer, let alone, to different observers. Aurora is the morning and the evening twilight, but she appears also during the night, which fact explains why there is a reference to her slightly demoniac character in some cases. Indra is the god of rain and thunder, but he is also the nocturnal sun.

About the two Aśvins, Gubernatis says that one of them represents the white moon and the other the sun, or he identifies them with the morning twilight and the evening twilight respectively. He further adds that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are the epic representatives of the Vedic Aśvins.

Among other identifications in zoological mythology, suggested by Gubernatis, may be mentioned the following: The ass is the steed of the sun during the night; the goat is the sun; the stag represents the resplendent phenomena which appear in the cloudy or nocturnal forest; and the fox is the ruddy negotiator between the bright day and the dark night.

20. Gubernatis's studies in comparative mythology

In another of his works, namely, *Letture sopra la Mitologia Vedica,*[54] Gubernatis treats of Vedic gods, beginning with Dyauḥ and ending with Rudra, in a more or less elementary manner. He compares the Vedic myths variously with Christian concepts. Elsewhere,[55] he has characterised ṚV as the *Bible* of the Aryans. The folk-religion of the Aryans, according to him, is born out of their observation of natural phenomena. The hero of the bright phenomena is god, that of the dark ones is satan. Gubernatis asserts that mythology and 'epopea' are necessarily interdependent. At the same time, 'epopea' without war is unthinkable. Therefore, in mythology, the concept of heavenly war must predominate. Following this line of argument, Gubernatis discusses the different representations of this heavenly war in all the maṇḍalas of ṚV one after another.[56] For him, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Sudās are all mythical characters.[57] Even the essential basis of the Rāmāyaṇa is, according to him, mythical. Laṅkā is the cloud or the night; Rāma is Viṣṇu or Indra, that is, the sun; Sīta is Uṣas or the dawn; the monkeys are the rays of the sun. In this connection, it must be pointed out that the etymologies suggested by Gubernatis are not always sound, while his mythological equations are often bold and farfetched.[58]

21. Muir's work on Vedic religion and mythology

A kind of reaction against the approach to the Vedic mythology exclusively from the point of view of comparative mythology—an approach which was so enthusiastically sponsored by Kuhn and Max Müller—was but quite natural, and became evident, to a certain extent, in John Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*,[59] particularly in the fifth volume in the series. Volume 5 of Muir's work has the subtitle, "Contributions to a knowledge of the Cosmogony, Mythology, Religious Ideas, Life and Manners of the Indians in the Vedic Age", and provides, perhaps for the first time, through its rich but discerning collection of pertinent Vedic sources, a firm and efficient basis for a deeper and more critical study of Vedic religion and mythology.[60]

This effort of Muir, in a sense, implies his insistence that the Vedic religion and mythology ought to be studied primarily from the Vedic sources, the comparative methods being utilised only secondarily. It may, however, be pointed out that Muir himself has not renounced comparative mythology altogether. He accepts the identification of Varuṇa with Ouranos, and consequently describes the former as representing the all-encompassing sky. He cites Roth and Westergaard in connection with the development of Varuṇa's character from the ancient sky-god to the god of the ocean. He also discusses the relationship between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdah.[61]

As for Aditi, Muir considers her to be 'a personification of universal, all-embracing Nature, or Being', while Roth and Max Müller on whom he normally depends, see in her the personification of infinity. He refers to the view of Goldstücker who distinguishes between the cosmic and the human or historical elements in the Aśvin-myth and suggests that, like Ṛbhus, Aśvins were originally renowned mortals, who, in course of time, were translated into the companionship of gods.[62]

22. Ludwig's translation of Rgveda

If Aufrecht was the first scholar to bring out a complete edition of ṚV, Alfred Ludwig was the first to publish a complete German translation of that Veda. Actually two German translations—one by Ludwig and the other by Hermann Grassmann—appeared about the same time. The first part of Grassmann's translation of ṚV (maṇḍalas 2-8), with critical and exegetical notes, was issued at Leipzig in 1876, and the second part (maṇḍalas 1, 9 and 10) in 1877.[63]

Ludwig's work was planned on a grander scale.[64] It consisted of six volumes—volumes 1 and 2 contained a complete translation of the ṚV-Saṁhitā, volume 3 was intended to be a kind of an exhaustive introduction; volumes 4 and 5 constituted a detailed commentary; and volume 6 consisted of a register of citations, an index of conjectures, a glossary, and a material and grammatical repertory.[65]

The third volume of Ludwig's work is entitled: *Die Mantralitteratur und das alte Indien, als Einleitung zur Übersetzung.* In it, Ludwig has brought together and supplemented through his own researches the findings in Vedic philology of Roth, Max Müller, and Muir, among others. It is, indeed, a rich storehouse of materials.

So far as Vedic mythology, religion, and philosophy are concerned, it may be pointed out that Ludwig has, among other things, commented upon such concepts as *ṛta*, *brahman*, *satya*, and *māyā*. He has rejected the identification of Varuṇa with Ouranos. Varuṇa, according to him, was not the sky-god in the elementary sense of the word; Dyauḥ was the proper sky-god.

More or less similar to, but perhaps more systematically written than Ludwig's third volume is Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*.[66] Curiously enough, Zimmer has not at all dealt with mythology and ritual, though he has included in his book some sections on cosmology and astronomy, where his main authority is Weber.

23. Bollensen's contribution to Vedic philology

Friedrich Bollensen is particularly well known as a critical editor of Sanskrit dramas, but he has also made a few interesting contributions to Vedic philology.

In one of his "Beiträge zur Kritik des Veda",[67] he has dealt with the Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, and Indra. He depends largely on the etymologies of the names of these gods, but his etymologising is not always convincing. For instance, he derives *mitra* from the root *smi* which means 'to be bright', 'to emit rays of light'.

According to him, Varuṇa originally represented the day-light. He connects the word Varuṇa with the root *var*, which, he says, often implies the same thing as the root *vas* (= to shine). He understands devaḥ aryaḥ in ṚV VII. 64.3 as referring to Aryaman, who, in his view, is the proper Deus Aricus. On the other hand, Indra (derived from the root *indh*), says Bollensen, is the national god in the religious context. Aśvins are, for him, the morning star and the evening star.

24. Brunnhofer's studies

A mention may be made at this stage of the rather peculiar views about the Veda of Hermann Brunnhofer. Brunnhofer begins by emphasizing that, as the first step towards a proper understanding of the Veda, one must free oneself from Roth's interpretation of it.

His own starting point is the study of the names of persons and places occurring in the Veda. Depending mainly on phonetic similarities, he connects these names with the names of persons and places in ancient Iran, and asserts that the original home of the 'Indian Sanskrit-Aryans' was Iran and Turan.

Brunnhofer's principal work is entitled *Iran und Turan*,[68] and comprises his historical-geographical and ethnological investigations about the oldest scene of Indian ur-history. His methodology, based on phonetic equations, is fully illustrated in this book.

Brunnhofer had already suggested that śakapūta in ṚV X. 132.5 was śaka-putra (son of Śaka), an Iranian poet of RV. Similarly he understands **Dṛbhika** (ṚV II. 14.3) as the representative of the Iranian family of Derbiks, and Nahus as identical with the old Persian *naqa*, which is used in cunneiform inscriptions with reference to Persian emperors. King Abhyavartin (ṚV VI. 27. 5, 8) is connected with the city **Abīvard** in Khorasan. Ṛṣi Agastya, connected with old Persian Asharagata, was an Iranian whose mastery over Sanskrit was not perfect. **Śunaḥśepa** also must have been of Iranian origin, for, "only the people who were mad about dogs, like the Iranians, could think of such a name". **Pṛthuparśavaḥ** (VIII. 83.1) are undoubtedly identical with the Parthians and the Persians; so too are **Pārthavāḥ** (VI. 27.8) the Parthians. Tura **Kāvaṣeya** of the **Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa**[69] is an Iranian from Turan, and the river **Kārotī**, on whose banks he is said to have offered a sacrifice to the gods, is to be identified with the Iranian Haraquaiti.[70]

Perhaps the most fantastic suggestion of Brunnhofer's is that one has to see in the words **apāmīvām......sedha** (X. 98.12) a reference to the city Apameia on the Caspian passes. *Samudra* in **ṚV**, he further says, almost always denotes the Caspian sea. The rivers Oxus and Jaxartes are more akin to ṚV than the Indus.[71] Brunnhofer has no doubt whatsoever about the Iranian provenance of most of the important **ṚV-hymns**. He even goes to the extent of asserting that "many Vedic ṛṣis not only never set foot on the Indian soil, but they presumably did not even know India."

25. Brunnhofer's views on Vedic mythology

In connection with mythology also, Brunnhofer has put forth some equally unrestrained views. At one place,[72] he compares Indra with Andreas, while, at another, he discovers the reflection of Indra's battle with Varcin in the battle between Anderiman and Gurgin described in the *Shahnamah*.

Uṣas, whose chariot was shattered by Indra (IV. 30.8 ff.), is, for Brunnhofer, queen Semiramis of Babylon who had accomplished a victorious campaign in the region of the Indus. The ornaments and weapons of Maruts remind him of the Central Asian cuirassiers of antiquity, namely, the Parthians.[73] In Cumuri he finds traces of the Sake-queen Tomyris. He surmises that **Divodāsa** was a Hittite Cappadocian.[74] **Varuṇa**, who, according to Brunnhofer, was the god of the starry night-sky and the unending ocean, was transformed from the lord of the universe to **Vṛtra**, the enemy of the universe.

On the strength of **ṚV** VII. 96.1, Brunnhofer characterises Sarasvatī as the 'assyrian' among the rivers.[75] He accepts the identification of the Gandharvas with Centauros, and, connecting the word *kandarpa* with *gandharva*, further suggests that Kandarpa, the god of love, may have been Gandharva who survived from antiquity. Similarly, by a very bold stretch of imagination, he connects mokī (night) with Baukis of the Philomon-Baukis legend. It will be thus seen that Brunnhofer's Vedic Iranism and Turanism has a very wide (and also wild) connotation and application.

26. Bergaigne's contributions to the study of Vedic mythology

Abel Bergaigne must be said to represent a distinct landmark in the history of the study of Vedic religion and mythology. Indeed, he was the first Western scholar to have devoted a whole book[76] exclusively to the consideration of the religion of the Veda. Both in the fields of Vedic exegesis and Vedic religion, he sought to cut new paths. As against the lexical efforts of Roth and Grassmann, Bergaigne insisted that, as far as possible, the meaning assigned to a Vedic word should be such as would be found adequate in all the passages where that particular word occurred. Similarly, by way of a reaction against the methods of comparative mythology which had been, in a sense, overworked by Kuhn and Max Müller, he restricted himself only to ṚV and tried to reconvey the profuse and apparently complex mythology of the Veda in a simple system which could be expressed in a few formulas.

According to Bergaigne, ṚV was full of priestly rhetoric, subtleties, and paradoxes.[77] Mythology and cult were rigorously interdependent—one could not be properly explained without the aid of the other. The ṛṣis of ṚV were themselves quite conscious of this interdependence.

27. Bergaigne's view regarding the mythology of Rgveda

The religion and mythology of ṚV as 'systematised' by Bergaigne in the form of what Oldenberg calls 'algebraic' formulas, may be set forth, in broad outlines, as follows: The mythology of the Vedic Aryans is closely connected with their sacrificial cult. This latter, by the very rites which constitute it, or at least by the greater part of the formulas in which these rites are described, appears at once to be an imitation of certain celestial phenomena. These phenomena are of two kinds: (1) those which accompany the rising of the sun (solar phenomena), and (2) those which accompany the fall of rain after a long drought (meteorological phenomena).

In both these kinds of phenomena, Vedic mythology distinguishes between male and female elements. The male element in the first group is the sun and the female element is the dawn (or dawns); the male and female elements in the second group are respectively lightning and cloud (or waters). These different elements can be represented differently in the framework of mythological anthropomorphism and zoomorphism.[78]

The supposed relationships among these elements are consequently reflected in the mythological connections among these beings of two sexes whether in human or animal form. For instance, the concomitance, priority, and posteriority of the natural phenomena are expressed in terms of sexual union or collateral kinship, paternity or maternity, and filiation of the mythical beings, respectively. Of course, these relationships can be confounded or reversed according to the different or manifold points of view. This would explain the incest between brother and sister, and father and daughter, referred to in the Veda, as also such descriptions as 'the daughter has given birth to the father' 'the son has begotten his mothers'. The sun is represented as the son or the lover or the father of Uṣas and the celestial waters are said to be either the mothers or the daughters of lightning.

This mythological idiom is reproduced also in the description of the Vedic ritual. The Vedic ritual can be thought of as comprising two principal stages, namely, the stage of the preparation of the oblation and the stage of the oblation being offered into the sacred fire. Here, too, Bergaigne points to the male and the female elements. The male element is the fire and the female element is the oblation or the prayers, and both these are represented as corresponding to the male and the female elements of the celestial phenomena.[69]

28. Bergaigne on sacrificial ritual

One of the most basic assumptions of Bergaigne is that the sacrificial ritual is the true reproduction on earth of the cosmic happenings, that is to say, of the acts which are accomplished in heaven.[80]

The elements of the ritual are not mere symbols of the elements of the celestial phenomena; they are verily, identical with them in nature, and, like them derive their origin from heaven. Vedic sacrifice, it is emphasised, is not a mere imitation—it is actually accomplished by means of the elements borrowed from heaven by men who claimed origin from heaven. On the other hand, the natural phenomena are themselves regarded as sacrifice.

Bergaigne explains that the real significance of a sacrifice being conceived as a replica of the celestial phenomena is that, under the particular form of naturalistic worship, the sacrificial practice produces in effigy that which it is desired should take place in reality. It is a kind of symbolic magic which is common to most of the primitive peoples and continues even up to a well-advanced state of civilisation.[81]

Bergaigne further explains that the Vedic sacrifice, which is regulated according to the seasons of the year and even according to the hours of the day, has for its object the maintenance of the natural order of the world, in solar as well as meteorological phenomena. It can prove efficacious enough even to hasten rainfall when needed.[82]

29. Bergaigne's conception of Vedic mythology

Bergaigne's conception of the Vedic mythology is, in the main, naturalistic. He accepts from his predecessors the suggestion that the principal phenomena of nature drawn upon by the Vedic mythology are sunrise and thunder. The various relations of heaven and earth are viewed as directly naturalistic.[83]

Bergaigne, however, hastens to add that the Vedic mythology also knows of other deities besides those which directly represent the elements, or the worlds in which these elements operate. In this connection, he mentions **Pūṣan** and **Viṣṇu**.[84] As for Indra, that god does derive his attributes from the elements over which he rules. But he also has the character of a warrior-god.[85]

According to Bergaigne, Indra is the god who makes the sun rise after the dawn, and who, armed with the thunderbolt, makes the celestial waters flow. It is, however, pointed out that, in the case of Indra, the sacrificial magic becomes effective in respect of the celestial phenomena only in an indirect way; Indra is said to be achieving his exploits, when intoxicated with Soma.

In the context of Indra, Bergaigne makes a very significant observation. He speaks of a two-fold conception of the order of the world in the Vedic mythology. In the Indra-mythology, this conception is 'dualistic', while, in the mythology relating to **Varuṇa** and **Ādityas**, it is 'unitarian'. Both 'good' and 'evil' are involved in the Indra-mythology — the former being represented (in the physical sense) in the form of light and rain and the latter in the form of darkness and drought. The 'good' is related to Indra, the 'evil' to Vṛtra. As against this, Varuṇa (and Ādityas) are sovereign gods. They rule over the world 'unopposed', while Indra has to wage constant wars.

In the 'unitarian' conception of the world-order in the Varuṇa-mythology, 'good' and 'evil' are referred to one and the same god. Accordingly, Varuṇa's character has a double aspect — propitious and penal —, while Indra is exclusively benevolent. Indra is always a friend, while Varuṇa acts like a judge.

30. Bergaigne on Vedic morality

The study of the sovereign gods like Varuṇa leads Bergaigne to the consideration of the Vedic ideas about morality. He asserts that the ṚV-hymns are not the work of moralists. The purpose of these hymns is essentially ceremonial and ritualistic. The poets of ṚV have never sought to formulate morality in precepts. There may be, if at all, only vague generalisations regarding the vices to be shunned and the virtues to be practised.[86] The primary obligation which the Vedic Aryans owed to their gods is in respect of ritual. An omission or a mistake in it is an offence, but the nature of this offence is 'cosmic-ethical' rather than merely 'moral'. In this connection, Bergaigne speaks of a threefold concept of law (ṛta) — natural, sacrificial, and moral.[87]

31. Contributions by Kaegi and Barth

The lead given by Bergaigne for writing comprehensive treatises on Vedic religion and mythology was enthusiastically followed by a number of well-known Vedists. A. Kaegi's *Der Rig-Veda, die älteste litteratur der Inder*[88] is a kind of general introduction to ṚV, and, in the matter of Vedic exegesis, conforms largely to the ideas of Roth.[89]

According to Kaegi, the majority of the hymns of ṚV, which he characterises as 'the premier intellectual monument of our race', mainly comprise invocations and glorifications of deities, which are in most cases, personifications of natural phenomena. They are prayers to the Eternal Ones and constitute perhaps the best specimens of vigorous primeval poetry.[90]

Les religions de l'Inde by A. Barth[91] is a more solid work and contains many original ideas. Barth has divided his work into two parts; in the first part he deals with the religion of the Veda, and in the second with Brahmanism, that is, with the ritual and the philosophical speculations and the decline of religion.[92] The Veda, according to this scholar, is pre-eminently a 'sacerdotal' literature — it can in no sense be called 'popular'. Not even in the oldest hymns can one discover primitive natural simplicity.

Barth further asserts that to speak of a 'Vedic people' as such is quite unwarranted. We cannot think in terms of any such specific people whose ideology is reflected in the Veda. The hymns of ṚV not only constitute just a portion of the great thesaurus of the 'ancient Aryan poems', but they do not even represent the entire religious poetry of the early Vedic age.

An important point stressed by Barth is that, at the time of the ṚV-hymns side by side with the hierarchical Vedic religion, there must have also existed several popular religious cults — cults such as those out of which Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism arose in later times. Another point made by him is that, in ṚV, Varuṇa can by no means be said to appear in 'a state of decay' (as suggested by Roth).

Barth also says — and quite rightly — that it will not be proper for one to seek to discover profound thought in every hymn of ṚV. In this connection, he declares that the Vedic poets often 'strive to be unintelligible' and manifest 'affectation and indolence'.[93]

32. Regnaud's ritualistic interpretation of Vedic hymns

More or less following in the wake of Bergaigne and Barth,[94] P. Regnaud presents a new system of the interpretation of ṚV. He starts with the assumption that the post-ṚV literature and the Indian commentaries are quite misleading so far as the correct understanding of ṚV is concerned. He also discards the interpretations of most of the Western Vedists.[95]

Regnaud asserts that the hymns of ṚV contain neither the invocations to gods nor any mythology of gods, but that, almost exclusively and in ever newer variations, they describe sacrificial ritual. This does not, of course, mean that they deal with the details of any specific sacrifice, but sacrifice in general is invariably their main concern. They speak mainly of Agni and Soma, which latter, according to Regnaud, is not a drink prepared from the juice of some plant, but an oil or a spirituous liquid with which the sacrificial fire is nourished.

Trying to determine the meanings of the words of ṚV through etymology, Regnaud offers absolutely new interpretations of many Vedic hymns. For instance, he says that the two hymns to Uṣas (ṚV I. 123, 124), the translation of which he has given in his monograph, do not celebrate the natural phenomena of the sun and the dawn, but that, under these symbols, they describe the sacrificial offering, the flame of Agni, and the flaming and inflammable liquid, Soma. Similarly, in connection with his translation of ṚV IV. 26 and 27, he gives his own interpretation of the myth of the advent of Soma.[96]

By and large, Regnaud's approach to the Veda may be said to have been oriented by three assumptions, namely, that there is a complete break of tradition between ṚV and the later Sanskrit literature,[97] that, so far as ṚV is concerned, the readings are certain, the vocabulary uncertain, and the contents for the most part not properly understood, and that (and this is particularly important) a large majority of Vedic words mean 'nourishment', 'sacrificial offering'.[98]

In support of this last assumption, Regnaud shows, by means of his peculiar etymologising, that āji does not mean 'battle', but that it is connected with ājya and means 'nourishment'. Similarly, pṛṣtha does not mean 'back' but liquid; pṛthivī is the sacrificial liquid which 'widens' in the course of its flow, and dyauḥ is the 'libation'. The ascription of such meanings to various Vedic words is obviously intended to confirm the hypothesis that ṚV is essentially a Veda of sacrifice.

33. Hopkin's and Hardy's treatment of Vedic gods

E. W. Hopkins has himself confessed that in writing his book[99] he had not desired 'to compete with Barth's well-known book under the same title'. However, it must be conceded that the scope of the work of Hopkins is larger than that of Barth. Hopkins first deals with the sources and methods and then gives a general description of India. He follows this with a statement (but not a critical discussion) about the pantheon of Vedic divinities and about the Brahmanic ritual and the Upaniṣadic speculations. The concluding part of his book is devoted to the consideration of popular Brahmanism, the Gṛhya-sūtras, and the Dharma-sūtras.

Hopkins's treatment of Vedic gods is conservative and cautious so far as the different schools of Vedic interpretation are concerned. He divides these gods into three classes — 'upper', 'middle', and "lower". This classification is obviously too vague, and cannot be said to be warranted by the facts of the Veda. Indeed, this entire section of Hopkins's book betrays a lack of definite criteria on the part of the author. His treatment of the Vedic ritual also is deficient in the sense that many significant concepts and practices have not found adequate exposition at his hands.

Hopkins does not have any specific theory of his own regarding the Vedic religion, nor does he present that religion in its historical development. He is conscious of the various problems arising out of the complex nature of the Vedic religion,[100] but he seems to fight shy of tackling them squarely.

Compared to Hopkin's book, E. Hardy's *Die vedische-brahmanische Periode der Religion des alten Indiens,*[101] which was published a couple of years before, may be said to contain a little fuller and more systematic treatment of the Vedic religion.[102] Hardy deals with the Vedic gods under different categories such as the sun and the moon gods; Varuṇa; Agni, Soma, Indra; the rain and the wind gods; newer divinities; and genii, demons, and spirits. He has also devoted a few sections to the consideration of legends, sacrificial rites, religious practices, and theosophy. But even Hardy's book is of the nature of a straightforward statement rather than of a critical exposition.

References

*This is a part of a longer survey which has appeared in the **Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section,** No. 21.

1. **As. Res.** 8, 369-476.
2. Colebrooke was at that time a member of the Superior Court of Appeal in Calcutta and Professor of Sanskrit in the College of Fort William.
3. Frankfurt a.M., 1816.
4. The translation of the episodes from the epics is metrical.

5. O. Frank also has written a monograph about the Indian connections with Egypt with particular reference to mythology.
6. Published in 1840 in the **Allgemeine Encyklopadie der Wissenschaften und Kunste** edited by Ersch and Gruber.
7. Leipzig, 1848.
8. Max Muller accepts this identification.
9. Berlin, 1827.
10. London, 1838.
11. Stuttgart, 1846.
12. It is certainly amazing that Roth could produce a book of such fundamental value in spite of the paucity of material (he had before him only Colebrooke's essay, Rosen's edition of the first astaka of **RV**, and Stevenson's edition of the **Samaveda** which he did not recognise as authoritative; for his monograph, Roth depended almost entirely on his study of manuscripts), his young age, and the short period of his training.
13. Roth's exegetical methods resulted in an 'isolated' treatment of **RV**, a tendency to multiply the meanings of a word, and textual emendations. In connection with the last, Roth seems to have depended largely on his intuition.
14. This is the third section in Roth's **Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda.**
15. Roth's monumental work on the editions of the **Nirukta** and the **Atharvaveda** as also in connection with the famous **Petersburg Dictionary** further marks him out as the grandsire of Vedic studies.
16. Published in **Theologisches Jahrbuch** 5, 346-63; 6, 175-90; 8, 281-97.
17. **ZDMG** 6, 67-77.
18. First Part, Paris, 1855.
19. Paris, 1847.
20. Neve has appended to his monograph the Sanskrit text (with Sayana's commentary) and the French translation of the **RV**-hymns to Rbhus.
21. **KZ** 4, 103.
22. **Ind. Stud.** 1, 321-63.
23. Gutersloh, 1859.
24. It may be pointed out that Kuhn had already published a paper entitled "Uber die Vrihaddevata" in **Ind. Stud.** 1 (1850). This would indicate that he took special interest in Indian mythology almost from the very beginning of his scholarly career.
25. Gutersloh, 1912 (published after his death, by his son).
26. **KZ** 12-15.
27. **Odyss.** 12, 431 H.
28. Bonn, 1847.
29. Published in 1867.
30. Reference may be incidentally made to Weber's editions of the **Vajasaneyi-Samhita** (Madhyamdina and Kanva recensions, with Mahidhara's commentary), the **Satapatha-Brahmana** (Madhyamdina recension, with extracts from the commentaries of Sayana, Harisvamin, and Dvivedaganga), and the **Katyayana-Srautasutra** (with extracts from the commentaries of Karka and Yajnikadeva), 1852-1859, to his editions of the **Taittiriya-Samhita** (1871-72), the **Adbhuta-Brahmana** of the **Samaveda**, and the **Adbhutadhyaya** of the **Kausika-Sutra**, to the research journal run by him, namely, **Indische Studien**, to his **History of Indian**

Literature, and to his studies relating to the Prakrits and the Jaina literature.

31. **Die Hymnen des Rigveda** (published as volumes 6 and 7 of Weber's **Indische Studien**), Berlin, 1861-63. Of course, the first volume of Max Muller's edition of **RV** was published in 1849, but it took another quarter of a century to complete that edition. In the preface to the second volume of his edition, Aufrecht gratefully acknowledges the inspiration which he had received for his work from Rosen and Roth. A mention may be made here also of Aufrecht's edition (1879) of the **Aitareya-Brahmana,** with extracts from **Sayana's** commentary, glossary, index of verses from **RV,** and notes.
32. Paris, 1863.
33. On the one hand this book served as a complement, and more particularly as a corrective, to von Bohlen's **Das alte Indien** (1830), and, on the other, it found its complement and corrective in Zimmer's **Altindisches Leben** (1879).
34. It was Muller's 'popular' writings which prompted the specialists in the field to look upon him as a mere dilettante. On the other hand, Max Muller also had some personal prejudices. For instance, he was disappointed with Bopp because the latter 'read' his lectures in the class. Similarly he entertained a kind of aversion to Roth ever since he and Roth had been together in Paris attending Burnouf's lectures.
35. S B E, 32.
36. Max Muller's views on the subject of the Vedic religion are very well represented in his **Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion** (as illustrated by the religions of India), delivered in London in 1878.
37. Of course, Max Muller hastened to add that this did not mean that religion developed in the same way everywhere.
38. **Hibbert Lectures,** 197.
39. However, he often asserted that religious history was far more important than linguistics.
40. **Hibbert Lectures,** 180.
41. Max Muller definitely discountenanced this view and asserted that fetishism was not a primary form of religion.
43. These etymologies are, of course, not always convincing.
42. **Hibbert Lectures,** 198.
44. Kuhn, Max Muller, Hardy, and Schroeder were among the chief protagonists of comparative mythology.
45. With Benfey, Max Muller derives **srat** in **sraddha**—wrongly—from the root **sru.**
46. It may be recalled that Kuhn laid stress on a meteorological interpretation.
47. **Hibbert Lectures,** 207-08.
48. **Ibid.,** 271. Elsewhere Max Muller says: There is a monotheism that precedes the polytheism of the Veda. Whereas the Semitic nations relapsed from time to time into polytheism, the Aryans of India seem to have relapsed into monotheism. The Aryans possessed an instinctive monotheism.
49. According to Max Muller, syncretism marks a stage between polytheism and henotheism.
50. Max Muller regards henotheism as the dialectic period of religion. It is not restricted only to India. It is natural, and therefore universal. Only one does not see it anywhere so clearly in its very growth as in the Veda.

51. The atheism of the ancient Hindus, such as it was, would, according to Max Muller, be more correctly called Adevism, or a denial of the old Devas.
52. George Cox was an expert in Greek mythology.
53. London, 1873.
54. Firenze, 1874.
55. **Fonti vediche dell' Epopea,** Firenze, 1867.
56. From this point of view, this work of Gubernatis may be regarded as dealing with the Vedic sources of the epics.
57. On this point, Gubernatis has criticised Muir, who, following Roth, considers these three to be historical personages.
58. Gubernatis has also written a book (1878-82) on Botanical Mythology, which constitutes a comparative history of the cult of plants. Another interesting book produced by him is a kind of cultural encyclopedia of India, in which he refers briefly to Indian gods, heroes, **rsis,** etc.
59. Volumes 1-4, London, 1858-63; Vol. 5, London, 1872. Muir entered Bengal Civil Service in 1828 and served in India for nearly a quarter of a century.
60. Muir's work continues to be important from this point of view even to this day. Though the various studies on individual Vedic divinities, which have been published since then, such as the one of Asvins by Myriantheus, on Dyaus Asura by von Bradke, and on Aditi and Varuna by Hillebrandt, as also the comprehensive treatises on Vedic religion and mythology by Kaegi, Oldenberg, Hillebrandt, and Macdonell, have tended to supersede Muir's **Original Sanskrit Texts,** their authors have, not infrequently, depended upon the material collected by Muir.
61. Roth believed that Varuna was worshipped by the Aryans before the separation of the Indians and the Iranians. According to Whitney also, Ahura Mazdah had developed out of Varuna. Spiegel and Windischmann, on the other hand, regarded this as doubtful, and suggested that Ahura Mazdah was purely an Iranian divinity.
62. Incidentally, mention may be made of the metrical sketches of Varuna, Indra, and other gods, composed by Muir and appended to his work.
63. A mention may be made here also of Grassmann's **Worterbuch zum Rig-Veda,** Leipzig, 1873.
64. **Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brahmana,** Prague, 1875-88.
65. Grassmann's foreword to the first part of his translation was dated April 1876, while Ludwig's foreword to the first volume of his big work was dated end of 1875. That was why Ludwig's work could carry the superscripture: 'translated into German in full for the first time'. The two translations, it should be noted, reflected two essentially divergent approaches and points of view.
66. Strassburg, 1879.
67. **ZDMG** 41 (1887), 494-507.
68. Leipzig, 1889.
69. IX. 5. 2.15
70. This reference occurs in the **Sandilya**-portion of the **Satapatha-Brahmana,** which, according to Brunnhofer, is of Iranian origin.
71. Kern has drawn attention to the very close relationship between the Vedic language and the Bactrian language. Indeed, he characterises the latter as a dialect of the former.
72. **Arische Urzeit, Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des altesten Vorder-und Zentralasiens nebst Osteuropa,** Bern, 1910.

73. Brunnhofer suggests that the Sanskrit-Aryans of **RV** must have already known gun-powder.

74. That Brunnhofer sees in Ajamidha a reference to the common clan-father of the Aryans (**aja-arya**) is a gross instance of phonetic anachronism.

75. A pet theory of Brunnhofer's is that **vavri** in **RV** (V. 19.1) (Bawri) is to be identified with Babylon. Brunnhofer further suggests a babylonian origin for the **Nasadiya-Sukta** (X. 129). **Hiranyagarbha-Sukta** (X. 121) is of Iranian origin, while the famous **Varuna-Sukta** in the **Atharvaveda** (IV. 16), which he compares with Psalm 139, is of Medish origin.

76. **La religion vedique d'apres les hymnes du Rig-Veda** (three volumes), Paris, 1878-83. Though essentially limited to the hymns of **RV**, this book bears the character of a veritable thesaurus of religious and mythological materials.

77. According to Oldenberg (**Vedaforschung**), Bergaigne regarded **RV** as a product of bizarre rhetoric. Oldenberg further says that Bergaigne did not bother to think anything other than **RV;** he apparently missed the point that the literature immediately following **RV** dealt with the same sacrificial ritual for which the **RV**-hymns had been composed, and that, therefore, this literature could be regarded as a kind of commentary on **RV.** Oldenberg adds that Bergaigne realised the importance of this literature only in his last days.

78. The most frequently occurring figures of animals are: (males)-bird, horse (winged or otherwise), bull, calf; (females)-mare, cow.

79. The correspondence between the ritual and the natural phenomena is, according to Bergaigne, nowhere more evident than in the formulas which consecrate the relation of the prayers to the fire and the consecrated beverage.

80. It may be recalled that this point had been adumbrated in the writing of Burnouf (Junior), some years before Bergaigne wrote his book.

81. Macdonell complained that Bergaigne did not sufficiently distinguish sacrifice and magic.

82. Bergaigne says that **do ut des** is a sufficiently exact formula of the relations established by Vedic worship between heaven and earth.

83. Vedic gods are generally regarded as mere masks; behind them appear in reality the powers of nature; and between the reality and the appearance plays the bizarre rhetoric of the Vedic poets.

84. Pusan is related to the sun and Soma, and Visnu to Agni and Soma.

85. Agni and Soma, as the sun and the lightning, are also martial gods; they are conquerors of night and drought, of dawns and waters. But the difference between these two and Indra lies in the degree of personification of the natural powers.

86. Bergaigne further clarifies this point by pointing out that, as against the **RV**-poetry, which is naturalistic and liturgical and which throws light mostly on the formation of myths and ancient religious belief, the Homeric poetry presents a picture of the morality of a primitive society in action.

87. It would be seen that, though Bergaigne started with a view to presenting Vedic religion and mythology as a simple system consisting of a few easily intelligible formulas, he actually succeeded in producing only a complicated and essentially schematic pattern. As Oldenberg points out (**Vedaforschung**), Bergaigne discovers in the simple, stirring nature-poetry of **RV** a somewhat arid collection of rhetoric subtleties. He further adds that the French **savant** has correct glimpses of a few religion-history details, but, on account of the lack of an instinct for

and religion-psychology, his conception of the Vedic religion as a whole has tended to be deficient.

88. Leipzig, 1878-79.

89. The German translation of **Seventy Hymns of RV**, prepared by Kaegi and Geldner, clearly belongs to the school of Roth.

90. H. Zimmer, who also faithfully followed Roth, described (1879) the Vedic people as "a people, young and full of confidence in their gods, used to modesty, morality, and respect for women". About the poetry of **RV**, Brunnhofer says: "The poetry of **RV is the** integral poetry of a man of nature **par excellence;** it is the lark's song of humanity which was wide awake and conscious of its grandeur".

91. Paris, 1879. An English translation of this work by Wood was published in 1882. Attention may be drawn also to Barth's other writings, particularly those published in **Revue Critique**, wherein he refers to Indian religions (specially Vedic).

92. The title of Barth's book is, accordingly, not quite apt.

93. A reviewer of Barth's book pertinently asks: Is the obscurity of some portions of the Veda the result of a purposeful affectation of mystery on the part of the Vedic **rsis** or of our own imperfect knowledge of the Vedic idiom and the Vedic way of thinking?

94. **Le Rig-veda et les origines de la mythologie indo-europeenne**, Paris, 1892.

95. In Regnaud's opinion, only Bergaigne's researches show some distinct progress. Regnaud severely criticises those who are inclined to underestimate the antiquity and importance of **RV.**

96. Of course, he differs from Kuhn in most of the details.

97. Classical Sanskrit vocabulary, he says, if not altogether worthless, is at least misleading for the **RV**-exegesis.

98. In this context, one is reminded of V. K. Rajwade who sought to prove that a majority of Vedic nouns meant 'wealth' and a majority of Vedic verbs meant 'to give'.

99. **The Religions of India**, Boston, 1895.

100. This is indicated by his **India Old and New.**

101. (nach den Quellen dargestellt), Munster, 1893.

102. Reference may be made here also to Hardy's **Indische Religionsgeschichte**, Leipzig, 1898.

VAISNAVISM

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Our knowledge about Vaisnavism today is enormously richer as compared to the conditions about a century earlier. Scholars are now almost unanimous that Bhagavatism originated with Vasudeva-Krsna of the Yadava-Satvata-Vrsni clan. It is also generally accepted that the chief cult-picture of this religion, Vasudeva, is none other than the very promulgator of the sect. His original human character is also usually taken for granted: These and other facts about which there is a near unanimity among scholars emerged from the untiring efforts of the past few generations of the Indologists.

I

Early Researches

1. Introduction

According to some, Vaiṣṇavism 'is the only real religion of the Hindu people', and it still continues to claim a large majority of the Hindus as its votaries. As a popular religious system, it has been receiving curious attention of both scholars and laymen, resulting into a brisk literary activity. Consequently, an enormous volume of literature, serious as well as popular, in various languages has grown around it.

It is neither possible nor necessary for our purpose to take note of each and every treatise or paper on the subject of our study published from time to time. What we, therefore, propose to do here is to refer only to important books and papers and to see how they have progressively contributed to the enrichment of our knowledge of the different aspects of Vaiṣṇavism.

According to the limitations set for the present survey, we are supposed to begin our account from the middle of the eighties of the nineteenth century; but in order that we are in a position to estimate the value of the work done during this period, we must go a little earlier and begin with H. H. Wilson's *A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, which originally appeared in two parts in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI (1828) and Vol. XVII (1832)[1] and was really the first work of its kind dealing with the subject under review.

2. Wilson's pioneering researches in Vaisnavism

Wilson defined his objective in presenting this work as ascertaining the actual condition of the popular religion of the inhabitants of the provinces subject to the (then) Bengal government'.[2] His work was based on two Persian books, one by Shital Singh, Munshi to the Raja of Banaras, and the second by Mathura Nath, librarian of the Banaras Hindu College, and on **Nābhājī's Bhaktamāla,** re-edited by Narayan Das in the reign of Shah Jahan. He supplemented the information derived from these works from oral reports and for ascertaining the state of the Hindu religion anterior to its condition in his own days depended mainly on the **Śaṅkara-digvijaya** of Ānandagiri and the **Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha** of **Mādhavācārya.**

Wilson devotes a major portion of his work to the Vaiṣṇavas and presents us a consolidated account of their important divisions such as the Śri-Vaiṣṇavas or Rāmānujas, Rāmānandis or Rāmāvats, Kabīr Panthīs, Khākis, Malukdāsis, Dādu panthīs, Rayadāsis, Senais, Vallabhāçāris or Rudra-sampradāyīs, Mīrābāis, Madhvāçāris or Brāhma-sampradāyīs, Nimāvats or Sanakādi-sampradāyis, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Rādhāvallabhīs, Sakhi-bhāvās, Çaraṇadāsis, Hariśçandrās, Sādhanāpanthīs, Mādhavis, Sannyāsis, Vairāgīs and Nāgas.

3. Importance of Wilson's researches

A modern student acquainted with subsequent researches may be prone to characterise Wilson's account as 'superficial'; but if we remember that at the time when he wrote Indological researches were in their infancy, we cannot but highly appreciate it. His was the pioneer work in the study of **Brāhmaṇical** religion and is marked by a great degree of accuracy and precision. Even today this is the only reliable work for ascertaining the actual condition of the followers of **Brāhmaṇical** religious systems in the dominions of East India Company. It set a model for and inspired further researches in Vaiṣṇavism and is still standard in many respects.

4. Barth's contribution to study of Vaisnavism

About half a century later it was followed by A. Barth's *Religions of India*[3] and Sir Monier Williams' *Religious Thought and Life in India.*[4] According to Barth, Kṛṣṇa round whom the **Bhāgavata** cult originally centred, was a popular divinity of solar origin, 'who was probably at first the **kuladevatā,** the ethnic god, of some powerful confederation of Rajput clans'.[5]

In Vasudeva and **Devakī**, the parents of **Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa**, Barth discerns the ancient pair, the celestial man and the Apsaras',[6] and enunciates his theory of the solar origin of **Kṛṣṇa** as follows:—" Like those of many solar heroes, his first appearances were beset with perils and obstructions of every kind. On the very night of his birth, his parents had to remove him to a distance beyond the reach of his uncle king **Kaṁsa** who sought his life, because he had been warned by a voice from heaven, that the eighth son of Devakī would put him to death, and who consequently had his nephews, the princes, regularly made away with as soon as they saw the light. In the Veda, the sun, in the form of **Mārtaṇḍa** is the eighth son born of Aditi, and his mother casts him off, just as Devakī, who is at times represented as an incarnation of Aditi, removes **Kṛṣṇa**."[7]

In Barth's opinion, **Viṣṇu** came to occupy supreme position as a 'result of his fusion with the popular god' (**Kṛṣṇa**)[8] He also regards **Balarāma**, **Kṛṣṇa's** elder brother, as an ancient agricultural deity, that presided over the tillage of the soil and the harvest.[9] The legend of the birth of **Sītā** leads him to recognise 'an original identity of the son of **Daśaratha** with **Rāma Halabhṛt** or "the plough-bearer"', belonging to the cycle of **Kṛṣṇa**. In the name **Rāmaçandra** he finds the reminiscence of a connection between the son of **Daśaratha** and the Moon, with the latter of whom Soma, the king of plants and the god of fecundity with whom **Sītā**, the daughter of **Savitṛ** in the legend of the *Black Yajurveda*, was united in love.[10] Barth regards the human character of **Kṛṣṇa** reflected in the **Mahābhārata** and other works as euhemerism. Barth is critical of those scholars who attribute the introduction of the principles of *bhakti* (devotion) and *prasāda* or *anugraha* (divine grace), the two most important elements characterising **Vaiṣṇavism**, to a plagiarism from Christianity.[11]

5. Sir Monier Williams "Religious Thought and Life in India"

Sir Monier Williams devotes two chapters of his work (Chs. V & VI) to **Vaiṣṇavism** and some of its major and minor sects. According to him, '**Vaiṣṇavism**, notwithstanding the gross polytheistic superstitions and hideous idolatry to which it gives rise, is the only real religion of the Hindu people', and it alone possesses the essential elements of a genuine religion. He appreciates the many-sidedness, all-comprehensiveness and tolerance of the Vaiṣṇava religion.[12]

6. E. W. Hopkins' hypothesis about human character of Krsna

About a decade later was published E. W. Hopkins's famous work *The Religions of India*,[13] a considerable portion of which is devoted to Vaiṣṇavism. Like Barth, Hopkins also doubted the original human character of Kṛṣṇa. In his opinion, Kṛṣṇa was originally the patron god of the Pāṇḍvas, a polyandrous wild tribe located north of the Ganges, who 'attacked the stronghold of Brāhmaṇism in the holy land about the present Delhi' and overthrew the old Brāhmaṇic Aryan face of the Kurus. According to him, 'the Viṣṇu worship which grew about Kṛṣṇa was probably at first at attempt to foist upon Vedic believers a sectarian god, by identifying the latter with a Vedic divinity.[14]

7. Summary of earlier researches

It would appear from the above that the last three works mark a great advance over that of Wilson as regards our knowledge of the different aspects Vaiṣṇavism Wilson did the pioneer work of collecting information on Vaiṣṇava sects. In the absence of sufficient data Wilson had to content himself by only putting the relevant information in a systematic manner without being critical about it. By the time Barth and Hopkins wrote, much ground-work was already done and they were in a position to furnish a comparatively more systematic account in a critical perspective.

8. Some important papers of earlier period

Side by side with these treatises, a number of papers shedding light on certain controversial questions connected with Vaiṣṇavism also appeared in the pages of the journals devoted to orientology, especially the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* and the *Indian Antiquity*. Some of them may be noticed here.

Dr. F. Lorinser, in his paper "Traces in the Bhagvadgītā of Christian Writings and Ideals,"[15] points out similarities between certain passages of the Bhagavadgītā and the *New Testament* and suggests that the former is the debtor to the latter. In order to escape the possibility of the Gītā borrowing from the *Kaṭha*, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka and Praśna Upaniṣads he holds that most of these *Upaniṣads* are of post-Christian origin, and that in the case of Śvetāsvatara there are traces of Christian influence. Dr. Lorinser is criticised by J. Muir who quotes Bothlingk's opinion in his support.[16]

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar brought together seven allusions to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya including his comments on Pāṇinī IV. 3. 98, in order to show the antiquity of stories about Kṛṣna and his worship as a god.[17]

In his famous article 'An Investigation into the Origin of the Festival of Kṛṣṇa janmāṣṭamī.[18] Prof. A. Weber identifies the Śvetadvīpa visited by Nārada with Alexandria,[19] and suggests that Indians received the idea of *bhakti* and *prasāda* from Christianity. Christianity, according to him, was also the source of the festival of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭmī, the time of borrowing being 'from the second half of the fourth century till the year 431'. Several other Kṛṣṇa legends e.g. his birth in the cow-stall, stories about the persecution of Kaṁsa, the massacre of the innocents, passage across the river, wonderful deeds of the child, also he attributed to the borrowing from Christianity.

Weber's theory was subjected to a searching criticism by F. S. Growse[20] and A. Barth.[21] The latter criticises Weber's view point by point and thinks that *bhakti* is a necessary complement of every religion at a certain stage of its development.

9. Theory of Christian influence of Krsna cult

It is interesting to note in this connection that the theory of Christian influence on the Kṛṣṇa cult was put forward by certain scholars long before Weber. P. Georgi (*Alaphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome, 1762, pp. 253-263), for example, was led to such an absurdity as suggesting that the name Kṛṣṇa is 'only a corruption of the name of the saviour'.

Sir William Jones (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 1, pp. 200, 274) conceded that not only the name of Kṛṣṇa but also 'the general outline of his story were long anterior to our saviour, and probably to the time of Homer', but at the same time suggested that 'the spurious gospels, which abounded in the first ages of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest part of them repeated to the Hindus, who ingrafted them on the old fables of '**Ceśava**, the Apollo of Greece'. We would do well to remember that the theory of Christian influence on Vaiṣṇavism was repeated by scholars, particularly European, time and again.[22]

10. Other important papers

J. Kennedy[23] draws a distinction between the **Kṛṣṇa** of Dwarka and the child **Kṛṣṇa**. According to him, the former is a great semi-agricultural, semi-solar, atmospheric god of immemorial antiquity. He seeks support for **Kṛṣṇa's** solar character in the figurative narrative in the Great Epic of the fight between **Sālva** and **Kṛṣṇa**, when the former beseiged Dwarka. The concept of child **Kṛṣna**, on the contrary, was introduced at Mathura in the fifth or sixth century A.D., as a result of meeting at that town of lax Buddhists and eager Hindus with Northern nomads who brought a child god and a Christian festival. 'He thinks that the Gurjaras were responsible for introducing the idea of the child god. Kennedy was opposed by Dr. A. B. Keith,[24] who thinks that **Kṛṣṇa** was developed out of one of the vegetation gods that were widely worshipped in all the countries of the world. Keith is supported by A. Macnicol[25] in his excellent paper, 'The **Nārayaṇīya** and the **Bhāgavatas**'.[26]

Sir George Grierson discusses in his own way the vexed question of the origin and early history of **Bhāgavatism**. He shows that the **Bhāgavata** religion originated outside **Madhyadeśa** before **Pāṇini** who mentions the **Vāsudevakas**; that it was founded by **Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva** who is the same as the **Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra** mentioned in the **Chāndogya-upaniṣad** (III. xvii, 6); that it was a development of the sun-worship; that later on the **Brāhmaṇas** of **Madhyadeśa** conquered and absorbed it at the price of identifying **Vāsudeva** with the **Brāhmaṇical Viṣṇu** and the admission, by **Brāhmaṇical** orthodoxy, of **Kṣatriya** monotheism, its immediate cause being the struggle for life and death between **Brāhmaṇism** and Buddhism; that the period of this absorption is 300 B.C. to 0 A.D.; that the **Nārāyaṇīya** section of the **Mahābhārata** is the text-book of one form of this semi-**Brāhmaṇical Bhāgavata** religion; and that India owes the preservation of the idea of a God of Grace and of the fatherhood of God to the **Bhāgavatas**.

Following Garbe,[27] Grierson holds that *bhakti*, a characteristic of the Bhāgavata religion, is of Indian origin, and not a later addition borrowed from Nestorian Christianity, and supports his contention by drawing attention to the use of this term in Pāṇini and in Pāli literature in the fourth century B.C. The value of Sir Grierson's paper in putting the studies on the Bhāgavata religion in a historical perspective can hardly be overestimated.[28]

11. Interpretation of Paninian data regarding Vasudeva

It is well known that the oldest available evidence for the deification of Vāsudeva and the existence of a sect of his worshippers is Pāṇini, IV. iii. 98, which gives rule for the formation of the word Vāsudevaka. Ascertainment of the actual import of this aphorism and of Patañjali's comment thereon, therefore, naturally incited some controversy.

Professor Kielhorn[29] pointed out that the correct reading of Patañjali's comment is *Athavā naiṣā Kṣatriyākhya, samjnaiṣā tatrabhavataḥ*, and not *bhagavataḥ*, and seemed to suggest that Vāsudeva 'is merely an ordinary proper name'.

This view was challenged by Grierson[30] and R. G. Bhandarkar[31] who pointed out that the word *tatrabhavat* also means 'worshipful' and that in the Vāsudeva passage it indicates a god. In an elaborate article published in the pages of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Prof. K. B. Pathak also came to the same conclusion.[32]

12. Identification of Devakiputra Krsna and Vasudeva Krsna

Another question about which there was some disagreement among scholars is whether Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the later literature are one and the same. Max Muller,[33] Macdonell and Keith[34] question the identity which is accepted by Grierson, Garbe and Von Schrader.

It would appear from what has been said above that the main questions that engaged the attention of scholars during this period were the following :—

1. The Antiquity of the Bhāgavata religion.
2. The real nature of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa—human or divine.

3. The impact of Christianity on Vaiṣṇavism and its extent.
4. Important Vaiṣṇava sects.

13. Some earlier points of controversy

Thus, by about the close of the first decade of the present century four good works and a number of articles dealing partially or exclusively with Vaiṣṇavism and discussing problems connected therewith had been published, and sufficient ground-work was completed. The stage was thus set for the appearance of a comprehensive treatise treating of all aspects of the subject, and Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* fulfilled this long-felt desideratum.

II

SIR BHANDARKAR AND AFTER

14. Dr. Bhandarkar's monumental work on Vaisnavism

Sir Bhandarkar's classical work was originally included in the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie* and first published in 1913.[35] In this work the author placed before the scholarly world a complete picture of Vaiṣṇavism from about the fifth century B.C. to about the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.

Prior to Dr. Bhandarkar, scholars, mostly European, had directed their energy to collecting information and to the discussion of certain detached problems relating to the subject. Dr. Bhandarkar for the first time utilised all the evidence, literary and epigraphical, available to him, and presented in the compass of a small work a complete history of the religion, showing the different stages of its evolution, and also dealt with important Vaiṣṇava sects. He showed how Vāsudeva preached a monotheistic religion and was himself apotheosised by his kinsmen, the Sātvatas, and how the three different streams of religious thought, one flowing from the Vedic god Viṣṇu, another from the cosmic and philosophic god Nārāyaṇa and the third from the historical god Vāsudeva mingled together and formed what we call Vaiṣṇavism.

15. Dr. Bhandarkar's views on certain controversial questions

It will be useful to ascertain his views on certain controversial questions. He denied the identity of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and Vāsudeva the central point of the Bhāgavata religion, and suggested that the tradition of the latter being the son of Devakī was engrafted on him after he was identified with the ancient Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa, who was the son of Devakī and pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa.

He also thought that Vāsudeva was the proper name (and not a patronymic) and Kṛṣṇa the family and Gotra name, and that the concept of his being Vasudeva's son was later.[36] According to him, a royal genealogy was foisted on him in the Vṛṣṇi race through Śūra and Vāsudeva after he had come to be raised to the position of the Supreme Spirit.[37]

As regards the question of the influence of Christianity on Vaiṣṇavism, he thought that the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the cowherd-god (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa) is due to the Abhīrās, a tribe of foreign extraction, who brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of his innocent sons, as also the name Christ, which led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, for 'the Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Kṛṣna as Kuṣṭo or Kriṣṭo and so the Christ of the Abhīrās, was recognised as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa.[38]

16. Value of Dr. Bhandarkar's work

The value of Sir Bhandarkar's work cannot be overestimated, and it was highly acclaimed in all quarters. It marks a great advance over all the previous works on the subject and forms a distinct landmark in the expansion of our knowledge of Vaiṣnavism. It acquaints the readers with both the history and philosophy of the Vaiṣṇava religion, and by the comprehensiveness of the treatment of the subject it has become a source-book for all future researches in Vaiṣṇavism.

It is true that on many points we may differ from Sir Bhankarkar, and some of his conclusions may not stand scrutiny in the light of subsequent investigations; yet his is still the only standard work covering all aspects of the subject, and as such is sure to remain a reference book for all future generations of researchers.

17. Nicol Macnicol's 'Indian Theism'

Nicol Macnicol in his *Indian Theism*[39] took the Kṛṣṇa of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Epic and Paurāṇic Kṛṣṇa to be identical,[40] regarded Kṛṣṇa as a mere mortal teacher and hero, a 'famous prince of the 'Sātvata race' who was deified after his death, and conceded that the Nestorian missionaries which entered the North of India in 639 A.D. influenced later Vaiṣṇavism.[41] Though Keith differentiates between the two Kṛṣṇas, he is critical of Bhandarkar as regards the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa and of his theory that the wondering Abhīrās brought legends of Christ child to India in the early centuries of the Christian ear.[42]

18. Raychaudhuri's views about the evolution of Bhagvatism

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's celebrated treatise *Materials for the study of the Early History of the* Vaiṣṇava *Sect,* which appeared in 1920,[43] marks a decisive step in the progress of our studies. Like Bhandarkar, Raychaudhuri also harnessed all the available evidence for giving an account of the fortunes of the Bhāgavata religion from its origin to the time of the Tamil Ācāryās. But while Bhandarkar's attention was confined only to original sources, Raychaudhuri also took stock of the previous writings and subjected some of the older theories to a searching examination.

Raychaudhuri's view about the evolution of Bhāgavatism may be given below in his own words :—

Bhāgavatism, like the religions of Mahāvīra and Buddha, was the expression of a natural reaction from the sacrifice-ridden religion of the Brāhmaṇic period. The earliest teachers of this faith, while refraining from an open denunciation of the Vidhi Yajña or the ordinary Vedic sacrifice, propounded a new doctrine which laid emphasis, among other things, on Ahiṁsā. The new faith finally coalesced with a few Brāhmaṇical and popular cults to form the great federation of religions known as Vaiṣṇavism. The agencies employed in effecting this union were the following:— (i) The Vyūha doctrine in virtue of which Vāsudevism united with Śaṅkarṣaṇa worship to form Bhāgavatism. (ii) The doctrine of Avatāra which effected a synthesis between Bhāgavatism and the cult of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and gave birth to Vaisṇavism. (iii) The Purusha-Prakṛiti theory in virtue of which the cult of Śri was engrafted on Vaisṇavism.[44]

After discussing the evidence of early Brāhmaṇical, Jaina and Buddhist literature and inscriptions, the author comes to the conclusion that the promulgator of Bhāgavatism, Vāsudeva, was the famous Vṛṣṇi prince of Mathura, and demonstrates the hollowness of the theories according to which he was a solar, tribal or vegetation deity.[45]

Raychaudhuri points out the sameness of the doctrines which, according to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad Kṛṣṇa learnt from his teacher Ghora Āṅgirasa and which he is said to have preached in the Bhagavad-Gītā and concludes that the two Kṛṣṇas were identical.[46] In his opinion, 'the earlier Brāhmaṇical attitude towards the faith was one of hostility, but later on there was a combination between Brāhmaṇism and Bhāgavatism, probably owing to the Buddhist propaganda of the Mauryas'. It was in order to secure the support of the Bhāgavatās in their fight against the Buddhists that the Brāhmaṇas identified Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu or Nārāyāṇa.[47] It substantially represents Dr. Grierson's view expressed as early as 1908.

According to Raychaudhuri, the attribution of the pastoral character to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is due to his identification with Viṣṇu who is called Gopa (cowherd or protector of cows) in the Ṛgveda as also the fame of the Vṛṣṇis and of the Yamuna region for their cattle.[48] He is against the theories of Christian influence on Vaiṣṇavism which he examins at length.[49]

The value of Dr. Raychaudhuri's contribution cannot be axaggerated, and no serious student of Vaiṣṇavism can afford to ignore it. On some of the much debated questions he has said the last word.

19. Sir Charles Eliot's 'Hinduism and Buddhism'

In 1921 appeared *Hinduism and Buddhism*[50] by Sir Charles Eliot. In his opinion, the meaning of the word Kṛṣṇa (black) suggests that he was a chief of some non-Aryan tribe, who supported the Pāṇḍavas, who represent a later body of the invading Āryans. Kṛṣṇa's tribe probably came from Kabul or some other mountainous region.[51] He distinguishes Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva and suggests that Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Sāttvata sect of the Yādavas and was later identified with Vāsudeva, the deity worshipped by the clan, and that both these were later identified with Viṣṇu.[52] According to him, the identification of Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa is later than the Bhagavad-Gītā.[53] He denies Christian influence on Kṛṣṇa cult and thinks that *Bhakti* is neither an importation nor due to Christianity.[54]

20. Dr. D. C. Sircar's contribution to study of Vaisnavism

Dr. D. C. Sircar[55] generally follows Raychaudhuri. He does not deny the role of the Vedic legends of Viṣṇu the Gopa, and of the reputation of the Vṛṣṇis for their cows in the formulation of the legends of cowherd Kṛṣṇa, but opines that 'most of the legends about Kṛṣṇa's early life, especially the charming stories about his amours with Rādhā and the Gopīs appear to have been mainly due to his identification with the local deities of the Abhīrās and other allied gods'.[56]

Sircar takes Nārāyaṇa 'to be an ancient leader of thought born in the family of another sage named Nara, both of whom were probably advocates of solar worship which ultimately led to their identification, especially of the former, with the solar deity Viṣṇu,' and suggests that 'the worshippers of the deified sage Nārāyaṇa were originally known as Pāñcarātrakas who were later mixed up with the Bhāgavatas'.[57]

21. J. Gonda's contribution to elucidation of benevolent traits of Visnu

In 1954 J. Gonda brought out his famous dissertation *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*. He expatiates at length on certain important aspects of the original character of Viṣṇu, e.g. his connection with fecundity, the sun, mountains, sacrifice and sacrificial post and with other gods as Indra, his emblems and attributes, his names and exploits including the three strides so very famous in the Viṣṇu legend, his liberal and beneficient nature and his avatāras, and points out that the Vedic deity possessed such traits of character as helpfulness, rescuing activity, interest in human welfare and 'willingness to descend to or even to penetrate into, and to serve as support of the earth, and resistance to the evil powers of varied provenance',[58] which helped or rather predisposed him to rise to the high position which he holds in Hinduism.

While treating of Kṛṣṇa as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, Professor Gonda protests against the views that Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa was originally a deity, or a vegetation demon, or merely a libido, a phallic god (Viṣṇu),[59] whose cult must have been orgiastic, and who eventually came to be worshipped as Kṛṣṇa by later generations in an attitude of *Bhakti*, and demonstrates that the Kṛṣṇa cult was antagonist to the ancient worship of Indra, and that Kṛṣṇa was identified with Viṣṇu and not with any other Vedic deity because the benevolent god always was a deliverer of mankind in distress and a great helper of the other gods against the asuras.[60]

Professor Gonda's work is of very great value in elucidating benevolent traits of Viṣṇu's nature by virtue of which he was destined to rise to the supreme position in Hinduism.

23. Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya's 'Evolution of Theistic cults of Ancient India'

The latest work dealing with the subject is *The Evolution of Theistic Cults in Ancient India* by Dr. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya.[61] After critically examining all the known evidence from both the literary and archaeological sources, Dr. Chattopadhyaya arrives at some interesting conclusions which merit serious consideration. Thus, a consideration of Pāṇini. IV. 3. 98, coupled with the location of the Ārjunāyana country which included the region where Megasthenes found the worship of Herakles (Vāsudeva) very popular, leads him to opine that a joint cult of Vāsudeva and Arjuna existed in the days of Pāṇini.[62]

Following Hopkins, Chattopadhyaya holds that the Kurus and Pañcālas were Nāga tribes and that it was to win them over to its own side that Vāsudeva sect introduced into itself the worship of Saṅkarsaṇa, who was originally a Nāga god.[63] In the fight of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa he discerns rivalry between the Vāsudevakas and the Śaivās.[64]

Chattopadhyaya denies the possibility of Christian influence on the Vāsudeva cult, but on the basis of the statement of the Nāradīya section of the Mahābhārata that the Pāñçarātra code was promulgated on Mt. Meru (= Pamirs), suggests that the Pāñçarātras drew some inspiration from the Mahāyāna Buddhists of Central Asia.[65] He also follows Raychaudhuri in holding that the cowherd element in the Vāsudeva cult is due to his identification with Viṣṇu.[66]

24. Evaluation of archaeological data in researches on Vaisnavism

The value of archaeological sources, especially epigraphy, in reconstructing political history of ancient India is recognised on all hands. They are equally valuable for the religious history of India. No student of the history of the Vaiṣṇava religion, for example, can afford to ignore the evidence furnished by the Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus or the Nagari inscription of king Sārvatrāta.

Although some very important archaeological data bearing on the history of the Vaiṣṇava sect are noticed by Bhandarkar and Raychaudhuri, the first systematic attempt at a critical evaluation of all the available material is represented by the *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition* of Prof. Ramaprasad Chanda.[67]

Shri K. G. Goswami presents us with an interesting account of the chequered history of the Vaiṣṇava religion from the advent of the Śuṅgas to the fall of the Guptas in the light of epigraphic, numismatic and other archaeological materials in his brochure entitled *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism*.[68]

Here we must refer to the Mora well inscription of Śodāsa's time indicating the continuance of the worship of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes in the Mathura region in the first century A.D. Dr. Luders[69] and R. P. Chanda[70] could not correctly identify the five Vṛṣṇi vīras. The credit of identifying them correctly goes to Dr. J. N. Banerjea, who on the basis of the Vāyu Purāṇa evidence, showed that the five heroes in question were Saṅkarsaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyuma, Sāmbha and Aniruddha.[71] It tends to show that the Vāsudeva cult originated out of hero-worship and that originally several other members of the Vṛṣṇi clan were also deified and worshipped.

25. Iconography of Visnu images

Iconography of Viṣṇu and other Vaiṣṇava gods and goddesses is treated of in *The Development of Hindu Iconography*[72] by Dr. J. N. Banerjea who improved much upon T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography.*[73]

26. Studies in Bhakti philosophy

Bhakti is the most essential element of the Vaiṣṇava religion. No *Bhakti,* no Vaiṣṇavism. The philosophy of *Bhakti* has received a learned treatment in Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Goswami's *The Bhakti Cult in Ancient India* published in 1922.[74]

III

SOME IMPORTANT VAISNAVA SECTS

27. Pancaratra

We may now turn our attention to the work done on the important branches of Vaiṣṇavism. Pāñçarātra is one of the oldest sects of Vaiṣṇava religion. Colebrooke[75] was the first to draw attention to this monotheistic system. Grierson read a paper entitled *'The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India',* before the Third International Congress of the History of Religions at Oxford, which was reported in *Asiatic Quarterly,* July, 1909.

In an interesting paper entitled The Pāñçarātra or Bhāgavata Śāstra, A. Govindacharya Svamin gives a brief account of the Pāñçarātra literature, enumerates 108 Saṁhitās mentioned in the *Padmatantra,* and defines, on the basis of original texts, various names of the religion such as Ekāyana and Pāñçarātra.[76] In his celebrated treatise *Introduction to the Pāñçarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā,*[77] Dr. F. Otto Schrader offers an excellent treatment of the literature and philosophy of the Pāñçarātras and of the contents of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā.*

In his learned Introduction to the Parama-Saṁhitā,[78] Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar discusses the antiquity of the Pāñçarātra and shows that Bhāgavata religion is as least as old as Buddhism and Jainism. He tries to prove that Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra was a student, and not the founder, of the Pāñçarātra, that he is distinct from the divine Vāsudeva, that the Pāñçarātra does not follow the Gītā which is a manual of Pāñçarātra teaching and that the Pāñçarātra is Vaidika in character. He further suggests that the Bhāgavata religion spread in the south at an early date as a result of the Tamil rendering of the Mahābhārata including the Nārāyaṇīya section and the movements of the Sātvatas who had adopted it very early.

The philosophy of Pāñçarātra is treated of in Dr. S. N. Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. III, Ch. XVI. Pāñçarātra was actually one of the oldest names of the Bhāgavata religion and is met with in the Mahābhārata (XII. 235. 25). With the growth of legends of Kṛṣṇa's association with the cowherd-settlement and his amours with cowherdesses in general Vaiṣṇavism, there was a gulf between the latter and the Pāñçarātra which is free from these debasing elements. The authoritativeness of the Pāñçarātra Āgama was recognised by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Āçāryās and the Pāñçarātra mode of worship still obtains in Viṣṇu temples of South India.

28. Bhagavatism in South India

Inscriptions and Sangam literature indicate the diffusion of Bhāgavatism in South India in the early centuries of Christian era, if not earlier. When following the fall of the Guptas, Bhāgavatism was decadant in North India, in Tamilnad it was being nourished by the devotional outpourings of the Āḷvārs. While the Āḷvārs emphasised the emotional side of the religion, the Ācāryās who followed them firmly established it on philosophical foundations.

29. Sri Vaisnavism

Some of the Vaiṣṇava schools of the Mediaeval Period flourished in the South. The first among them is Śri-Vaiṣṇavism. In 1917, T. A. Gopinatha Rao delivered before the University of Madras *Sir Subramanya Ayyar Lectures on the History of Śri-Vaiṣṇavas.*[79] In these Lectures, Mr. Rao presented a brief account of the Āḷvārs and Āçāryās as handed down by Vaiṣṇava traditions and tried to fix their dates. In his *Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in South India,*[80]

S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar dealt with the controversial problem of the age of the various Āḷvārs. He analysed relevant data and suggested corrections to the dates of some of the Āḷvārs proposed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. As against Sir Bhandarkar's view that Kulaśekhara Āḷvār flourished in the first half of the 12th century,[81] he fixes the age of the Āḷvārs as a class between the commencement of the 3rd and the 9th century A.D.[82]

V. Rangacharya traces the historical evolution of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in South India through the Pāñçarātra Saṁhitās, the *Prabandhams* of the Āḷvārs and the Āçāryās.[83] Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaiṣṇavism was already in full bloom when Rāmānuja appeared on the stage. 'He may be said to have come on the crest of the wave of this movement; and it received its final seal of authority and rational sanction at his hands'.

Rāmānuja has, therefore, received more attention of scholars than other Āçāryās or Āḷvārs. An account of his life and works is given among others by A. Govindacharya Svamin,[84] S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar[85] and T. Rajagopalachariar.[86] According to tradition, he lived from 1017 to 1137 A.D. This gives a long period of 120 years for his life. Regarding it as too long a period for one life, some suggest that he may have been born in 1037 A.D.[87]

Wilson has given an account of the practices of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the nineteenth century in his abovementioned book. The philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita has been exhaustively treated of by S. N. Dasgupta[88] and P. N. Srinivasachari.[89] Dr. K. D. Bharadwaj offers a very lucid and systematic exposition of Rāmānuja's philosophy from the devotional view-point.[90]

Rāmānuja's death was followed by a period of sectarian split among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas which resulted in the formation of the two sects of Vaḍakalais and Ṭeṅkalais or the followers of the northern and the southern learning, towards the close of the fourteenth century. An account of the eighteen points on which they differ is furnished by A. Govindacharya Swamin[91] and V. Rangacharya.[92] The latter points out that the two sects did not come into being all at once, and that Rāmānuja's demise was followed by sectarianism evidenced by two conflicting sects of works, two *guru-paramparās* and linguistic differences which crystallised and gave birth to the two sects towards the end of the fourteenth century. Dr. Satya Vrat Sinh has furnished a critical discussion of the *Life and Works of* Vedānta Deśika,[93] who occupies a position next only to that of Rāmānuja in the annals of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

30. Madhva sect.

One of the main objectives of Rāmānuja and his predecessors was to refute Śaṅkara's theory of Māyā, or the unreality of the world, which cuts at the very root of *Bhakti*, and to re-establish the latter doctrine. This fight against Śaṅkara's Monism was carried on unabated by Madhvāçārya (or Ānandtīrtha) and the founders of other Vaiṣṇava sects. Madhva was a devotionalist as a religious reformer and a dualist as a philosopher. He and his followers offered the most stubborn resistance to Monism.

A brief account of Madhva's life and philosophy and of the practices of his followers is furnished by Wilson, Barth, Monier Williams, R. G. Bhandarkar, Padmanabhacharya[94] and C. R. Krishna Rao.[95] S. N. Dasgupta devotes a considerable space in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV (Chs. XXV-XXX) to the philosophy of Madhva and his followers. Nagaraja Sharma[96] and H. N. Raghavendrachar and A. R. Wadia[97] also discuss at length the Dvaita philosophy. Dr. B. N. K. Sharma[98] traces the evolution of the Dvaita thought through the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, epics, Purāṇas, Pāñçarātra Saṁhitās, Gītā and Brahmasūtras, and deals with the literary and religious activity of Madhva and his immediate disciples and the standardisation of the Dvaita thought under Jayatīrtha (cir. 1400 A.D.)

The Mādhva sect is still followed in South, especially in Karnatak and Maharashtra. Later, it found a footing in North, especially Bengal, also, and the tradition connects Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, the promulgator of Premā *Bhakti*, with the guru-paramparā of the Mādhva school.

31. Modern Vaisnava Sects in North India

Broadly speaking, the Vaisnavas of Northern India are devoted either to Rāma or to Kṛṣṇa. The credit of popularising the Rāma-bhakti in the North easily goes to Rāmānanda,[99] who lived in the fifteenth century A.D.[100] He made no distinction of caste and creed in admitting members to his sect. The Rāmavatas later bifurcated into two branches of Nirguṇa *bhakti* and Saguṇa *bhakti*. The greatest representatives of the two branches are Kabir and Tulasīdāsa respectively. The Rāmanandīs or Rāmāvatas are still found in large numbers in Oudh.

The doctrines and practices of the Rāmanandins are described by Wilson, Monier Williams, Bhandarkar and Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya.[101] Rāmānanda also encouraged the use of spoken languages for the purpose of religious propaganda. This gave a fillip to Hindi literature, and the celebrated writings of Kabir, Tulasīdāsa and others owe much to the inspiration of Rāmānanda. Parashurama Chaturvedi gives a detailed account of the history and literature of the Nirguṇa Sants,[102] while Dr. Hazari Prasad Dvivedi[103] and others pay special attention to Kabir.

Goswami Tulasīdāsa has been studied from various angles of vision. Acharya Ramachandra Shukla,[104] Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta[105] and Rajdan Sinh,[106] deserve special mention.

32. Nimbarka sect

While Varanasi was the cradle of the Rama sects, Kṛṣṇa sects grew mainly in Vrindavan and Mathura. The major Kṛṣṇa sects are those of (1) Nimbārka, (2) Vallabha, and (3) Caitanya. Nimbārka was a southerner, but he settled at Vrindavan. Bhandarkar places him in the first three quarters of the thirteenth century,[107] though some would prefer an earlier date.[108]

The sect of Nimbārka professed devotion to cowherd Kṛṣṇa and his mistress Rādhā, attended by thousands of her female companions. The life of Nimbārka and the practices of his followers are briefly described by Wilson, Monier Williams, Bhandarkar and Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya.[109] Nimbārka's philosophy is dealt with by S. N. Dasgupta.[110]

The first northern Āçārya of this sect, Harivyāsa, founded a sub-sect known as Rasika-sampradāya, while Swāmī Haridāsa founded another sub-sect known after his own name. Although Nimbārka and his immediate disciples carried on their literary activity through the medium of Sanskrit, many Ācāryas of this sect enriched Braja-bhāṣā literature by their writings. Pandit Upadhyaya gives valuable information about Nimbārka and the Guru-paramparā of his sect.[111]

33. Vallabha sect

Vallabhāçārya (birth 1479 A.D.) propagated a system which holds Gopāla Kṛṣṇa as the highest god and his mistress Rādhā to the object of deepest adoration. He laid great stress on the grace (puṣṭi) of God; his devotional system is, therefore, known as Puṣṭi-mārga. The philosophical school originated by him is called Śuddhādvaita.

The followers of Vallabha, who are found in large numbers in Rajasthan, Gujarat and parts of Uttar Pradesh, worship a special menifestation of cowherd Kṛṣṇa called Śri-Nathajī. Vallabha and his son Gusāin Viṭṭhalanātha contributed to the enrichment of Vraja-bhāṣā literature by enlisting among their pupils eight well-known poets, viz. Sūradāsa, Paramānandadāsa Kumbhanadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Nandadāsa, Çaturbhujadāsa, Chītasvāmī, Govinda-dāsa, who are collectively known as Aśṭachāpa.

Vallabha's life and system and the practices of his followers are described by Wilson, Barth, Monier Williams, Bhandarkar and Baladeva Upadhyaya.[112] The last mentioned scholar gives a systematic account of Vallabha's life and philosophy and the later history of the sect. Bhai Manilal Parekh's Shri Vallabhāçārya[113] and Din Dayalu Gupta's *Aṣṭachāpa aura Vallabha Saṁpradāya*[114] are also valuable works. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta deals with Vallabha's philosophy in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV. Ch. XXXI.

34. Bengal Vaisnavism

A slightly junior contemporary of Vallabha was Caitanya (birth 1486 A.D.) who propagated the religion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Bengal. But the two Āçāryas differ from each other in this that while Vallabha and his followers developed the ceremonial side of the religion, Caitanya and his followers laid exclusive stress on the emotional side. Caitanya tried to achieve his objective by instituting Kīrtana, or the fervent chorus singing of songs relating to the loving sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa to the accompaniment of peculiar drums and cymbals and rhythmical bodily movements, at first privately and then in processions.

Caitanya's life and the practices of his followers are treated of briefly by Wilson, Monier Williams, Barth, Bhandarkar and others.

The philosophy of Caitanya, Jīva Gosvāmī and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the three well-known savants Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is dealt with by S. N. Dasgupta (Vide, his *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, Chs. XXXII-XXXIII). Jadunath Sarkar's *Caitanya's Pilgrimage and Teaching*,[115] D. C. Sen's *Caitanya and his Companions and Caitanya and his Age*,[116] and Melville T. Kennedy's *The Chaitanya Movement*,[117] are other valuable work on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

Dr. S. K. De's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*[118] is an exhaustive treatise on the subject. In this work the author deals with the Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal in Pre-Caitanya, Caitanya and post-Caitanya periods, and its devotional ideology, theology, philosophy, ritualism and literary activity. The historical, ritual and theological aspects of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult in Bengal are dealt with by Dr. Manindra Mohan Bose in his *Post-Caitanya Sahajiya Cult of Bengal*[119] and Dr. Shashibhushan Dasgupta in his *Obscure Religion Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*.[120]

G. N. Mallik's *The Philosophy of the Vaiṣṇava Religion* especially deals with the philosophy of the Kṛṣṇite and Gaurāṅgite cults and is mainly based on the Ṣaṭsindharbha of Jīva Goswāmī and the Caitanya-caritāmṛta. The Vaiṣṇava cult of Orissa is dealt with by Nagendra Nath Vasu[121] and Prabhat Mukherjee.[122] Mr. Medhi has given us an interesting account of Assam Vaiṣṇavism popularly known as Mahāpuruṣiyā Dharma which was founded by Śānkaradeva.[123] The life and work of the last mentioned teacher has been studied by Mr. Harmohan Das.[124]

35. Maharashtra Vaisnavism

The popular Vaiṣṇava movement of Maharashtra centres round the shrine of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur. Unlike the North Indian sects which associate Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, the Vārakarīs unite Rukmiṇī, the lawfully wedded wife, with him. Consequently, Maharashtra Vaiṣṇavism is purer and more sober as compared to the sects of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya which glorify Kṛṣṇa's amours with Rādhā and other cowherdesses.

Sir Bhandarkar has shown that the shrine of Pandharpur was already in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.[125] and that the cult of Viṭhobā probably originated with one Puṇḍalīka.[126] He also gives a brief account of the life and activity of the two great Maharashtra saints, **Nāmdeva and Tukārām**.

But the most exhaustive treatment of the lives and activities of the great Vaiṣṇava saints of Maharashtra is to be found in R. D. Ranade's *Mysticism in Maharashtra.*[127] B. P. Bahirat has recently brought out a book on the *Philosophy of Jñānadeva.*[128] J. D. Delury has exhaustively discussed the origin and history of the Viṭhobā cult in his recent work *The Cult of Vithoba.*[129] Another important Vaiṣṇava sect of Maharashtra is that of the Mahānubhāvas. Dr. Y. K. Deshpande and Dr. V. B. Kolte have done valuable work on the exceptionally rich literature of this sect.

A scholarly treatment of some of these mediaeval sects is also found in J. C. Oman's *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India,*[130] J. E. Carpenter's *Theism in Mediaeval India*[131] and Kshitimohan Sen's *Mediaeval Mysticism in India.*[132]

IV

IN RETROSPECT

36. Conclusions

The above is only a broad outline of the researches done in the field of Vaiṣṇavism during last 125 years. Looking to the limitations of space and the vastness of the field to be covered, it is quite natural that some important points and valuable writings might have been left unnoticed. But if this essay succeeds in acquainting the readers with the important stages through which researches in Vaiṣṇavism have progressed, the author will feel amply rewarded.

It will be seen from the above survey that researches on Vaiṣṇavism have considerably progressed. Our knowledge about it today is enormously richer as compared to the conditions about a century earlier. Yet much work still remains to be done in this field. Scholars are now almost unanimous that Bhagavatism originated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi clan. It is also generally accepted that the chief cult-picture of this religion, Vāsudeva, is none else than the very promulgator of the sect. His original human character is also usually taken for granted. We also know that this religion evolved out of hero-worship.

Nobody would now seriously take the theories of plagiarism of Kṛṣṇa legends from Christianity. These and other facts about which there is a near unanimity among scholars emerged from the untiring efforts of the past few generations of Indologists.

37. Some important questions that await solution

There are, however, many questions which still await a final solution. As we have seen above, one of the older names of this religion was Pāñçarātra. The origin of this name is still enigmatic. Various derivations of this name are found in the Pāñçarātra Saṁhitās, but they are very unsatisfactory. Bhandarkar,[133] Schrader,[134] S. K. De[135] and others try to connect this name with the Pāñçarātra sacrifice of Nārāyaṇa described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa but this is also not quite convincing.

The Pāñçarātra literature is very rich. The *Padma-tantra* gives the number of the Pāñçarātra Saṁhitās as 108. Schrader has noticed more than 200 Saṁhitās. A major portion of this literature still remains unpublished. Its publication is sure to enrich our knowledge immensely.

In the time of Pāṇini, Arjuna was also associated with Vāsudeva and divine honours were paid to Arjuna also. It will be useful to ascertain the relationship between the two cults and find out as to when the cult of Arjuna fell into disuse. It is known from the *Kauṭilīya* that originally there was an independent cult associated with Saṅkarṣaṇa-Baladeva, and the Umachal Rock inscription of king Surendravarman,[136] assignable on paleographic grounds to a date between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. indicates the prevalance of the independent worship of Balabhadra. It is still a mute paint as to when the Saṅkarṣaṇa cult came to be amalgamated with that of Vāsudeva and when again it fell out and why.

These and many other baffling questions will have to be tackled by future generations of scholars and it is hoped, will eventually be finally solved. The task ahead is no doubt great, but the future generations of researchers, it may be reasonably hoped, will prove more than a match and will accomplish it successfully.

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25. **JRAS,** 1913, pp. 145-151.
26. **IA, 1908,** pp. 251-262, 373 ff.
27. Garbe, **Indien und das Christientum.**
28. Relying on the traditional derivation of the name Vasudeva, A. Govindacharya Svamin (A note on the name Vasudeva, **IA,** 1910, pp. 319-320) criticises Grierson and holds that 'Bhagavatism or Vasudevism was not founded by Krishna Vausdeva, who was 'most decidedly a propagator or promulgator of that religion'. According to B. C. Mazumdar (**JRAS,** 1910, pp. 170-171), Krsna was a god of the Abhiras and was not worshipped as a deity by highclass Aryans till the 2nd century B.C.
29. **JRAS,** 1908, pp. 505 ff.
30. **IBID.,** 1909, p. 1122.
31. **IBID.,** pp. 168 ff.

32. Divine Vasudeva different from Ksatriya Vasudeva, **JBBRAS**, XXII, pp. 95 ff.
33. **SBE**, Vol. I, p. 52, fn. 1.
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SAIVISM AND SAKTISM

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In the field of studies in Saivism and Saktism much has been done; and yet much more remains to be done. Leaving aside the question of the origin of these sects which is concealed in the hoary past, there come to the mind many new problems which require further study and research. We have yet to study actions and reactions of the Saivite thought and other systems. Comparative study of the Tantras and the Puranas is still a matter for research: These and other problems naturally present themselves to the mind.

I

PROLOGUE

1. Scope of present survey

It is neither possible to take note of all the writings on the subject under consideration, nor is it necessary to do so for the purpose of this essay. It will be enough for us to understand important stages, which the studies in both these sects went through; and take a note of the general progress in the research. A small list of important papers and treatises on these subjects is given at the end in an appendix, which may be of use to the students interested in the study of both these sects.

2. Study of Saivism prior to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar

Our study begins from the period when Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was patiently presenting his valuable researches to the learned orientalists of the East and the West. It would, however, be well for us to start at an earlier date, and to take, in brief, a stock of things before him to have an idea of the background of Sir Bhandarkar's researches.

We shall, therefore, begin with H. H. Wilson, who gives a consolidated account of Śaivism and Śaktism in his famous book *Religions of India.* For the convenience of treatment, the essay is divided in two parts: the first part deals with Śaivism and the second with Śaktism.

II

SAIVISM

FROM WILSON TO BHANDARKAR

3. Researches of H. H. Wilson in Saivism

Wilson informs us that in his days, as compared with the Śaivas, the Śāktas were exceedingly numerous in all the classes of Hindus. In Bengal, according to his calculation, three fourths of the population were Śāktas, while out of the remaining one fourth the Śaivas were only one fourth.[1] Wilson first published his articles in the "Asiatic Studies"; later on they were included in the first volume of his collected works; and in 1862 they were published as a separate book under the title *Religions of India.*

Wilson based his information on the Persian accounts written by two Hindu writers, Sitalsingh, the Munshi of the Maharaja of Benaras, and Mathuranath, a librarian of the Hindu College of the same place. This was supplemented by oral report.[2]

From Wilson's account of Śaivism we gather that in the northern part of India, Śiva worship was not as popular as the Viṣṇu worship except in Benaras. The form of worship was rude and unattractive. He did not find any legends of the deity recorded in "poetic and pleasing manner," and no vernacular works on the lines of Rāmāyaṇa or Bhakta-mālā were seen. The emblem and the mode of worship had the same old form of remote times.[3] Wilson deals with various classes of Śaiva worshippers such as the Daṇḍīs, the Yogīs, the Jaṅgamas, the Aghorīs, the Nāgas and the like, as were found in his times.[4]

To the student of today, Wilson's account may appear sketchy and superficial; but looking to the condition of research a hundred years ago, when he wrote it, it was one of the first attempts of its type; and as such, it has been the foundation of further study. It is brief, no doubt; but it is relatively accurate and is a just exposition of the state of this sect as it existed in his times. Moreover, he has supported it by whatever literary account was available to him. His writings present a wide range of research and have been of much usefulness to the generations that followed. In some respects they are still standard.

4. Other early researches

In the period before Sir Bhandarkar, we have the writings of other scholars also, which deal with Śaivism and Śaktism. Mention may here be made of Hopkin's *Epic Mythology*, Monier William's *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, and Barth's *Religions of India*. Certain scholars published articles through the pages of the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Indian Antiquary*. The names of W. H. Sykes, C. P. Brown, Rev. C. Egbert Kennet, and W. Simpson deserve mention here.[5] While the treatises tried to give a fuller and consolidated picture of the religious sects and also tried to evaluate them as a whole, the papers in the journals introduced different points of study.

5. Limitations of early researches

However, the research in this period was mostly in the stage of collecting information. It was but natural. A majority of the writers were foreigners. They wanted to collect information about the people of this land and to understand their customs and beliefs. Even though they gave highly valuable information in respect of the facts regarding the extent, the followers, and the literature of these sects and the like, all could not give a correct account of the religious sects, as they could not look at them from the angle of those who followed them. Their observations at times were vitiated by a sort of bias, either political or religious.

Regarding the studies in the field of religion and religious sects in this period, Sir John Woodroffe writes, "In giving an account of Indian beliefs and practices, we, who are foreigners, must place ourselves in the skin of the Hindu, and must look at their doctrine and ritual through their eyes and not our own. It is difficult, I know, for most to do this: but until they can, their work lacks real value. And this is why, despite their industry and learning the accounts given by Western authors of Eastern beliefs so generally fail to give their true meaning. Many, I think, do not even make the attempt. They look at the matter from the point of view of their own creed, or, (what is much worse), racial prejudice may stand in the way of the admission of any excellence or superiority in a coloured people".[6] This was all the more true in the field of studies in Śaivism and Śaktism, which is the subject of our review.

6. Researches by Indian scholars

In the last decade of the nineteenth century many Indian scholars entered the field of research. So far as our subject is concerned, we may mention the names of B. C. Mujumdar[7] and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[8]

By about 1910 the following problems regarding Śaivism were the matter of discussion :

i. The origin of Śaivism and its relation to the cult of phallus worship;

ii. The cult of Lakulīsa Pāśupatas in Northern India;

iii. The Śaiva sects in Southern India.

III

DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR'S CONTRIBUTION

7. Dr. Bhandarkar's monumental work in Saivism

Against this background, there appeared in 1913, the classical work of Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on "Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Minor Religious Systems". In this essay the author traced the history of the Śaiva sect from its origin to its present state, and placed before the scholars a complete picture of the development of that system from Vedic times to twelfth century after Christ.

8. Gist of Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis

The following is the gist of the essay as given by the learned Doctor :

> "The fearful and the destructive phenomena of nature led to the conception of, and belief in, the god Rudra, the terrible howler, accompanied by his groups, or Gaṇas, called sometimes the Rudras or Rudriyas, who were minor howlers. This god, when propitiated, became the auspicious Śiva, the beneficent Śamkara, and the benignant Śambhu. The conception gradually developed further, until Rudra became the god of wild and awful scenes, such as cemeteries,

mountains and forests. Of the beasts and savages that dwelt in these last and of the thieves and outcasts that resorted to them, he became the Lord. Subsequently he developed into the god who pervades the universe, dwells in fire and water, in all beings and in herbs and trees, and was the supreme ruler of all. When he rose to this position, he became the subject of **Upaniṣad** speculation, by meditating on whom and seeing whom everywhere in the universe, a man attained blissful serenity."

"But the awful and wild side of his nature was not effaced, but went on developing; and when religious schools such as that of the Pāñçarātras came to be established, one with Rudra or Paśupati as the lord to be adored was set up some time after. Its founder was a human being, who came to be known as Lakutin or Lakulin, the holder of a club. .... His system came to be known by the name of **Pāśupata**. Two extreme schools were developed out of this, and also one, which was more moderate, known by the name of the **Śaiva**. Traces of these schools have been found from about the second century of the Christian era to about the twelfth."

"But the repulsive nature of the two extreme schools and the wild and fantastic character of the other two led to a reaction, and in the beginning of the ninth century we have the first Kashmir school; and about a hundred years afterwards was founded another. These are very sober in their doctrines and practices, and may be considered to have been influenced by the school of **Śaṅkara**."

"A further reform was effected about the middle of the eleventh century by the **Liṅgāyat** school. The philosophical doctrines of this school . . . seem to have been influenced by the tenets of the school of **Rāmānuja**. The spirit of the **Liṅgāyats** was, however, combative, and they set up for themselves a community distinct from that which owes its origin to the **Brāhmanic** system. All this while, the worship of **Rudra-Śiva** has prevailed among ordinary people regardless of the doctrines of these schools."[9]

"The **Liṅga** worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of **Patañjali**... It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema-Kadphises. But this element must have

> crept in early enough among ordinary people, who were in closer communication with the uncivilised tribes, and gradually made its way to the higher classes, of whose creed it subsequently became an article. And it is this final stage of its adoption by the higher classes that is represented in Upamanyu's discourse in the Mahābhārata."[10]

> "Rudra-Śiva was a deity whose worship was common to all Āryas, and who was not at first a sectarian god.....He was in charge of the field before the Vaiṣṇava or Vāsudevic deities came in, to contest his supremacy.[11]

9. Importance of Dr. Bhandarkar's work

The value and the importance of the researches of Sir Bhandarkar cannot be exaggerated. The above resumé of his work will at once show that he has placed before us a complete picture of the Śaiva school of worship from the Vedic times to its present stage. He has shown all the important stages of its development and their internal relation, with the result that we get here a complete account of its origin, growth and its branches.

The value of his work was recognised all the world over and his essay was included in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philogie.* About the value of this work Dr. Winternitz observes, "We owe to R. G. Bhandarkar the latest and the most reliable exposition of Indian sectarianism. This is an excellent book speaking both about the metaphysical doctrines and about the cult with, in every way, the cool, quiet objectivity of the historian."[12] This remark of the German scholar very aptly brings out the importance of the work. It at once acquaints us with the history and the philosophy of the sect. By its all comprehending nature of treating the subject the work has been the principal source of further researches.

Researches in Śaivism before Sir Bhandarkar had been only loose attempts, dealing with whatever aspects of that sect that came in view. No systematic treatment of the subject, which dealt with history, philosophy and practice, was till then available to the scholars. This book inspired the scholars to lead the research further in various directions; and, thus, it has been a point of new start.

It is true that scholars in future differed from Dr. Bhandarkar on many points; many new facts have come to light after him; in some respects the conclusions of the Doctor might require revision; still, the work remains and will ever remain a source of inspiration and a distinct landmark on the path of researches in Śaivism.

IV

FROM BHANDARKAR TO MARSHALL

10. Researches of Gopinath Rao

Next step in the researches in Śaivism may be marked by the studies in "Hindu Iconography" by Gopinath Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology of the state of Travancore. The book was published in 1916. The author has also published certain Śaiva inscriptions from the Deccan.

In the introduction to the first volume of his book the author deals with certain questions regarding the concept of Śiva. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it is a study of Śaivism on the basis of Śiva images coupled with certain Āgama works and Mūrti-Śātra.

The author has himself given the important points that occur in his work. "In the introduction is given," says the author, "a collective description of all the peculiarities of the tenets and the observances of some of the Śaiva sects of which the general public has been particularly ignorant, and of certain other sects that have died out without a trace. The nature of the Liṅga worship has been examined critically in the light of the original texts gathered from such important sources as the Śaivāgamas and others, and with reference to the extant sculpture of all the ages of this symbol of worship; and the matter has been thoroughly discussed and impartial conclusion arrived at.[13]

The author has with the evidence of Liṅga images shown that the Liṅga is the symbol of phallus. To those to whom this conclusion may be repulsive, he addresses: "But that need not frighten us or lead us to treat it as something obscene or immoral. There is nothing to be ashamed of; the two great generative principles of the Universe, Śiva and Śakti, or Purusha and Prakṛti, the father and mother of the physical scientist, is symbolised briefly in the form of Liṅga and Yonī"[14]

The Development of Hindu Iconography by J. C. Banerjea, is another important work of this type. It includes the study of Śiva-cult on the basis of sculptural and literary evidence.

11. Siva worship by Indus civilisation people

The discovery of "Indus Civilization" put forth before the students of Śaivism a new point for consideration. Marshall's report on this newly discovered civilization appeared in 1930, in which he suggested that the figures on the seals that were discovered there represent Śiva in his aspect of Paśupati, the Lord of Beasts.

This opened a new field for discussion. It was by then accepted by the scholars that the concept of Śiva had in it an element which was non-Āryan. The question was as to who those non-Āryans were. Marshall's suggestion led scholars to think that this non-Āryan in Śiva-concept could possibly be explained by reference to these Mohenjodaro people, on the basis of those seals.

V

THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF SIVA-CONCEPT

12. Origin of Rudra-Siva concept

Marshall's suggestion raised a problem of fundamental nature in respect of Śiva-concept. It was agreed by all that the Śiva-worship has in it a non-Vedic element, none the less the deity in its origin was a Vedic deity; for, Rudra-Śiva was a Vedic concept and the non-Vedic elements gathered round him later on.

But with Marshall's suggestion Śiva becomes the god of the pre-Vedic people. Rudra-Śiva concept, therefore, indicates the fusion of two concepts of which Rudra is Vedic and Śiva is pre-Vedic. Both are not Vedic as Sir Bhandarkar suggested.[15]

13. Views of Sir Mortimer Wheeler

We find the supporters of both these hypotheses in later scholars. Thus, we find Sir Mortimer Wheeler saying : "No uncertainty at least attaches to the divinity of the seated **Śiva** on the seals. . . . Here, if not anywhere may be recognised one of the **pre-Āryan** elements which were to survive the **Āryan** invasions and to play a dominant role in the so-called **Āryan** culture of the post-Vedic period. Another such element was phallus-worship, a **non-Āryan** tradition which appears to have obtained amongst the Harrappans, . . . if certain polished stones have been correctly identified with the **Liṅga** and other pierced stones with the **Yonī**."[16]

14. Dravidian origin of Siva worship

There have been many advocates of the theory that **Śiva** was originally a Dravidian god and he gradually found his way into the **Āryan** pantheon. It is held that the term **Śiva** is itself the Sanskrit derivation of the Tamil word "Sivan" meaning red, for, the term **Nīla-Lohita** is applied by the **Āryans** to this divinity.[17] There is also a view that the proto-Indian god Kueya, represented by wild animals like tigers, elephants and others, became the dreaded and the cruel god **Rudra-Śiva** of later times.[18] This view also supports Marshall's interpretation.

On the other hand Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya in his recent treatise, *The Evolution of theistic Sects in Ancient India* gives his view as follows : "The god **Śiva** combined in himself elements of the Vedic and Indus Valley cultures . . . **Rudra-Śiva** appears to be the Vedic god and in the course of development of the cult it absorbed evidently many of the peculiarities of the Dravidian and Indus valley civilizations.[19]

15. Scholars who oppose Marshall's views

There are, however, other scholars who question the very hypothesis suggested by Marshall. K. A. Nilkanth Shastri says that Marshall's view is "unproven" and his speculations "forced and unconvincing.[20] Dr. Saletor suggested that the Indus seals represented Agni.[21] Dr. Gosvami holds that **Śiva** represents 'fire'.[22] These writers deny the possibility of the **Śaiva** cult having its origin in the religion of the Indus valley people.

Regarding the Dravidian origin, Dr. Chattopadhyaya says that "There cannot be any denying of the fact that when Śaivism spread among the Dravidians, it absorbed many traits of those people, but there is at present no sufficient data to prove that the cult was of Dravidian origin.[23] Dr. Keith also says, "We must admit that when we come to definite attempts to prove Dravidian influence on Vedic religion or philosophy we are in the region of conjecture. . . . We may of course accept such possibilities if we like, but in doing so we cease to be judicial and arrive merely at subjective judgments which have no lasting value.[24] We may, therefore, say that even though the writers of a general history of India are inclined to relate the non-Vedic origin of the Śiva-concept either to Dravidians or to the Indus valley people, yet to the Students of Śaivism the question is still open.

16. Summary of views

Before we proceed further we may sum up the points that emerged out of the foregoing review that we have taken here. Rudra-Śiva was the Vedic god. This god is represented by the Liṅga-symbol. This symbol being suggestive of phallus and Yonī, cannot be said to be Vedic, for, it relates to the cult of phallus worship and the Vedic Aryans were despisers of the phallus-worshippers (Śiśna-devas).[25] It must therefore, belong to the people other than the Āryans. These non-Āryan might be either Dravidians or the newly discovered Indus valley people. But both these are conjectures only, and they lead us to no definite position.

17. Hypothesis which equates Siva with sacrificial fire

There are, however, others who do not subscribe to the hypothesis of the non-Vedic element in the Śiva-concept. They hold that the Śiva-concept is Vedic in its entirety, including the concept of Liṅga. Swāmi Vivekānanda holds that the worship of Śiva-liṅgam originated from the famous hymn in the Atharva-Veda in praise of Yūpa-stambha.[26]

Mahāmahopādhyāya Krishna Shastri Ghule maintains, on the direct evidence of the Brāhmaṇa-texts, that Śiva is the sacrificial fire and the Liṅga signifies the Araṇis that produce it.[27] According to him, it is not only the form of Liṅga that is to be explained; we must also explain other things connected with it.

We must answer why the **Liṅga** is installed facing to north alone; we must explain its relation to the Bilvapatra that is offered on it; we must also explain the concept of snakes connected with it; and all other things that are associated with **Śiva-worship.** And that will have to be done by reference to one hypothesis only. We cannot have a fresh hypothesis for explaining each one thing connected with Śiva-worship. It is only the hypothesis of sacrifice — especially the Fire-Altar — that explains all these things.

18. Views of the editors of 'Dharma-Kosha'

The editors of Dharma-kośa also hold a similar view. They say, "Some of the numerous shapes of the altar bear a resemblance to the **Liṅga.** The altar of the Nachiketa rite, in particular, is **Liṅga-shaped,** The altar has to be preserved after the rite is over. The **Baudhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra** prescribes the installation of a bull-shaped image on the altar. There is thus, ample evidence to infer that the altar-construction was a source of some of the features of Śaivism."[28]

The importance of this hypothesis lies in its being able to explain almost all the things connected with **Śiva-worship,** and its being based on the direct statements of the Brāhmaṇas instead of on mere conjecture.

19. Views of Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji & Dr. Keith

Even the epithet **Śiva** as applied to Rudra is not absent in the **Ṛgveda** and the deity, on that account, need not be supposed to have come to the **Āryan** pantheon from the **non-Āryan.** In this connection Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji writes, "It has been generally supposed that the god **Śiva** himself is not known to **Ṛgveda** and that the deity is the gift of the **non-Āryan** to the **Āryan.** It is not however denied that the god Rudra is known to the **Ṛgveda.** There are, however, three passages in the **Ṛgveda** of which one (II-33-9) mentions **Iśāna,** the second (II-1-6) **Mahādeva** and the third (X-92-9) **Śiva.**

Dr. A. B. Keith has admitted in a letter, that he did not know of these **Ṛgvedic** passages mentioning **Śiva** so definitely and accordingly failed to notice them in his *Vedic Index.* (The VIII All India Oriental Conference Mysore, 1935; Proceedings — page 452).[29]

20. Scope for further research

It is unfortunate that the scholars have not paid to this view as much attention as it deserves. Even the recent writings on Śaivism appear to engage themselves with the problem of non-Vedic element and the phallus-concept only. It is here, I suppose that younger generation can find ample scope for further research in Śaivism. The Brāhmaṇas, the Śrauta literature, and a detailed study of sacrifices, which have been uptill now stamped as "the hair-splitting and mystery-mongering activities so very dear to the priests",[30] is likely to throw much fresh light on the vexing problems in Śaivism.

VI

BRANCHES OF SAIVISM

21. Spread of Saivism in the time of Megasthenes

We may now turn to review the researches done in different branches of Śaivism, which spread throughout India in course of time. In the study of the branches of Śaivism, inscriptions and the Purāṇas have supplied us very valuable data. Regarding the spread of Śaiva cult Dr. Chattopadhyaya suggests that in the period when Megasthenes was in India, the centre of the Śaiva cult was mostly mountainous regions; but the coins of early period reveal that these cults had influenced the regions of Ujjayini and Taxila also. From this he infers that since the time of Megasthenes the cult extended its jurisdiction from mountain regions to the planes.[31]

22. Bhandarkar's classification of Saiva cults

Wilson's information regarding the cults of Śaivism is meagre and superficial; and a few articles that appeared before Sir Bhandarkar's book, gave an idea of only some of Śaivaite sects. It is from Bhandarkar's book that we are able to get a consolidated account in this respect. We learn from him that the main branches of Śaivism are: (1) the Pāśupatas (2) the Kāpālikas (3) the Kāśmira Śaivas (4) the Vīra Śaivas and (5) the Śaivas in the Tāmil land. The first three of these belong to northern India and the last two to the Deccan.

VII

SAIVA CULTS IN THE NORTH

23. The Pasupatas

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.M. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. V. S. Pathak and Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya have done much valuable work in this field. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has done the most in elucidating the history of Lakulīśa and his sect in his essay on the Ekalingaji inscription published in 1907.[32] He fixed the date of Lakulīśa in the first century A.D.

Dr. Pathak collected all the evidence from inscriptions and gave detailed information about the various sub-cults of the Pāśupata branch. According to him it was Śrīkaṅṭha and not Lakulīśa who founded the Pāśupata cult. He informs us that there have been three different movements of Śaivism in the North. Śrikaṅṭha established the first Pāśupata cult; a little latter Soma founded another branch in the region of Prabhāsa; the second movement was started by Lakulīśa which became very powerful, and the last was started by Guhavāsī.[33] The Kāpālikas, the Kālānanas, the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas appear to be the main branches.[34]

According to Dr. Chattopadhyaya, in the post-Gupta period there arose four Śaiva sects: (1) Ordinary followers of Śiva who followed Purāṇic Śaivism with emphasis on bhakti; (2) Āgamic Śaivism which was influenced by Tāntrik ideas; (3) The Pāśupatas which had two branches, viz. (a) Lakulīśa and (b) the Kāpālikas.[35]

M.M. Dr. Mirashi has given very valuable information about the Mattamayūra branch of the Śaivas. This was a branch belonging to the Siddhanta school and not Pāśupatas. It had great influence with the Kalacuri kings from 8th to the 12th century A.D.[36]

24. Kapalikas

This branch of the Śaivas represents the most terrible aspect of Śaivism. Sir Bhandarkar says, "The fear which some of the phenomena of external nature inspire in the mind of man led to the Vedic concept of Rudra, and this has now culminated in to the ideal image of the horrid god Bhairava with his wife Chaṇḍikā, wearing the garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offering of wine for his propitiation.[37]

The Kāpālikas are at times confused with Kālamukhas both of whom are called Mahāvratadhārins and who, as Dr. Pathak shows, are only the sub-cults of the Pāśupatas.[38]

Dr. Chattopadhyaya includes them into the group of the left-hand Tāntrikas.[39] He also gives us some new information about the centres of the Kāpālikas. In addition to the centre at Śriśaila, which is mentioned in Mālati-Mādhava, there were centres in the Punjab and the South. In the Punjab centre some form of Solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites and in the South there were the centres which had non-Brahmin Kāpālika priests.[40]

25. Kashmir Saivism

A branch of Śaivism popularly known as Kāsmīra-Śaivism, developed in Kashmir during the ninth century. The branch is traditionally called "Trika" or "Ṣaḍardha".

It was Bühler who first collected information about the literature in Kashmir. Sir Bhandarkar gives us information about the Spanda and the Pratyabhijnā branches of this cult. He had earlier written a few papers on identifying certain writers in Kashmir,[41] and Barnett and Sovani also wrote on the *Parmārtha-sāra* of Abhinavagupta.[42] There are some papers by Dr. Belvalkar and Dr. Raghavan also on this subject.[43]

But the most important work in this branch is done by Mahāmahopādhyāya Kaul, Shri J. C. Chatterji and Dr. K. C. Pandey. M. M. Kaul published very important literature on Śaivism through *The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* and gave us for the first time the first-hand knowledge of that important branch. In 1919 J. C. Chatterji published his book *Kaṣmīra-Śaivism* through the same series, in which he gave a consolidated account of the origin and development of Śaivism in that land. He so named the system because most of the writers on the system hailed from Kashmir.[44]

26. Contribution of Dr. K. C. Pandey to Kashmīr Saivism

However, the best and the most authoritative account of this branch is given by Dr. K. C. Pandey in his famous treatise *Abhinavagupta,* which was published in 1936. Dr. K. C. Pandey has made this study a mission of his life. He explained the Aesthetic and literary importance of this philosophy in his book *Indian Aesthetics.* Only recently he brought out the second edition of his treatise on *Abhinavagupta,* in which he has added much new information on the religious development of this land.

It was untill now supposed that Śaivism in Kashmir developed through two branches viz. the Spanda and the Pratyabhijnā but Dr. Pandey has shown that there have been two more branches through which the development took place. The Krama system originated earlier than Pratyabhijnā and the Kaula system attained its full development under the teachings of Somānand and Abhinavagupta.[45]

Sir Bhandarkar had suggested that the Śaivism in Kashmir was influenced by the monism of Śankarācārya. Dr. Pandey shows the extent of this influence and the extent to which the philosophy of Kashmir developed independently. The monism of Kashmir is known as Ābhāsa-vāda and the religious practices show a happy blend of Śaiva and Tāntric lores.

27. Connection of Kashmir monism and philosophy of Jnaneshwar

The study of the Kashmir thought is of particular importance to the students of ancient Marathi literature, especially to those who study Jñāneśwar. It is generally believed that Jñāneśwar followed the monism of Śankarāçārya in his teachings, but Pandit Khuperkar holds that the great Marathi Saint inherits the thought of Kashmir monism and not that of the Śankara school.[46] Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj shows how the Kashmir thought developed the concept of Jñānottar Bhakti.[47]

VIII

SAIVISM IN THE SOUTH

28. Vira-Saivas or Lingayats

The researches in southern branches of Śaivism started earlier as compared with those in the Kashmir branch.

Apart from Wilson's account we get a number of articles dealing with the sect of **Liṅgāyats.** C. G. Brown wrote about the *Creed and Customs of Jaṅgamas* in 1871.[48] Soon after it we have a translation by P. G. Halkatti of the Āgamas or the manuals of the teachings of Liṅgāyats.[49] We have then, a translation of *Basava Purāṇa* by Wurth in the J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. VIII.

29. Founder of Virsaiva sect

The foundation of this cult is generally attributed to Basava. Dr. Fleet suggests that the founder was one **Ekāntada Rāmayyā.** But according to Sir Bhandarkar none of them appears to be the founder of the sect, though both have been its great workers. Basava was a man of political influence of his time and must have used it for furthering the cause of this sect; and **Rāmayyā** was a militant man and furthered the cause of his sect against the Jains. Sir Bhandarkar, therefore, holds that the sect came into existence before Basava, and must have originated at least a hundred years before him; for, in the days of Basava it was in a militant condition.[50]

Sir Bhandarkar suggests that the philosophy of this sect might have been influenced by that of **Rāmānujas;**[51] but Pandit Kashinath Shastri takes a different view. According to him the school was established long before the appearance of Rāmānuja and he supports his view by the evidence of copper-plates.[52] The treatise on Vīra-śaivism by **Nandimāth** is a valuable contribution to the studies of this cult.

30. Saivism in Tamil land

Śaivism prevailed in the Tamil land and has extensive literature of its own. There is a paper by P. Sundaram Pillai published in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXV which gives very good information of this branch of Śaivism Of all the writers on Śaivism of this land, Tirunanasambandha was most highly honoured. He had to contest against the Buddhists or Jains. He was ultimately successful in converting the king of Madura to Śaiva faith.

Sir Bhandarkar feels that both Śaivism and Vaiśṇavism penetrated to the extreme south of India after the revival of Brāhmanism in the North during the fourth and fifth centuries. It was not possible for him to determine whether Śaivism extended to the Tamil country before this revival.[53]

R. K. Subrahmanyam has written a treatise on *The Origin of Śaivism and its History in Tamil land.* He holds that Śaivism was non-Aryan in origin being an outgrowth from the cult of the Nāgas who, whether the name represents their totem or their old association with "the hill and the cave", were certainly not Āryans.

Regarding the mode of worship, he says that it was closely connected with ancestor worship and the snake cult. He further says that the primitive Indian society was of matriarchal character and the phallus cult could not have flourished in the matriarchal stage, when the Śakti cult was dominant, and that it imposed itself on the latter with the suppression of the female and evolution of patriarchal life.[54]

Other contributions to the study of this cult are : *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India,* by C. V. N. Ayer; and *Saiva Saints of Southern India* by Pillai.

IX

SAIVA PHILOSOPHY

31. Sir Bhandarkar's contribution

The review of researches shows that the principal interest of the scholars has uptill now been mostly historical. As compared to the work done in the history of Śaivism that in the field of Śaiva Philosophy has been less. Still there have been a few scholars who have done valuable work in that branch also.

Sir Bhandarkar has given in his book an account of the **Śaiva** philosophy. He shows that the first extant attempt to build a philosophy round the Śiva-concept was the famous Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. He also gives an account of the tenets of the Śaivas and the Liṅgāyats.

32. Other notable studies

In 1919 J. C. Chatarji explained Śaiva thought of Kashmir as it developed in the two branches Spanda and Pratyabhijnā. In 1935 we have *Śivādvaita of Śrikanṭha* by Dr. S. S. Sūryanārāyan Shāstri.[55]. In 1936 we have Dr. K. C. Pandey's *Philosophical Study of Abhinavagupta.* These two books present to us the philosophical thoughts of two great Ācāryas of the two important Śaiva schools.

Among the writers of the History of Indian philosophy mention must be made of Dr. Dasgupta who devoted the fifth volume of his history entirely to the Śaiva philosophy of Southern India. Dr. Radhakrishnan gives a brief account in the second volume of his history; and three articles on this subject are included in the first volume of *"History of Philosophy—Eastern and Western"* edited by him.[56] Nallasvami Pillai and Dr. (Mrs.) V. Paranjoti have written works on *Śaiva siddhānta.*

X

SAKTISM

33. Early studies in Saktism

Śāktas are the worshippers of Śakti, the power of energy in action. In Wilson's account of the Śāktas, we get his views about the origin of this divinity at some length. His account of the Tantras and the two Tāntric schools, viz. the Dakṣiṇas and the Vāmācāris is rather meagre.[57] Monier Williams, Barth and Hopkins also describe Śāktism at some length.

But all these attempts were based on 'a superficial and partial acquaintance' and have been responsible for 'a good deal of misconception and apparently exaggerated vituperations.[58] As

Ernest Pyane remarks, 'Śāktism is one of the phases of Indian religion which has received much condemnation and abuse'. It is also one of the phases which has been little studied.[59]

34. Some early misconceptions about Saktism

In the account of the Śāktas given by Hopkins, words like 'obscenity', 'bestiality', 'pious profligacy' frequently occur, and he tells us that 'a description of the different rites would be to reduplicate an account of indescencies of which the least vile is too esoteric to sketch faithfully.[60]

Monier Williams, in his description of Śāktism and the contents of the Tantras 'has only to tell terrible and horrible things'. He describes the faith of the Śāktas as 'a mixture of sanguinary sacrifices and orgies with wine and women'.[61] Barth on the one hand indeed admits that the cult of the Mother is based on a deep meaning and that the Tantras are also full of theosophical and moral reflections and ascetic theories, but he is not thereby prevented from saying that the Śākta is 'nearly always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee', even though many amongst the authors of the Tantras may have really believed that they were performing a sacred work.[62]

The English-educated people of that period, to quote Woodroffe, 'felt that Hindu religion, philosophy, and art were only for the so-called uneducated women and peasants and for the native Pandits who, though learned in their futile way, had not received the illuminating advantage of a western training.[63]

While the Śākta ideas made less appeal to the intellectuals of the nineteenth century, a great experiment was being conducted at Dakṣiṇeśwara through the Sādhanā of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, which gradually influenced such personalities as Keshavchandra Sen, Svami Vivekanand and Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, though they had previously been under more or less strong Christian influence and English education.[64] Researches in Śāktism carried by scholars will have to be reviewed in the light of this background.

35. Two different lines of researches in Saktism

Researches in Śāktism appear to have progressed on two different lines. While a few scholars gave the history of that sect, many tried to explain the philosophy and Tāntric life. Wilson, Sir Bhandarkar, Payne and Dr. Chattopadhyaya deal with the concept of **Śakti** and its evolution; while Sir John Woodroffe, Chintaharan Chakravarti, Pramathnath Mukhopadhyaya and Atal Bihari Ghose deal with the philosophical and religious aspect of it.

XI

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF SAKTISM

36. Wilson's views regarding Sakti worship

According to Wilson, the worship of **Śakti** originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the Vedas in which the will or purpose to create the universe is represented as originating from the creator, and co-existent with him as his consort, and part of himself.

Another set of notions that contributed to form the character of **Śakti** were derived from the **sāṁkhya** philosophy. The **Mūla-prakṛti** of the **sāṁkhya** as distinct from the supreme spirit is the origin of all things and as such the Mother of the universe. The third concept is that of **Māyā** which is co-existent with the supreme spirit as his **Śakti**.

All these concepts have built up to form the idea of the divinity as is evident from the **Purāṇas** especially the **Brāhma-vaivarta-Purāṇa**. Thus the adoration of **Śakti** is to a great extent derived from the **Purāṇas** but the principal rites and formulae are derived from the Tantras.[65]

37. Bhandarkar's views

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar traces the stages in the development of the **Śakti** concept, which may be stated as follows :— In the Vedic literature down to the **Gṛhya-sūtras** no female deity appears to be prominent. But in the **Mahābhārata**, **Durgā** is seen to have acquired such prominence that **Arjuna** and **Yudhiṣṭhira** have addressed hymns to her for getting victory. The different names with which the goddess is addressed in the **Mahābhārata** and the **Purāṇas** are not mere names; but they indicate different concepts formed under different historical conditions, which ultimately applied to one goddess by usual mental habit of the Hindus.

First we have Umā the protectoress; then Pārvatī the woman of the mountain; then the goddesses of forest or Vindhya mountain who were worshipped by Pulindas, Śabaras and Barbaras; and lastly comes the element of **Śakti** the powers of willing, acting, creating etc.

In later times some Brahmanic families came to have titulary goddesses, such as **Kātyāyanī** of the **Kātyas** and **Kauśikī** of the **Kuśikas**. Further, the goddess **Śakti** developed into three forms: the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess is worshipped; the fierce form, worshipped by the **Kāpālikas** and the sensual form in which she is worshipped by the **Śāktas**.[66]

38. Aboriginal element in the development of Sakti worship

Touching upon the aboriginal element in the development of the **Śakti-concept**, Sir Bhandarkar says, "That an aboriginal element should have contributed to the formation of Rudra's consort in later times, as it did in earlier times, towards the formation of Rudra himself as he is represented in **Śatarudrīya** is a matter that might be expected."[67]

Ernest Payne has dealt with this point in his book The *Śāktas* and has given all the different views about it.[68] Winternitz holds that the animal and demon cults and fetishism need not all be labelled as **non-Āryan**. Āryan religion had its lower and darker side and not all the unpleasant practices came from the conquered people.[69] He relates some of the **Tāntric** practices to Yajurveda.[70]

However, **Śāktism** is most commonly regarded as the product of the influence of the **non-Āryan** element on the **Āryan** religion, and some scholars have tried to bring it to light. Thus, B. C. Muzumdar suggests that **Durgā** herself may have been originally a tribal goddess connected with Vindhya mountains and worshipped with the offerings of wine and blood; perhaps **Vindhyavāsini** in the process of evolution at the fusion of tribes may have become **Durgā** and later have been identified with **Pārvatī**.[71] N. M. Chaudhari also shows the same process in the case of

Vṛddheśvarī and Vanadurgā.[72] D. D. Kosambi also throws much light on this point in his article on *Mother Goddess sites in Ancient India*.[73]

39. Chronological sequence of Sakti worship

Dr. Chattopadyaya has tried to trace the growth of Śāktism in different periods. He divides the study of Śāktism in three parts; the stage of formation; the stage in Scytho-Kuśāna period; and the stage of Tāntrism.

In the Ṛg-vedic age the cult of Mother had not developed but it was prevalent amongst the Harappans, who lived contemporaneously with the Vedic Āryans for some time at least, till they were merged in to the vast mass of the conquerors. The worship of the female principle was prevalent among the Indus valley people and in the later Vedic age it entered into the Vedic pantheon.[74]

In the Maurya period we find at least three distinct types of Śākta sects in India: (a) one living in the north-western part of India, conceiving of the Mother-Goddess as united with a Father-God who may be identified with Rudra-Śiva (b) another in the eastern part that laid emphasis on the "Yantra" or the magic diagrams; (c) a third in the far south, where the goddess was conceived as Virgin.[75]

In the Scytho-Kuśāna period the Śāktas were growing in importance. Savage tribes like Pulindas, Barbaras and Śabaras who lived in the western part of the Vindhya range were being admitted to the fold. The Śāktas were very liberal and they tolerated rival sects like the Vaiṣṇavas. The sect absorbed not only Bauddhistic influences but also the foreign Mother goddess like Ishtar.[76]

In the age of the of Guptas the Śākta cult was gradually tending towards Tāntrism. The central Asiatic influence was gradually creeping into the cult as can be inferred from Śākinīs and Dākinis which Dr. Bagchi refers to the Śakas and the Dags of Dagistan in Central Asia respectively.[77]

In the days of Harṣa, the Tāntric rites had appeared in the fields of Brahmanical religion. It was Śaṅkarāçārya who tried to reform the Śāktas of their horrible Tāntric practices. While he preached the higher philosophy of the supreme divine knowledge on one hand, he favoured the ordinary mass worship of gods and goddesses on the other.[78]

XII

TANTRAS

40. Origin of Tantric practices

Connected with Śāktism is the problem of Tantras. Tāntric practices are found in all the sects of Hinduism and also amongst the Buddhas and the Jains. Scholars hold different views as to who borrowed from whom. H. P. Sastri suggests that it was by way to Buddhism that Tantras gained a foothold in Hinduism Kennedy and Dr. Macnicol also hold the same view.[79]

But Barth says that "the obscenities of the Śaivite Tantras have deeply infected the Buddhist Tantras of Nepal.[80] Winternitz also holds a similar view. He says that from Bengal the Tantras penetrated to Nepal and Tibet, and caused there the growth of Tāntric works hardly distinguishable from those of the Indian Śāktas.[81]

Payne observes, "It seems more likely that the movement was from Hinduism to Buddhism, but in all probability the gradual recognition of popular cults went on within each religious system about the same time."[82]

There are some who hold that Tantras originated outside India. H. P. Shastri is of the opinion that the Tantras originated in Turkistan, while Dr. Spooner traces their origin to a Persian source, and Hodgson takes it to be Turanian.[83] Dr. D. C. Sirkar has given an account of the Śākta Pīthas and Tīrthas.[84]

41. Supreme importance of tantras in Hindu religious life

C. H. Chakravarti, after taking stock of all the views in this respect, comes to the following conclusion: "It is scarcely possible in the present state of our knowledge to come to a definite conclusion on this knotty problem of Tāntric origin; but whatever be the origin, the Tantra system of worship has been occupying a position of supreme importance in the religious life of Hindus all over India for at least the last four or five hundred years".[85]

XIII

TANTRIC PHILOSOPHY AND TANTRIC LIFE

42. Metaphysical doctrines of Tantric philosophy

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has given a brief account of the metaphysical doctrines of the Śambhava Darśana on which the usual rites and practices are based.[86] The information is very scanty as compared with that given in the sections on Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects; perhaps it seemed unimportant to him.

43. Researches of Dr. John Woodroffe

The greatest work in this field is done by Sir John Woodroffe. His work *Śakti and Śākta* which contains a number of his essays, explains the philosophy of this sect in a popular way, and serves as a very good introduction to the subject. He has published a number of books on the Tantra Śāstra, some of which are published in the name of Arthur Avalon. *Principles of Tantra, Garland of Letters, The World as Power, The Serpent Power* are his important books.

Sir John was an eminent lawyer, a respected Judge and a profoundly sympathetic and understanding student of Indian culture. He made it his life-work to spread abroad the truths of the Tāntric literature, divested of the cloud of ignorance and the cobwebs of prejudice.[87]

The writings of Woodroffe were received with great enthusiasm, and they brought about a total change in the outlook of the scholars in respect of the Tāntric literature, as can be judged from the remarks of reputed scholars of that time. For example, Dr. Winternitz said, "Tantra Śāstrās deserve a study which they have previously not received."[88]

A French Journal wrote, "This volume and others show the interest which Oriental research has for all those who are interested in the evolution of humanity, the future cohesion of which may be expected because of the community of origin. We have still to learn much of Asia."[89]

Masson Oursel said, "The **Tāntric** cult was not a mere superstitious imposition. Its belief that man can realise the divine in him and outside him is the postulate also of all those who have divinised the ritual word as Brahman and of all who seek in Yoga a theurgic equivalent".[90]

44. Other important researches in Tantric philosophy

The writings of Woodroffe inspired a number of scholars study **Tāntric** philosophy. We get good account of Tantra and its philosophy from the articles of Chintaharan Chakravarti, Dr. J. Mishra, Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja, Ramasvami Shastri, Atal Bihari Ghose, Pramath Nath Mukhopadhyaya, and Anandkumar Svami.[91] Dr. K. C. Pandey has given an authoritative account of the **Tāntric** thought as developed in Kashmir. C. H. Chakravarty has recently published a collection of his essays under the title *The Tantras — Studies in their Religion and Literature.*

45. Treatises on Buddhist and Jain Tantric life.

Tantras spread amongst the Buddhists and Jains also. Their study does not form the subject of the present review. However, mention may be made of a few books here. The *Yuganaddha* by Herbert V. Gunther is a good treatise on the Buddhist Tantric life; and The *Mantra-Śāstra* by Mohanlal Javery introduces us to the Jain Tantric view.

XIV

CONCLUSION.

46. Summing up

The above is a review of the researches that have been done during the period of nearly one hundred years, and it is hoped that it will give the reader a broad idea of the stages through which it has developed. These researches have come as a cumulative effect of the efforts of scholars, and an attempt has been made here to acquaint the readers with those results. It is likely that some important matters might have been missed and many works of note might not have been included here; but that could not be helped taking in to consideration the vast field to be covered and the limits of the space. The writer will feel rewarded if the review succeeds in acquainting the reader with the broad stages and the main controversies in the subject.

47. Future prospects of researches in Saivism

In the field of studies in Śaivism and Śāktism much has been done; and yet much more remains to be done. Leaving aside the question of the origin of these sects which is concealed in the hoary past, there come to the mind many new problems which require further study and research.

We have yet to study actions and reactions of the Śaivite thought and other systems. Comparative study of the Tantras and the Purāṇas is still a matter for research. Tāntric forms of ritual have influenced practically all forms of worship in India. Our Panchāyatana Pūja and even Saṁdhyā-vandana is influenced by Nyāsa and Mudrās. The Upaniṣads of the Atharvaśiras type have relation to Tantra.

These and other problems naturally present themselves to the mind. They will have to be taken up by the younger set of scholars and the torch of the study will have to be led further. That is the only way to repay the Ṛṣi-ṛna to which we are pledged by our being the sons of this ancient land, and by having inherited its culture.

References

1. Wilson, **Religious Sects of India.** (2nd Edn, 1858) Calcutta, Page 135, foot note 151.
2. —**Ibid** page 4.
3. —**Ibid** page 106. Wilson deals with **Saivism** in pages 106 to 135.
4. Ibid, pages 108 ff.
5. For the articles of these writers see Appendix.
6. Woodroffe, **Sakti and Sakta** Preface to Second Edn, pp. x, xi.

7. B. C. Mujumdar, Phallus worship in Mahabharata, **JRAS** 1907, p. 355.
8. D. R Bhandarkar, "Ekalingji Stone Inscription and the origin and history of Lakulisa sect', **JBBRAS**, Vol. XXII, p: 151.
9. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, **"Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems,"** pp 221-223.
10. — Ibid, p. 164.
11. — Ibid, p. 164. Dr. Chattopadhyaya does not agree with this view. According to him the **Vasudeva — cult** began earlier than the **Rudra-Siva** cult. See **"Evolution of Theistic Cults in Ancient India**, pp. 16, 17.
12. Winternitz, "The Tantras and the Religion of the Saktas" included by Woodroffe in his **Sakti and Sakta**, 4th Edn. 117.
13. Gopinath Rao, **Elements of Hindu Iconography**, Vol. I, Part i, Preface, pp. viii-ix.
14. — Ibid — pp. 69, 70.
15. Sir Bhandarkar, **"Vaisnavism** etc", pp. 163-164.
16. Wheeler, **Indus Civilisation**, (1963), p. 83.
17. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, **Evolution of Theistic Sects** etc. p. 13.
18. — Ibid., p. 13.
19. — Ibid., p. 14.
20. Sastri K. A. N. "Historical Sketch of **Saivism", Cultural Heritage of India**, Vol. II, p. 21.
21. As referred by Aiyappan in "Siva Seal of Mohenjodaro", **JRAS** (Bengal), Vol. V 1939), p. 401.
22. Gosvami, **Bhakti Cult in Ancient India**, p. 89.
23. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, **"Evolution** etc." p. 14.
24. Dr. Keith, **Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas**, p. 629 ff.
25. There is controversy regarding the implication of the word **"Sisnadeva"**; while some take it to mean a cult of phallus-worshippers, others maintain that it means "men of lustful character". See **Sarupa-Bharati**, p. 49, A. D. Pusalkar's article on "Sisnadeva in the Rg-Veda".
26. **Complete Works of Svami Vivekanand**, Part IV p. 942 (Mayavati Edition).
27. Mm Ghule Lekha Sangraha, pp. 240, 41. The article "Mahadevachen Svarupa" is very important and gives ample evidence from the **Brahmanas**. The article should be rendered into English to make it available to the non-Marathi scholars.
28. **Dharmakosa: Upanisatkanda**, Introduction, pp. 20-21.
29. Also see A. D. Pusalkar: 'Mohenjodaro and Rg-Veda', **Bharata Kaumudi** (1947), p. 551.
30. Belvalkar and Ranade: **History of Indian Philosophy**, Vol. II. p. 50.
31. Dr. Chattopadhyaya: **Evolution of Theistic Sects**, p. 4, 20.
32. **JBBRAS**, Vol. XXII, p. 151.
33. Dr. V. S. Pathak, **History of Saiva Cults in Northern India**, p. 57.
34. — Ibid — p. 3.
35. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, **Evolution of Theistic Sects**, p. 131.
36. **Indian Historical Quarterly**, Vol. XXVI (1950), p. 1. See also **Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum**, Vol. IV pp. 150-161.
37. **Vaisnavism** etc, p. 183.
38. **Saiva Cults in Northern India**, p. 21.
39. **Evolution of Theistic Sects** etc. p. 138.

40. Ibid — p. 140.
41. **Collected works of Bhandarkar,** Vol. II, p. 199 ff.
42. **JRAS** (1910), pp 707, 1338; (1912) 257, 474.
43. **New Indian Antiquary,** Vol. II, p. 211; Vol. III, p. 32.
44. K. C. Pandey, **"Abhinavagupta",** p. 296 (2nd Edn).
45. — Ibid., p. 297.
46. Ibid., pp. 151, 153, 154.
47. **Kalyana-Sivanka,,** pp. 81-95.
48. **JRAS** (1871), p. 141.
49. **Indian Antiquary,** Vol. LI, pp. 7,36,54.
50. **Vaisnavism** etc., p. 190.
51. **Ibid** — p. 223.
52. **Vira Saiva Ratna,** Kashinath Shastri's address d/-13-5-1929 at Mysore conference, p. 30-31.
53. **Vaisnavism** etc., pp. 200-203.
54. **Indian Antiquary** (1930), Vol. LIX p. 94. Review by Oldham.
55. Also his article "Philosophy of Saivism", **Cultural Heritage of India,** Vol. II, pp. 35-47.
56. **History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western** Vol. I pp 369-400.
57. **Religious Sects of India,** pp. 135-148.
58. Chintaharan Chakravarty: **The Tantras their Religion and Culture,** Preface, p. 1.
59. Payne, **The Saktas,** p. 1.
60. Quoted from Payne, **The Saktas.** p. 1.
61. Quoted from Woodroffe, **Sakti and Sakta,** p. 117.
62. Barth: **Religions of India** (1882), p. 205.
63. Quoted from Jhavery: **Mantrasastra,** p. 48.
64. Payne: **The Sakta,** pp. 98, 99.
65. **Religious Sects of the Hindus,** pp. 135-137.
66. **Vaisnavism** etc., pp. 205, 206.
67. **Ibid.,** p. 205.
68. Payne: **The Saktas.** Chapter VI.
69. Quoted from Payne, p. 63.
70. Winternitz: **History of Sanskrit Literature,** Vol. I, pp. 162-63.
71. Durga, Her Origin and History, **JRAS.** (1906), p. 355.
72. **JRAS.** Bengal, Vol. V (1939), p. 117 "Vrddhesvari, Cult of the Old Lady: and Cult of Vanadurga," **JRAS,** Bengal Vol. XI, p. 75.
73. **JRAS** (1960), pp. 17, 135. D. D. Kosambi: "At Cross Roads."
74. **The Evolution of Theistic Sects,** p. 50.
75. **Ibid** — pp. 56-57.
76. **Ibid.,** p. 104.
77. **Ibid.,** p. 161.
78. **Ibid.,** pp. 164-65.
79. Payne: **The Saktas.** p. 72.
80. Barth: **Religions of India,** p. 201.
81. Quoted from Payne, p. 73.

82. Payne: **The Saktas** p. 73.
83. Chakravarti: **The Tantras etc.**, p. 47.
84. **JRAS** Bengal, Vol. XIV No. 1, pages 1-108.
85. Chakravarty: **Tantras** etc., p. 49.
86. **Vaisnavism** etc., pp. 207-210.
87. **The Hindu**, Madras, 18th Jan. 1936.
88. **Sakti and Sakta**, 3rd edition, Introduction, p. vi.
89. —Ibid—p. vii.
90. —Ibid—p. i.
91. Articles are noted in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

A small list of some articles and books is given here and it is hoped that it will be of use to a student who desires to study **Saivism** and **Saktism.** The list is only illustration and not exhaustive.

(1) ARTICLES RELATING TO SAIVISM

1. **JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.**
   1839. W. H. Sykes: **Three-faced Bust of Siva in the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora**, p. 81.
   1871. C. P. Brown: **Creed and Customs of Jangamas**, p. 141.
   1890. W. Simpson: **The Trisula Symbol**, p. 299.
   J. F. Hewitt: **The Trisula Symbol**, p. 488.
   1906. B. C. Mujumdar: **Phallus Worship in Mahabharata**, p. 377.
   1907. J. F. Fleet: **Siva and Lakulisa**, p. 419.
   1910, L. D. Barnet: **The Paramartha-sara of Abhinavagupta**, pp. 707, 1938; (1912) 474.
   1912. V. V. Sovani:-do-p. 257.
2. **JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.**
   1939. A. Aiyappan: **Siva Seals of Mohenjo-daro**, p. 401.
3. **JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.**
   Vol. XXII, D. R. Bhandarkar: **Eklingaji Stone Inscription and Origin and History of Lakulisa Sect**, p. 151.
   Vol. VIII. (N. S.) Wurth: **The Basava Purana of Lingayats**, pp. 65, 98.
4. **INDIAN ANTIQUARY.**
   Vol. II. The Rev. C. Egbert Kennet: **Notes on Saiva Siddanta**, p. 343.
   Vol. IV. The Rev. Kittel Mercen: **Old Kanerese Literature**, pp. 17, 19.
   Vol. LI. P. G. Halkatti: **Vachanas Attributed to Basava**, (Tr.), pp. 7, 36, 54.
   Vol. LIV. The Rev. A. P. Janvier: **Tatva-prakasa of King Bhoja**, p. 151. (Tr.)
5. **NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY.**
   Vol. II. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar: **The So-called Kashmir Recession of Bhagavad-Gita**, p. 211.
   Vol. III. Dr. Raghavan: **Pratyabhijna and Advaita**, p. 32.

6. **INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.**
   Vol. XVI. Fateh Singh : **Rudra,** p. 783.
   Vol. XXV. Dr. V. V. Mirashi : **Saiva Acharyas of Mattamayura Clan,** p. 1.

7. **JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.**
   Vol. XXXIX. B. C. Mujumdar : **Lakulisa Pasupatas and their Temples in Mediaeval India,** p. 1.
   Vol. XLV. (Altekar Volume), Dr. H. K. Prasad : **Saivism in Bihar,** p. 489.

8. **JOURNAL OF BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.**
   Vol. XIII. Atal Kumar Sur : **Beginnings of Linga Cult in India,** p. 149.
   Vol. XXIX & XXX. Hiralal Amrit Shah : **Rudra-Kali,** pp. 227, and (XXX) 43.
   Vol. XLI. Sukumari Bhattacharji : **Rudra from Vedas to Mahabharata,** p. 85.

9. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar : **Linga Cult in Ancient India,** B. C. Law Volume Part I (1945),. p. 456.

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BUDDHIST STUDIES

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The Buddhist Studies have claimed for themselves a far wider field of linguistic learning than other branches of Indology, this field being confined not only to the Indian continent, where Buddhism arose and flourished for about fifteen centuries, but to the whole of the Far Eastern and South-East Asian regions, where it continued to live and prosper, even after its virtual disappearance from the land of its origin, and has established firm literary and religious traditions of its own till the present day.

I

INTRODUCTION

1. Scope of the Subject under review

It will be difficult to obtain a proper perspective of the comparative growth of the various branches of Indological studies by limiting the reviews to a period of 75 years. Thus the Buddhist Studies stimulated in modern times by scholars of the West, seem to have attracted a somewhat earlier attention than studies in some other branches like the Vedic, the Jainistic etc.[1] Again, by their very nature, the Buddhist Studies have claimed for themselves a far wider field of linguistic learning than other branches of Indology, this field being confined not only to the Indian continent, where Buddhism arose and flourished for about fifteen centuries, but to the whole of the Far Eastern and South-East Asian regions, where it continued to live and prosper, even after its virtual disappearance from the land of its origin, and has established firm literary and religious traditions of its own till the present day.

2. Buddhist Studies in Greater India

Thus, when we speak of Buddhist studies, we have to refer not merely to the Pali literary traditions prevalent in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Indo-China etc. or the mixed or pure Sanskrit literature, which flourished in Northern India and Central Asia, but also to the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist literature. Though primarily based upon Indian sources, this latter represents separate and in some respects new trends of thought, which have to be taken into account in any review of the total volume of Buddhist Literature.

In short, a review of Buddhist research studies in general has to concern itself not only with the traditions in India, but also with those of Greater India (or "Indian Asia" as some prefer to call it) extant in many non-Sanskritic languages.

II

BASIC STUDIES

3. Bibliographies of Buddhist Studies

This field, sought to be ably covered by Winternitz in the second volume of his *History of Indian Literature* (English in 1933) is too vast to be treated in a single review article like the present one, although attempts are, no doubt, being made to provide reasonable adequate bibliographies for the various branches of Buddhist literature as an indispensable aid to such studies.

The Bibliographie bouddhique (Paris, 1928 ff), a continuous series recording mainly the European studies in all branches of Buddhism represents perhaps the best one in this direction [March (A): *A Buddhist Bibliography* (London, 1925)] may be regarded as a supplement to this for the period preceding 1928]. As an example of a comprehensive bibliography in one volume may be mentioned S. Hanayama's *Bibliography on Buddhism* (Tokyo, 1961).

Several volumes were published all over the world to celebrate the 2500th Buddha Jayanti, reviewing the historical, social, philosophical and religious role of Buddhism, like *2500 years of Buddhism* (ed. by P. V. Bapat), New Delhi, 1956; *Présence du Bouddhisme* (ed. by Rene de Berwal), Saigon, 1959 etc.

4. Problems regarding the sources of Buddhist research

A peculiar problem which meets us at the outset regarding the sources of Buddhist research, is that, apart from the Pali canonical and other works preserved in writing since the early centuries of the Christian era in Ceylon, Burma and other South-East Asian countries like Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam etc., the mainstream of the original Buddhist literature in the form of

Sanskrit (pure or hybrid) was found to have largely disappeared from India, and become inaccessible to Indological scholars, except through their translations into Tibetan, Chinese and other East Asiatic languages.

5. Search for Buddhist Manuscripts outside India

Modern scholars had therefore to conduct on the one hand a search for Buddhist manuscripts outside India and on the other to study the ancient Chinese and Tibetan translations of these original sources for a proper understanding of Buddhism and its history even in the land of its birth.

6. Catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts

A large number of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, dating from the early centuries of the Christian era have been discovered in Nepal, Central Asia, Tibet and Kashmir and catalogued systematically, since the days of Cowell and Eggeling (London, 1876 ff), Raj. Mitra (Calcutta, 1852), Bendall (Cambridge, 1883 ff), Har. Sastri (Calcutta, 1905), Hoernle (Oxford, 1916), Thomas, F. W. (Oxford, 1935), Rahula Sankrityayana (Patna, 1937 ff), the last of whom showed a remarkable spirit of adventure in bringing to light a number of Sanskrit manuscripts (dating from about the 10th century A.D.) in Tibetan monasteries and photographing some of them for the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

A useful list of *Buddhist Manuscripts of the Bir Library* published in the Taisho Daigaku Kenkyukiyo (Tokyo, 1955) and a comprehensive *Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* (in Japanese) by R. Yamada (Sendai, 1958) may be noted in addition to the well known Catalogues prepared by the scholars just mentioned.

7. Reclaiming of Scattered Manuscripts

It is not impossible, that some Buddhist manuscripts may still be awaiting discovery especially in the border regions of India. *The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* was discovered at the southern end (Trivendrum, 1920). But the conservative spirit of keeping all such material as a heritage of speculative value locked up in private collections and even in institutional archieves and Libraries, where the sense of vested interests has still to be overcome, seems to justify Kosambi's fears that these "will be destroyed unused by the action of time, air, rain, mice, white ants and all other vermin except scholars".[2] Some serious attempts have been and are being made to reclaim this scattered material at several centres in the West as well as in Japan and India to which we shall refer later.

III

PALI BUDDHIST CANON

8. Researches in Pali Literature

If we now turn first of all to the field of Pali literature, the most outstanding contribution has been that of the Pali Text Society, London, which started its Romanized editions of the Pali Canonical and other texts along with their English translations and other studies including a Dictionary in the eighties of the last century.

The latest edition of the Pali Canon is the one published in Devanāgarī characters in forty volumes from Nalanda, on the basis of critical editions already published by the PTS and the Siamese (1926), the Sinhalese (1926) & Burmese (1954). An edition in Cambodian characters with Cambodian translation has also been published at Phnom-Penh (Institut Bouddique), and since 1949 a French translation of the canon, based upon this edition along with Romanized text is being published in Paris by J. Bloch, J. Filliozat and L. Renou.

In India, the foundations of critical Pali studies were laid by Dharmananda Kosambi (1876-1947), whose scholarly activities in Calcutta, Poona, Ahmedabad, Banaras are reflected in the series of publications in Marathi, called the *Dharmānanda Smāraka Sāhitya* (Bombay, 1949 ff).

9. Researches in Monastic Buddhism

The available Pali sources were exploited by earlier scholars like Hardy, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Geiger and others for studying the monastic Buddhism and mainly the ethical aspects of the Buddha's teachings, which came to be transplanted first into Ceylon and later in other countries of South East Asia.

IV

SANSKRIT BUDDHIST CANON

10. Importance of Buddhist Tripitakas

Unlike the Pali Buddhist Canon, which came to be regarded even before the Christian era as a closed authoritative collection of Buddhist teachings and religious accounts, to which no additions may be made, the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon, which might have come into vogue after the great schism at **Vesāli** had sown the seeds of Mahāyānism, and which developed mainly in the northern regions of India and in Central Asia among the **Sarvāstivādins,** is not yet known to have been fixed in the form of an authentic and complete redaction.

What represents the Sanskrit canon today are the two encyclopaedic collections of Buddhist learning viz. the *Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (consisting mostly of translations from Sanskrit, along with a few original writings, covering a period of about fifteen hundred years beginning from the second century B.C.) and the *Tibetan Buddhist Tripiṭaka,* (a similar collection covering a period of about one thousand years, beginning from the seventh century A.D.).

Among themselves, these two collections include not only Sanskrit counterparts of the Pali Canonical texts on Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma, but also extensive philosophical tracts and esoteric texts and commentaries from later Buddhist authors, along with Indian works on grammar, medicine, architecture, poetry, travel-accounts and what not.

In fact, these are translated reproductions of the ancient manuscript libraries that existed at the Buddhist Universities of Nalanda, Vikramaśilā, etc., before they were uprooted or destroyed during the Muslim invasions[3].

11. Publication of Chinese Tripitaka

In the wake of earlier editions published at Tokyo and Shanghai, a complete, critical and uptodate edition of the *Chinese Tripiṭaka,* called the Taisho edition was published at Tokyo under the editorship of J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe (1924-1929), representing the Indian materials in 55 volumes (each of about 1000 pages).

A catalogue of this series was published in 1931 under the title *Tables du Taisho Issaikyo* by Sylvain Lévi, J. Takakusu and Paul Demieville; as a supplement to their *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Buddhism* (after the Chinese and Japanese sources), called the *Hobogirin* (in French), the publication of which had to be discontinued after the third fascicule in 1937 (Tokyo), but has now been taken up by Jaques May in Paris. This catalogue gives 2184 titles in Japanese and Chinese, with original Sanskrit titles wherever possible, together with a bibliographical index of authors and translators etc. in Japanese and French[4].

The Taisho edition has utilized, besides the ancient editions called *Old Sung* (1104-1148 A.D.) *Sung* (1230 A.D.), *Yuan* (1290 A.D.) and *Ming* (1601 A.D.) a large quantity of mss. material found in Japanese monasteries, Imperial Treasure House (dating from 729 A.D.) and Tunhuang, and in many cases collated with available Sanskrit and Pali sources.

To the above 55 volumes, a supplementary section of 30 volumes was added (Tokyo, 1929-1932), containing 736 works. These are works of Japanese exegesis (commentaries, sub-commentaries etc.) redacted in Chinese; viz. of Sūtras (Vols. 56-61), of Vinaya (Vol. 62) and of Śāstra (Vols. 63-70). Vols 70-84 contain literature of Japanese sects (mostly in Chinese); Sanron (70), Hosso (71), Kegon (72-73), Ritsu (74), Tendai (74-77), Shingon (77-79), Zen schools (80-82), Jodo schools (83) and Nichiren (84). Vol. 84 also contains works in Sanskrit writing (*Siddham*) and liturgic chants. Vol. 85 consists of Chinese texts, mostly unedited and published after the original manuscripts found in Tunhuang, the British Museum, the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, and ancient Japanese collections.

Later (1934) a picture section of twelve volumes, containing ancient Japanese works on Buddhist iconography, with about 10,000 plates (including Maṇḍalas etc.), was added, and three more volumes, containing catalogues and Indexes came at the end, thus to establish the first grand collection of the *Chinese Tripiṭaka* in one hundred volumes. (A reprint of the first eighty five and the last three volumes is already under way since 1960).

V

REGIONAL STUDIES

12. Buddhist Studies in China

In pre-Communist China, considerable research in Buddhist Studies was being published in Research Institutes like the Chung Kuo Nei hsueh Yuan (i.e. ***Cīna-adhyātma-vidyā-bhavana***) at Nanking (1924 ff.) by Ou Yang Chien, Lu cheng, Wang ssu Yang, T'ang Yung T'ung and other scholars, but under the influence of Western and Neo-Confucian thought, Buddhism was already being regarded as an outmoded religious system and attempts made by Rev. Tai Hsu (1888-1947) and other leaders of Buddhist thought to revive Buddhist research on modern lines did not bear much fruit in China.

Under the Communist regime, which continues the general Chinese policy of non-interference in matters of religion, Buddhist research is being mixed up with Han Chauvinism and occasional anti-Indian postures, e.g., in Journals like *Xiandai Foxue* (Modern Buddhism), and Buddhist scholars in China are turning to more practical affairs of the state.

13. Buddhist Studies in Japan

On the other hand, Japanese Buddhism has been pursuing a robust and comprehensive line of research since the days of B. Nanjio (who died in 1927), taking in its stride not only all branches of Buddhist studies, based on Sanskrit and Pali literature, but since recently, also several other connected branches of Indology, like the Vedic, the classical and the modern cultural.

During the last few decades, Buddhist research activities in the Japanese State Universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Nagoya, Hokkaido and Osaka, as well as in the Research Institutes like those of Otano, Ryukoku, Komazawa, Taisho, Koyasan, Rissho, besides a number of cultural research centres in Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama etc. has grown to such enormous proportions, that Western or Indian research in this field cannot ignore them without running the risk of being out of date.

The research journal published by the "Indogaku-Bukkyogaku-kai" (The Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies) since 1953 may be considered as typical of the active interest shown by a host of Japanese scholars in pursuing minute investigations on a wide basis of comparative philology.

Eminent scholars like: H. Ui, U. Wogihara, S. Yamaguchi, H. Nakamura among many others have laid down new traditions of Buddhist research and nowhere else as in Japan is being produced such basic equipment for it as e.g translations, catalogues, dictionaries, reference works, textual material etc.[5]

14. The Buddhist Studies in Tibet

Turning to the Tibetan Buddhist literature, we find that as compared with the enormous upsurge of literary activity during the centuries following **Atiśa** and Milarepa in the 11th and 12th centuries and the powerful impetus given by **Tsoṅkhapa** in the 14th century, the creative activity of the Tibetan, during the last century was perhaps at its lowest ebb.

Having lost all contact with its sources of inspiration in India (and also China), which themselves had all but dried up till late in the 19th century, the Tibetan scholars engaged in their traditional writings (e.g. the works of the XIII Dalai Lama) are seen to be interested mainly in reprinting and preserving their past literary heritage with the many strains and stresses they had to undergo in the political field.

In the printing establishments attached to many of the important monasteries,[6] the learned monks continued to publish through their carved wood blocks, commentaries mostly on mystic Tantrik translations, in total ignorance of their Indian originals, and occasionally prepare reference works, e.g. *Dge. Shes Chos. Grags,* Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary (Lhasa 1950 — later, with addition of Chinese, Peking 1957).

15. Researches in Tibetan Buddhism outside Tibet

But most of the modern work on Tibetan Buddhism, which as a religion pervades and predominates all Tibetan life as nothing else does, was done outside Tibet. After Csoma de **Körös** pioneering work in the thirties of the last century, **Jäschke** published his *Tibetan Dictionary*, first in German (Gnaden 1876) and then in English (London, 1881), followed by that of Sarat Chandra Das (Calcutta 1902).

With its self-imposed isolation and contented life, this snow-bound Buddhist land was being opened up in various ways violent and non-violent by outsiders from the Chinese and the British Indian borders, until in 1950 the Chinese Communists undertook to "liberate" it with a firm hand.

After the 14th Dalai Lama took refuge in India along with thousands of Tibetan monks, the Buddhist libraries in the Tibetan monasteries are reported to have suffered heavily, and efforts are now being made to preserve whatever was rescued or already found elsewhere in centres like Gangtok in Sikkim (*Institute of Tibetology*), in Delhi (*Ladakh Bauddha Vihara,* and *Tibet House*), Patna *(Bihar Research Society)*, Calcutta *(Asiatic Society)* and many centres of research in Japan, Europe and America. The publications of the Suzuki Research Foundation (Tokyo) which have been referred to above, the International Academy of Indian Culture (New Delhi) etc. are instances in point.

It has become increasingly evident, that the history of Indian thought and culture could not be complete without a thorough investigation of the vast store of India-based Tibetan learning, apart from its validity as an independent Asiatic culture.

16. European Researches in Comparative Buddhist Literature

European scholars have taken the lead in studying the comparative Buddhist Literature in East Asian and South-East Asian regions, but it will not be possible to assess their work here beyond mentioning only a few of those, whose studies have enriched Indological research. **Sénart**, Chavannes, **Lévi**, de la Vallée Poussin, Lamotte, Pelliot, Bacot, Filliozat, Olderberg, Lüders, Walleser, Nobel, Weldschmidt, Frauwallner, Rahder, de Jong, F. W. Thomas, Tucci, Petech, Schiefner, Obermiller, Stcherbatsky, Vostrikov have contributed in developing strong centres of Buddhist Studies at Paris, Berlin, Leyden, London, Rome, Leningrad, and new centres seem to be developing in Wisconsin, Washington, Wien, Moscow, Gottingen, Munich, among others.

Outstanding publications like Sénart's *Mahāvastu* (1882-1897), de la Vallée Poussin's editions of the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (1925-31) and the *Vijñaptimatratāsiddhi* (1928-30, Index, 1948) based on Chinese Tibetan and Indian sources, Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic* (Leningrad, 1930-32), Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949) Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953) have opened up new lines of research.

Several Series of Publications and Research Journals like the *Bibliothica Buddhica* (Leningrad), *Buddhica* (Paris), *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhisms* (Heidelberg), *Zeitscrift für Buddhismus* (München), *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* (London), *Mélanges chinois et boudhiques* (Bruxelles), *Serie Orientale Roma* (Rome), *Wiener Zeitscrift für die Kunde Süd-und ostasiens* (Wien), have been devoting themselves to the special field of Buddhist studies in the West.

The important French centre at Hanoi (North Vietnam), which published the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* since 1901 has now been shifted to Paris.

17. Buddhist Studies in India

Lastly, in India the land of Buddhism, the reawakening came, as has been observed above mainly from the South in the form of Pali studies, which go at least as far back as G. Turnour's edition and translation of *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ceylon), 1837).

Attention was drawn to the northern Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese by scholars in Bengal, like Sarat Chandra Das, Rajendralal Mitra, Haraprasad Shastri, Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, which resulted in the establishment of a Research Centre in Buddhism in the Visva-Bharati, founded by Rabindranath Tagore in 1919.

Since then apart from regular studies in the Pali Literature which were instituted earlier in various Indian Universities like Calcutta, Poona, Baroda etc. interest in the much larger and unexplored field of Buddhism in many non-Indian literatures has been growing. Besides new centres of Buddhist Studies at Banaras, Nalanda, Patna, Darbhanga, a Chair in Buddhist Studies, established at the University of Delhi since 1957 has developed into a regular Department of Buddhist Studies constituted in 1961, for conducting research in Buddhism as a whole i.e. with special emphasis on a comprehensive investigation (through original sources as far as possible) of the Buddhist thought and culture in the past as well as the present, covering, as indicated at the outset, the whole area stretching from Siberia down to Ceylon and from East Turkestan to Indonesia.

Indian materials for study were made available in the earlier period through publications like the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta), *Gaekwad Oriental Series* (Baroda), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta), *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Patna), *Journal of the Department of Letters* (University of Calcutta), *Brahmavidya* (Adyar), *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Poona), *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), etc.

Recently however, besides the edition of the Pali **Tripiṭaka** and other works, published from Nalanda by Jagadish Kashyap, a series of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, is being edited by P. L. Vaidya for the purpose of making available to scholars a large part of the inaccessible *Sanskrit Canon* at the Mithila Institute of Darbhanga since 1958.

A very comprehensive scheme of publications, covering Indian Literature on an Asiatic scale under the caption **Śatapiṭaka** was launched by Dr. Raghu Vira at Nagpur in his International Academy of Indian Culture which established itself later at New Delhi, and has been continued after his death by his son Dr. Lokesh Chandra. A large number of publications concerning Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism and also a *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (complete in 20 volumes) has cone out in this huge project.

The contributions of the Indian Archaeological Survey have been from time to time dealing with the historical development of Buddhist culture in India through its manifold materials in inscriptions, numismatics, art and architecture.

A fairly adequate account of the revival and progress of Buddhist Studies in India during the last century has been given in the volume on *2500 Years of Buddhism* (New Delhi 1956) already noted above.

18. Further Scope for Buddhist Studies

Much leeway has yet to be made up in publishing the original sources of Buddhism and studying them on the background of not only Indian but Asiatic culture in its multiple forms, before the significance of this great religious movement could be brought out in terms of the human destiny.

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2. D. D. Kosambi : **Satakatrayadi-Subhasitasamgraha**, p. 10 (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1948).
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5. A few of these may be noted : **Japanese translation of the Pali Canon** (65 volumes) by J. Takakusu and M. Nagai; **Japanese translations of important works from the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka,** (Tokyo 1928-35) in 150 volumes; C. Akanuma's **Comparative Catalogue of the Pali Canon and its Chinese versions; A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon** (2 vols., Tohoku University, 1934) and also **A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan works of Buddhism** (1954); **Dictionaries of Buddhism** (by T. Oda, 1917 and by S. Mochizuki in 6 volumes, Tokyo 1931-36); Sanskrit texts published for the first time by Nanjio : **Vajracchedika** (1881), **Sukhavativyuha** (1883, Oxford), **Saddharmapundarikasutra** (Bibl. Bud. 1912), **Lankavatarasutra** (Kyoto 1923), **Suvaranaprabhasasutra** (1931); Wogihara published for the first time **Bodhisattvabhumi** of Asamga (Tokyo 1930), Yasomitra's **Abhidharmakosavyakhya** (1932), **Abhisamayalankaraloka** (1932-35), **Mahavyutpatti** (Sanskrit-Chinese, 1915) (later ed. by R. Sakaki (Kyoto 1916) with Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese-Japanese synonyms, and Sanskrit index; **Tibetan index** of same by K. Nishio Kyoto 1936); S. Yamaguchi published Sthiramati's **Madhyantavibhagatika** (Otani 1934); besides many other editions of basic texts and research studies too numerous to be mentioned in a brief survey, special note deserves to be taken of the photographic reproduction of the Peking edition of the **Tibetan Tripitaka** in 168 volumes (including the complete works of Tsonkhapa and Lcan. skya) by the Suzuki Research Foundation (Tokyo), which has also launched a programme of valuable reprints.
6. Formerly there were over 3000 Lama series in Tibet and in 1956 there were approximately 120,000 to 150,000 Lamas — (Tibetan Source book by Ling Nai-min, Hongkong, 1964 p. 232).

JAINA STUDIES

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Jainology is a neglected branch of Indological learning, and it is only during recent years some more interest is seen in Jainological studies.. The All-India Oriental conference has a Section for Prakrits and Jainism; and the presidential addresses show a good record of the progress of studies coming under the perview of this section. Critical investigations in the various branches of Jainology will ultimately enrich the Indological learning, and as such more attention has to be given to the study of Jaina literature and Jaina philosophy.

1. Introduction

The major portion of ancient Indian literature is religious; and even apparently secular works have an undercurrent of religious ideas. Obviously it has been customary, therefore, with historians of literature to use such terms as Jaina Literature, Buddhist Literature, etc.

Before the advent of Western scholars on the field and their active interest in Oriental learning in general and Indian studies in particular, the religious texts were primarily the concern of the followers of the particular religion in India. They were studied with faith and reverence; and the pious people tried to derive inspiration from them and to put into practice the essentials laid down in them.

If in certain polemic works and commentaries the doctrines of other schools are referred to, it was more with a view to criticize them than to understand them sympathetically in the wider perspective of the growth of religious thoughts. The result was that a detailed and sympathetic study of religious works was confined to sectarian circles and continued in Maṭhas and monasteries of the community.

It is in exceptional cases like the *Ṣaddarśana-samuccaya* (ed. F. L. Pulle, Florence 1887, 1895-99; trans. L. Suali, Florence 1904; ed. with Guṇaratna's com., Calcutta 1905f. and Bhavnagar 1917) of Haribhadra (8th century *A.D.*) and *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (ed. Poona 1924; trans. London 1894) of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava (14th century *A.D.*) that an attempt was made to record the doctrines of different religious systems.

2. Beginning of Jaina studies by Western scholars

The attention of Western scholars was easily attracted by certain traits of Jainism and its adherents: splendid Jaina temples, statues and works of art; magnificient collections of Mss. in different parts of India; Jaina monks given to the pursuit of learning and piety; the influence of the ascetic community on the lay-followers and their consequent benevolence to the society; their extreme kindness to the whole of sentient creation; and their strict vegetarian diet. Unlike the followers of Buddhism who were more numerous outside India, the adherents of Jainism were found in different parts of India and constituted, at least in some parts of the country, a significant and influential religious minority.

In the march of Oriental studies, it was rather at a comparatively late stage that serious studies in Jainism and Jaina literature were taken up, mainly because the orthodox custodians of Jaina **Bhaṇḍāras** would not allow the Oriental scholars to have free access to their Mss. Still, almost right from the beginning of Indian studies by Western scholars, the Jaina Mss., though in a limited number, attracted the attention of Wilson, Taylor, Aufrecht, **Bühler,** Mitra, Keilhorn, Jacobi, Burnell, Rice, Hultzsch, Bhandarkar, Weber, Kathawate, Leumann, Peterson and others as is evident from their Descriptive catalogues of Mss. published from time to time in different parts of India and even outside.

3. Buhler's observation on importance of Jaina texts

Descriptive catalogues of Jaina Mss. brought to light such a wide vista of literary activities of the Jainas that Bühler rightly remarked in this way:

"In grammer, in astronomy as well as in all branches of *belles letters,* the achievements of the Jainas have been so great that even their opponents have taken notice of them and that some of their works are of importance for European science even to-day. In the South of India where they have worked among the Dravidian peoples, they have also promoted the development of these languages. The Kanarese, Tamil and Telugu literary languages rest on the foundations created by the Jaina monks. Though this activity has led them far away from their own particular aims, yet it has secured for them an important place in the history of Indian literature and civilization" (*Uber die indisch sekte der Jainas,* p. 17, Vienna 1887: also Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, pp. 424ff., Calcutta 1933 and *The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature,* Ahmedabad 1946).

4. Some important surveys of Jaina literature

This prophetic observation is fully borne out by the monumental Catalogus Catalogorum for Jaina works, viz., the ***Jinaratnakośa*** prepared by Professor H. D. Velankar (Poona 1944) and other surveys of Jaina literature in different languages: R. Narasimhacharya: *Karnātaka Kavicarite,* I-III, Bangalore 1924 etc.; M. D. Desai: *Jaina Gurjara Kavio* I-III, Bombay 1925 etc. and *Jaina Sāhityano Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa*, Bombay 1933; A. Chakravarti: *Jaina Literature in Tamil,* Arrah 1941; K. P. Jain: *Hindī Jaina Sāhityakā Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa,* Banares 1917; J. C. Jaina: *Prākṛta Sahityakā Itihāsa,* Varanasi 1961; and many other partial attempts.

Even after the publication of the ***Jinaratna-kośa***, some catalogues are brought out by K. Bhujabali Shastri, K. Kastoorchand Kasaliwal and others.

5. Scope of present survey

Still the wealth of Jaina Mss. lying in some of the Bhaṇḍāras of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh needs critical inspection. The philological material available in these Mss. has a special value for the study of Indian culture and of the history of Indian languages as a whole. In this paper only those branches of literature which deal with Jaina religion and the progress of researches dealing with Jainism will be broadly covered.

6. Critical editions of Jaina canonical literature

The canonical works are the main source for the study of Jainism. Most of them have been published in India along with Sanskrit commentaries etc.

The credit of taking a review of the entire canon (from the Mss.) for the first time goes to A. Weber (Leipzig 1883-85, in English trans, Bombay 1888-92.) The basis for this was a collection of Jaina Mss. (from Western India) which reached Germany through the efforts of **Bühler** who served as a liaison scholar between India and Germany. These manuscripts attracted a number of scholars who critically edited and authentically translated some of them. Jacobi not only edited the ***Kalpasūtra*** (Leipzig 1879) and ***Ācārāṅga*** (London 1882), but also gave standard English translations of these as well as of the *Uttarādhyayana* (ed. Charpentier, Uppsala 1922) and *Sutrakrtanga* in the Sacred Books of the East (Vols. 22 & 45, Oxford 1884, 1895), along with Introductions.

Leumann edited the *Aupapātikasūtra* (Leipzig 1883) with an excellent analysis and glossary. His edition of the *Daśavaikālika* (1892), brought out by him along with its Nijjutti, has been presented in Devanāgarī with English translation by Schubring (Ahmedabad 1932).

Other important works of the canon which are subjected to critical translation and study are the *Uvāsagadasāo* by Hoernle (Calcutta 1890) and *Antagaḍa*- and Aṇuttara-dasāo by Barnett (London 1907).

7. Contribution of Jacobi to Jaina studies

The Introductions of Jacobi have cleared good many misconceptions about Jainism and brought out in a clearer perspective the personality of Mahāvīra and the fundamental doctrines of Jainism.

Pārśvanātha, the predecessor of Mahāvīra, was shown to be a historical person; the Jaina doctrines have remained much intact; and they show good many archaic traits in the evolution of Indian religious thought, having some striking similarities with the Sāṁkhya system.

These conclusions reached by Jacobi have given an impetus to Jainological studies along various lines.

His essays in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* on Jaina topics are all results of his mature study and sympathetic understanding of Jainism. (*Studies in Jainism* by H. Jacobi, Ahmedabad 1948).

8. Substantial survey of Jaina doctrines by W. Schubring

To Professor W. Schubring we owe a substantial survey of Jaina doctrines in his *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Berlin u. Leipzig 1935, English Trans., Delhi 1962). This is a monumental work and should serve as the basis of all further studies of the Jaina canonical texts.

It opens with a short sketch of Jaina research; then the canonical texts are succintly reviewed with requisite bibliography; and the contents of the canon are systematically presented under four headings, namely, Cosmology, Cosmography, Renunciation and Victory.

9. Other notable works on Jaina canonical literature

There is still great scope for monographic work on individual texts in the manner of Dr. Schubring's *Vavahāra and Nisīhasutta* (Leipzig 1918), and Das *Mahānisīha-sutta* (Berlin 1918); Dr. Von Kamptz *Uber die vom sterbfasten handlenden ältern Paiṇṇa's des Jaina-Kanons* (Hamburg 1929); Prof. M. V. Patwardhan's; The *Daśavaikālika-sūtra — A Study* (Sangli 1933-36), and Dr. A. C. Sen's A *Critical Intro. to the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāim* (Hamburg 1936).

As companions for the study of the Jaina canon may also be mentioned *Life in ancient India as depicted in the Jaina canons* by J. C. Jain (Bombay 1947); *'The Jinist Studies* by Otto Stein (Ahmedabad 1948).

10. Publication of commentaries on Jaina canonical literature

Lately some relics of the Pūrvas have come to light; and huge commentaries on them, namely, *Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* have been published along with Hindi paraphrase. These commentaries of Vīrasena and Jinasena incorporate earlier commentaries.

The subject matter is the elaborate Karma doctrine which has its specialities in Jainism. The exposition of the details is highly technical; and some glimpses of it (the contents being gathered from later sources) can be had from Glasenapp's *Die Lehre vom Karman in der Philosophie der Jainas* (Leipzig 1915, English trans., Bombay 1942).

11. Studies in Jaina Asceticism

In the canonical texts a good deal of emphasis is laid on asceticism. Some texts are solely devoted to describing the practices of Jaina monks, including the great Tirthaṃkaras of the Jainas. This aspect of Jainism is studied by S. B. Deo in his *History of Jaina Monachism* (Poona 1956).

A detailed study of these monastic practices, which are often common with Buddhism, has led scholars to take Jainism as the best representative of the Śramaṇic culture, the ancient exponent of which was the great Ṛṣabha. The Vātaraśanā monks referred to in the Ṛgveda seem to have belonged to this Śramaṇic culture.

12. Studies in Jaina sects

From the time of Mahāvīra, the history of the Jaina church is fairly reconstructed from the literary and epigraphic sources. Due to doctrinal differences, the Jaina church got itself divided into a number of schools and sects which first started in the ascetic organisation but gradually affected the lay-community as well.

The chief divisions, namely, Digambara, Śvetāmbara and Yāpanīya are well known. In course of time, the Yāpanīyas seem to have merged in the Digambaras; and with the current of times there arose many sub-divisions in the church, among the monks and also among the laity, such as the Gaṇa, Gaccha etc. and Sthānakavāsi, Terāpantha etc.

Though the material is rich, the details of the various divisions are not fully and systematically worked out as yet. Useful information is found gathered in works like the *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* by A. Sen (Vishvabharati 1931), The *Bhaṭṭaraka Saṃpradāya* (in Hindi) by V. P. Johrapurkar (Sholapur 1958) and *Jaina Community* by V. A. Sangave (Bombay 1958).

13. Royal patronage to Jainism

The royal patronage extended to Jainism and the flourishing condition of Jainas in different parts of India are a fascinating subject of study for which there is copious material.

Chandragupta Maurya and Samprati were the great patrons of Jainism; and the Jainas enjoyed a good deal of royal patronage (some of the kings, if not the dynasties, being the followers of Jainism) in the South and Western India in the middle ages. By his austere life, exemplary conduct and devotion to learning, the Jaina saint has always won respect from rulers all over India, and this is true even in the case of Mogul rulers and their feudatories.

14. Studies in contribution of Jainism to Indian culture

In their turn the Jaina monks and rich laity have enriched the culture and civilization of the area by strengthening the morals through precepts and practices and by constructing pieces of art (*Studies in Jaina Art* by U. P. Shaha, Banaras 1955) and architecture (*Jaina Monuments* etc. by T. N. Ramachandran, Calcutta 1944) which, in some cases, as at Śravana Belgoḷ and Abu, are a pride of the nation.

A few monographs have appeared on the career of Jainas and Jainism in different parts of India, and some of them may be noted here: *Studies in South Indian Jainism* by M. S. R. Iyangar and B. Sheshgiri Rao, Madras 1922; *Jainism in North India* by C. J. Shaba, London 1932; *Mediaeval Jainism* by B. A. Saletore, Bombay 1938; *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (originally *Jainism in South India*) by S. R. Sharma, Dharwar 1940; *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs* by P.B. Desai, Sholapur 1957; *Jainism in Gujarat* by C. B. Sheth, Bombay 1953; *Jainism in Bihar* by P. C. Roy Choudhary, Patna 1956; *Jainism in Orissa* (in Hindi) by L. N. Sahu, Aliganj 1959.

Some papers have appeared on Jainism in Punjab and Bengal. The epigraphic *(Repertoire d'epigraphie Jaina* by A. Guerinot, Paris 1908) and literary (Collections of Colophons of Mss.) material is available in plenty, and some papers have appeared in Journals in different languages.

15. Studies in Jaina philosophical doctrines

Jaina philosophical doctrines have a number of specialities of their own; and consequently a good deal of systematic study and sympathetic understanding were necessary for their appraisal in the back-ground of Indian philosophy and in the evaluation of human thought.

R. G. Bhandarkar gave, in one of his Reports (*Report on the search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84*, Bombay, 1887) a very good account of Jaina principles.

Though a number of Sanskrit commentaries (for their account see the *Jinaratnakośa*, pp. 154ff) on the *Tattvārthasūtra* have been published, in some cases, with good Introductions, it is Jacobi's German translation (*Eine Jaina-Dogmatik*, Leipzig 1906) that proved a valuable beginning for the study of Jaina doctrines.

The English translations of the *Dravyasaṁgraha* by S. C. Ghoshal (Arrah 1917) and of the *Pancāstikāya* (Prākrit text ed. P. E. Pavolini, Florence 1901) by A. Chakravarti (Arrah 1920) have proved extremely helpful in understanding the range of Jaina dogmatics and Jaina logic, especially the doctrines of Naya and Syādvāda. It is Prof. Chakravarti's exposition that enabled a number of subsequent scholars to appreciate Syādvāda in a proper manner.

The English translation of the *Tattvārthasūtra* by J. L. Jaini (Arrah 1920) still holds its field as a reference book, though a number of expositions of it (for instance, *Cosmology: Old and New* by G. R. Jain, Gwalior 1942; *Reality* by S. A. Jain, Calcutta 1960; etc.) have appeared in English.

Texts like the *Gommaṭasāra* are translated into English by J. L. Jaini but, for various reasons, they have not sufficiently attracted the attention of scholars.

The English translations of the *Pravacanasāra* by Faddegon (Cambridge 1935) and Upadhye (Bombay 1935) have served a useful purpose. The introduction of the latter sheds a good bit of comparative light on certain Jaina philosophical doctrines.

It is primarily through the expositions of Ghoshal and Chakravarti, Jainism finds a creditable place in some of the important histories of Indian Philosophy by eminent authors like Radhakrishnan, Dasgupta, Hiriyanna, Dutta and others. J. Sinha's treatises on Indian *Psychology* and *Indian Realism* (London 1934 and 1938) give a good and lucid account of Jaina tenets based on original sources.

16. Studies in Jaina Nyaya literature

The Jaina contributions to what may be called Nyāya literature are vast and varied. The Sanskrit commentaries on the *Tattvārthasūtra* by authors like Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Siddhasena, Vidyānanda and others fully reflect the contemporary trend of philosophical discussions in India.

During the last thirty years, through the efforts of eminent scholars like Pts. Sukhalalji, Mahendrakumaraji etc. not only a number of Jaina Nyāya works have been neatly published, but also a flood of light is shed by their introductions on Jaina tenets in the back-ground of Indian thought as a whole. A study of these works is indispensable to understand Jainism in comparison with and contrast to other Darśanas.

Lately a full bibliographical review of this branch of literature is prepared by Dr. V. P. Johrapurkar (Hindi Intro. to his ed. of the *Viśvatattva-prakāśa,* pp. 22-110, Sholapur 1964). Now a fruitful stage is reached, and S. C. Vidyabhushana's resume of Jaina Nyāya works can be easily revised.

Very few works of this branch are rendered into English. A. B. Dhruva's Notes on the *Syādvādamañjarī* (Poona 1933) are quite helpful. Jacobi translated into German the commentary on the 6th verse in his *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern,* Bonn 1923). H. S. Bhattacharya rendered into English the *Pramāṇa-nāya-tattvālokālaṅkāra* in the volumes of the *Jaina Gazette,* but so far it is not issued in a book form.

The translations of *Parikṣāmukham* of Māṇikyanandi by S. C. Ghosal (Lucknow 1940) and of the *Pramāṇamimāmsa* of Hemacandra by S. K. Mookerjee (A Critique of Organ of Knowledge, Calcutta 1946) are useful to those who want to make a beginning in Jaina Nyāya through English.

Lately an excellent English translation of the Syādvādamañjari by F. W. Thomas has appeared (Berlin 1960); and in the years to come it is sure to have far-reaching influence on the elucidation and understanding of Jaina doctrines.

17. Studies in Jaina philosophy

During the last few years a number of independent treatises have appeared; and they clearly show how some scholars are carrying on serious and systematic studies in Jaina philosophy in its widest sense.

It would suffice to list a few important works, the titles of which sufficiently indicate their contents. H. Bhattachary: *A Comprehensive study of the Indian Science of thought from the Jaina standpoint* (Madras 1925). S. Mookerjee : *The Jaina Philosophy of Non-absolutism* (Calcutta 1944); N. Tatia: *Studies in Jaina Philosophy* (Banaras 1951); M. Mehta: *Outlines of Jaina Philosophy and Jaina Psychology* (Bangalore 1954-55); A. Chakravarti: *The Religion of Ahimsa* (Bombay 1957); T. G. Kalghatgi: *Some Problems in Jaina Psychology* (Dharwar 1961); Y. J. Padmarajiah: *A Comparative Study of the Jaina Theories of Reality and Knowledge* (Bombay 1963).

These authors are specialised in Jainism; and they are presenting their exposition of Jaina doctrines through Western philosophical terminology and comparing the same with allied thoughts in India and outside. Their methods are comparative and critical, and as such their findings are important in understanding Jainism.

18. Studies in Anekantavada of Jainism

The Anekāntavāda or Syādvāda is a fundamental doctrine of Jainism. It is found well expounded in the works of Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Akalaṅka, Haribhadra and others. A number of mediaeval non-Jaina authors misunderstood it in their sectarian zeal; and its correct philosophical import is not duly appreciated in their works. It will be seen that modern scholars are fairly understanding the doctrine of Syādvāda as a valuable instrument for a correct understanding of reality.

19. Studies in ethical realism of Jainism

Jainism is often described as Ethical Realism. Realistic philosophical doctrines and elaborate details of the Karma theory occupy an important place in it. Further, it is a practical religion, a way of living; and as such it has elaborated a code of morality or a pattern of good conduct which has a great social value.

Great stress is laid in Jainism on the right conduct of the monk as well as of the layman; and on the moral code prescribed for both of them, Ahiṁsā plays an important role. It is the very basis of correct behaviour or good conduct which, according to Jainism, is very important in the spiritual progress of man.

Five vows are laid down both for monks and house-holders: Ahiṁsā, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha. A monk is expected to observe them most rigorously, while a house-holder follows them with a margin of concessions according to the stage of religious life to which he belongs.

These vows are nicely explained by Beni Prasad in his paper '*World Problems and Jaina Ethics*' (Lahore 1945). The five vows, as he puts it, "constitute a single conception of life, ethical and spiritual, a consistent loyalty to the great principle of self-transcendance, a transvaluation of values."

The Jaina Ahiṁsa is often misunderstood by those who have no first hand information about it as recorded in Jaina works. The gradational practice of it has to be clearly understood: what is prescribed for a monk should not be and cannot be expected of a house-holder who stands assigned to one or the other Pratimā, the stage of a householder's life.

It is true that, in Jainism, the doctrine of Ahiṁsā primarily governs personal behaviour but its context in the social relations cannot be altogether ignored. It enjoins on every one to show highest regard for living beings which are very thoroughly classified and graded. The Jaina authors are aware of the various practical difficulties, and they have discussed them in the Āçāra texts.

20. Studies in Jaina monastic life.

In the canonical, pro-canonical and post-canonical works minute details of Jaina monastic life are described. A class of literature, known as Śrāvakācāra, is available; and therein the duties of laymen are fully described. The *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona 1956, by S. B. Deo (see also his *Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence*, Banaras 1960) and the *Jaina Yoga* (London 1963) by R. Williams give us a good picture of the Jaina way of life prescribed for monks and laymen respectively.

The *Jaina Yoga* is a very valuable documentation of important sources, and the author's exposition of individual topics is extremely useful for further studies.

21. Karma philosophy in Jainism

In understanding the Jaina way of life one has to remember that Jainism has laid special stress on one's own Karmas; and it is essentially in one's own hand to make or mar one's future. It is to the credit of the great Jaina teachers that they have been able to evolve a philosophy of conduct uninfluenced by any reliance upon super-natural intervention or guidance.

The divine favour or frown has no place in this pattern of thought. That is why good conduct (based on or accompanied by healthy motives and salutary speech) is specially emphasised in Jainism; and it is not without its effect on the society round about.

Ahiṁsa, Anekānta and Aparigraha are laudable virtues which go to make one a worthy citizen who is highly humanitarian, sympathetic and tolerant of others' views and having restraint on his possessive instincts.

22. Some recent Manuals on Jainism

Jainism as an important religion of India has always attracted the attention of scholars; Jaina philosophy, ethics and psychology have afforded rich material for study; and Jaina monuments of art and architecture are quite captivating.

Naturally good many manuals are written on Jainism. Some of them not only embody the results of earlier research but also enable us to understand Jainism in a correct perspective.

A few of them can be listed here : *Uber die indische Sekte der Jainas* by Bühler (Vienna 1887, English trans., *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas,* London 1903); *An Introduction to Jainism* by A. B. Latthe (Bombay 1905); *History and Literature of Jainism* by U. D. Barodia (Bombay 1909); *First Principles of Jaina Philosophy* by H. L. Jhaveri (London 1910); *Jainism* by H. Warren (Madras 1912).

The Heart of Jainism (along with the *Notes on Modern Jainism*) by S. Stevenson (Oxford and Surat 1910) puts together useful information but the author could not get rid of her own predilections. V. R. Gandhi represented Jainism at the Parliament of Religions, Chicago (1893), and his lectures and notes have been published under three titles, *Jaina Philosophy, Karma Philosophy* and *Yoga Philosophy* (Bombay 1910 f.).

Some sections from the *Key of Knowledge* by C. R. Jain (Arrah 1915) present Jainism from the point of view of comparative religion.

This author's *Practical Path* (Arrah 1917) and others are popular expositions of different topics of Jainism. The *Outlines of Jainism* by J. L. Jaini (Cambridge 1916, 1940) gives some original extracts with translation.

An Epitome of Jainism by Nahar and Ghosh (Calcutta 1917) attempts to study various aspects of Jainism in relation to modern thought. *Der Jainismus* by H. Glasenapp (Berlin 1925) is a massive work presenting a substantial study with useful references.

La religion D'jaina by A. Guerinot (Paris 1927) has some light to shed on modern Jaina Institutions as well.

The observations on Jainism by H. Zimmer in his *Philosophies of India* (London 1951) and by A. L. Basham in the *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York 1958) and the *Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths* (London 1959) need careful study.

H. L. Jaina's *Bhāratiya Saṁskṛtime Jaina Dharmakā Yogadāna* (in Hindi, Jabalpur 1962) is a fundamental contribution towards our understanding of Jainism in the religious history of India. The subsequent researches in Jainism will have to take a special note of the beginnings of Jainism on which Dr. H. L. Jain has shed original light.

Jainism and Jaina literature are still a virgin soil. The available material is rich and varied and lies scattered in ancient and modern languages in different parts of our country.

23. Some important bibliographical material on Jainism

Bibliographical materials constitute the foundation of all progressive research. Unluckily Klatt's Onomastican (*Specimen of a literary-biographical Onomastican*, Leipzig 1892) was never completed. A. Guerinot's *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris 1906 (also its supplement, *Notes de Bibliographie Jaina* in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1909) presents a systematic register of the Jainological material available in European Libraries.

Relevant contexts from the *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* (in 2 parts by E. Windisch (Berlin 1917-20) give glimpses of Jaina research upto 1920 or so.

C. L. Jain has carried Guerinot's work on upto 1925 (*Jaina Bibliography*, Calcutta 1945), and the project is under progress. Some bibliographic lists of published Jaina works have appeared in Hindi and Gujarati, but they are not thorough and systematic.

24. Jainology—a neglected branch of Indological learning

Jainology is a neglected branch of Indological learning, and it is only during recent years some more interest is seen in Jainological studies. The All-India Oriental Conference has a Section for Prākrits and Jainism; and the presidential addresses show a good record of the progress of studies coming under the purview of this Section.

Lately, some institutions like the Vaishali Institute, Vaishali and L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, have come up; and it is hoped that they would prove centres for Jainological research. Some **Granthamālās** are affording good facilities of publication. Research programme undertaken by individuals or small institutions have obviously their limitations.

Critical investigations in the various branches of Jainology will ultimately enrich the Indological learning, and as such more attention has to be given to the study of Jaina literature and Jaina philosophy in the research departments of Indian Universities.

PURANIC STUDIES

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Warren Hastings offered a translation of Bhagvadgita and not of the Bhagvata Purana . . . Though the credit of translating Bhagvata Purana is thus denied to him, Warren Hastings' interest in the Puranas is proved by 'Pooran-Arthe Prekash Shastre' . . . which professes to have been composed by Warren Hastings' express desire in A.D. 1784.

I

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

1. Warren Hastings' Pioneering contribution to Puranic Research

Relying on Emerson's remarks that he was "not surprised.... to find......Warren Hastings........deprecating the prejudices of his countrymen, while offering them a translation of the Bhagvat",[1] Pangarkar stated that Warren Hastings was the first to translate a Sanskrit work, in this case the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, into English.[2] The facts, however, are that Warren Hastings offered a translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* and not of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the translation was not by himself but by Charles Wilkins.[3] Though the credit of translating the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, —or, in fact, any Sanskrit work—is thus denied to him, Warren Hastings' interest in the Purāṇas, is proved by the fact that *Pooran Arthe Prekash Shastre* by Radhacant Serman Pendeet, which is preserved in a manuscript belonging to the British Museum, professes to have been composed at Warren Hastings' express desire in A.D. 1784. It was published from London in A.D. 1809.[4]

2. Contribution of William Jones, Wilford, Wilson and Burnouf

That William Jones, the pioneer of Oriental Studies in India, nicknamed "Oriental Jones", was not slow in realising the importance of the Purāṇas, would appear from the inclusion of the Purāṇas, among the desiderata found by him as early as in the eighties of the eighteenth century.[5]

Though much minimised on account of lack of critical faculty, the magnitude of Wilford's contribution to Purāṇic studies can be gauged by his notes on the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* constituting the basis of the works of Wilson and Burnouf on the Purāṇas.

Wilson published the first English translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in 1840, and the same year saw the appearance of the first book of the French translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Burnouf, which was completed by Hauvette Besnault and Roussel in 1898.

3. Critical Editions of the Puranas

Critical editions of the Purāṇas, mentioned as one of the desiderata by William Jones before almost a couple of centuries, still continue to be the desiderata. Though no critical editions of the Purāṇas have appeared hitherto, attempts are being made for preparing critical editions of different Purāṇas by several research institutes. B. J. Institute of Learning, Ahmedabad, has undertaken the critical edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has started work on the critical edition of the *Harivaṁśa* (which though considered as the Appendix of the Great Epic is also known as the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*), on the lines of its celebrated edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

It is gratifying to note that the All-India Kashiraj Trust has been founded at Varanasi with the preparation and publication of the critical editions of the Purāṇas as one of its main objects. The *Matsya* and the *Vāmana* are actively under preparation, and the remaining Purāṇas are in different stages of progress.

4. Texts of the Puranas

The Purāṇas have been published all over India in Devanāgarī and several other regional scripts. Reference is made here only to the texts that have appeared in Devanāgarī. Sri Venkateswar Press of Bombay has brought out texts of all Mahā-Purāṇas and of several Upa-Purāṇas in **Devanagari.** The *Brahma, Agni, Padma, Matsya, Vāyu* have appeared in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Poona. Jīvānanda Vidyāsagara, Nandalal More and Mansukhrai More have brought out texts of several Purāṇās from Calcutta.

The Gita Press, Gorakhpur, has published the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*. The *Bhāgavata* alone, among the Purāṇas, enjoys the honour of being published from several places.[6]

5. Translations of the Puranas

Turning to the translations of the Purāṇas in non-Indian languages, besides Wilson and Burnouf, referred to earlier, we have an English translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* by Pargiter published in 1888-1905, with exhaustive critical notes relating to the geographical portion, which are valuable. There are several English translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, by Subba Rao, Sanyal, Swami Vijnanananda and one published by the Gita Press. Subba Rao's translation in easy English prose embodies the interpretation of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita — three leading schools of thought.

6. Critical Editions: Preliminaries and MSS.

Before leaving the subject of the printed texts and translations of the Purāṇas, reference should be made to the articles dealing with the critical editions of the Purāṇas. R. G. Harshe has drawn attention to the necessity of the preparation of several indices as preliminaries to the starting of the work on the critical editions of the Purāṇas. Among these, he suggests the Indices of literature on the Purāṇas, of the topics in the Purāṇas, of the material in regional languages as also in Arabic, Persian and Urdu on the subject, and of the historical and geographical names in the Purāṇas, on a comparative study of the researches by western scholars. He also advocates the study of similar literature on myths and legends of the countries.[7]

In connection with the preparation of the critical edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa* undertaken by the Kashiraj Trust of Varanasi, A. S. Gupta has referred to the textual peculiarities of a Śāradā MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the MSS collected for the projected critical edition, while V. Raghavan has pointed to an unique two-Khaṇḍa version of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[8]

7. Collated Texts

In the context of the texts and translations of the Purāṇas, we have also to take note of the collated texts of the different Purāṇas, bearing on particular topics such as genealogies, cosmography, geography, pañcalakṣaṇa, śrāddha, etc. brought out by Pargiter, Kirfel, Vries and Sircar.

In the *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,*[9] Pargiter has reconstructed the text of the account of the dynasties of the Kali Age from about nine different Purāṇas after giving variants, and has translated it into English. Though his method of constituting the text is eclectic, he has noted variants both from the printed texts and the MSS collected by him and has quoted more recensions wherever he thought it necessary.

Kirfel has a more ambitious plan in his *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa,*[10] which may be said to have laid the foundations of a critical and scientific study of the Purāṇas in 1927. Here he presents the Puranic Texts for the five traditional *lakṣaṇas* (characteristics) of the Purāṇas, viz. *Sarga* (creation), *Pratisarga* (dissolution and recreation), *Vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *Manvantara* (ages of Manus) and *Vaṁśānucarita* (genealogies of kings) from all the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. He divides the texts of the Purāṇas into three different groups, and gives extracts from each group under the five topics constituting the characteristic features of the Purāṇas. Footnotes give exact reference to each stanza of the text, and variations and different texts have been given in parallel columns.

Kirfel's *Das Purāṇa von Weltgebände* (Bhuvana Vinyāsa),[11] applies the same method with regard to the Purānic cosmographic matter. Here the Purāṇas are divided into two groups, the latter of which presents the material in a much more extended form.

In his *Die Kosmographie der Inder*[12] Kirfel makes a detailed investigation of the data offered not only by the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Vedāṅgas, nor again by the *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa* and different Purāṇas and Upa-Purānas, but also by several Jain and Buddhist canonical and non-canonical works.

The same problem, as narrowed down to the geographical description of India proper, was subsequently treated by him in a short monograph, *Bhāratavarṣa.*[13] Epic and Purāṇic accounts have been divided into three groups: shorter, longer, and *Mahābhārata* and *Padma.* Texts in the longer group, however, are much earlier than the shorter group.

Following Kirfel's method, J.D.L. de Vries has considered comparative texts for the Śrāddhakalpa in the *Harivaṁśa* and five other Purāṇas to arrive at the original. The author finds two groups: (A) *Harivaṁśa*, *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*, *Śiva-P.*, *Vāyu-P.*, and (B) *Matsya-P.* and *Padma-P.*[14]

In another article on "*Purāṇa Studies*", Vries gives comparative texts of a portion of the two groups of *Purāṇas* about Śrāddha ritual, already dealt with in his earlier work.[15]

Two articles by D. C. Sircar deal respectively with "Text of the Purānic list of Peoples"[16] and "Text of the Purāṇic list of Rivers",[17] wherein the texts, along with variants, have been critically discussed.

Walter Ruben has made an exhaustive study of the Kṛṣṇa problem from the texts of the different Purāṇas. In "On the Original Text of the Kṛṣṇa Epic",[18] he reconstructs the 'archetype' of Kṛṣṇa's Kāliya adventure which contains only 33 stanzas as against the *Brahma* (56), *Viṣṇu* (80), *Harivaṁśa* (109), *Bhāgavata* (68), *Brahma-vaivarta* (108), *Padma* (6) and *Agni* (1).

8. Purana Indices

Reference may now be made to the *Purāṇa Index*[19] in three volumes, the last published work of V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, two volumes of which were published in his lifetime. It covers the following five Purāṇas—*Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata*, and is mainly an index of names — deities, persons, tribes, mountains, rivers etc.; some entries, however, deal with subjects, and summaries of stories relating to some important persons or places have been given.

Purāṇa-viṣaya-samanukramaṇikā,[20] by Yashapal Tandon is, as stated by its alternative title, a Concordance of Purāṇa-Contents. Some idea of its contents can be had from the titles of its twelve chapters. The introductory chapter deals with maṅgala, characteristics, divisions, number, and subjects of the Purāṇas as also with Purāṇa-māhātmya, Purāṇa-paramparā and Sūta-dharmas. The next chapters deal respectively with (2) Sṛṣṭipralayādi, (3) Kālamānādi, (4) Vaṁśavaṁśānucaritaṁ, (5) Jātayah, (6) Adhyātmaprakaraṇaṁ, (7) Smṛti, (8) Ādhidaivikaṁ, (9) Vividha-devadevāṁśa, (10) Adhiyajña, (11) Adhivijñāna, and

(12) Bhūvṛttaṁ. Under Adhivijñāna are to be found different sciences including Alaṁkāra, Arthaśāstra, Architecture, Sculpture, Botany, Astronomy and Astrology, Nirukta, Archery, Medicine, Palmistry, Tantra, Sarpavidyā, Ratnaparīkṣā, etc.

9. Purana and Itihasa

Before coming to the books and articles dealing with Purāṇas in general, it is necessary to refer to articles which clarify the meaning of "Itihāsa" *vis-á-vis* "Purāṇa". In his Presidential Address at the sixteenth session of the Indian History Congress, Kane dealt with the significance of Itihāsa and Purāṇa, among several other topics.[21]

It may be recalled that the elaborate article by Sieg discusses the concept of Itihāsa in the context of Purāṇa.[22] Pusalker has also considered Itihāsa and Purāṇa in his address to the History section of the Oriental Conference at Annamalainagar[23] and in a lecture at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.[24]

Anand Swarup Gupta has exhaustively dealt with the problem in his article on "Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna".[25]

S. K. Chatterji pleads for the recognition of Jātaka as a repository of Purāṇas containing old traditions and hence to be seriously taken along with Brahmanic Purāṇas and epics.[25a]

II

PURANAS IN GENERAL

10. Books and Articles on Puranas in General

Next, we come to books and articles on the Purāṇas in general, which deal with some or all of the topics relating to the Purāṇas, such as definition, characteristics, origin and development, age, contents, religion, philosophy, etc. Chapters in books on History or History of Sanskrit Literature are also included herein.

11. Some earliest works

The preface to the English translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* by Wilson may be said to be probably the earliest of such works.[26] It deals with the classification and number of the Mahāpurāṇas and short account of their contents and of those of some Upa-Purāṇas like *Śiva* and *Kālikā*.

Pargiter's exhaustive article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*[27] discusses all the aspects of Purāṇic studies in general including origin and development; five original subjects; additions, interpolations and losses; additional subjects; theology; dharma; Tīrthas, etc.; caste and ritual; Kāma, Artha, etc.; Mokṣa; Age of the Purāṇas ; and Upa-Purāṇas.

12. Rapson's chapter on Puranas in the Cambridge History of India

Rapson's chapter in Vol. I of the *Cambridge History of India*[28] treats of the classical definition of the Purāṇas, Purāṇas and modern scholarship, Purāṇas and Upa-Purānas, their chronological and geographical conceptions and genealogies, Vedic literature and the Purāṇas, Bhārata War, and Pūrus, Ikṣvākus, Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas, Śiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Andhras. He regards the Purāṇas as of Kṣatriya origin and the genealogies as partly legendary and partly historical, it being necessary to disentangle history from legend by removing all accretions from the Purāṇas.

13. Critical study of Puranas as a Source of Indian History

Comparative historical value of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas has been considered by Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*,[29] which inter alia, deals with the age and historical value of the Purāṇas, especially their genealogical accounts. Some sections in the *Vedic Age*,[30] a chapter in *India in the Vedic Age* by Bhargava,[31] and a few pages in several works on the History of India discuss critically the value of the Purāṇas as source of ancient history. Somewhat detailed references to the views of different scholars will be given later while considering genealogy and chronology. Winternitz and other historians of Sanskrit literature have dealt, in detail or in brief, with various aspects of the problems concerning the Purāṇas.[32]

14. Some Important works on the Puranas in regional languages

Aṣṭādaśapurāṇadarpaṇa (in Hindi) by Jwalaprasad Mishra[33] is an exhaustive treatment of the Purāṇas from the orthodox point of view. There is a detailed summary of each of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. *Purāṇa-Nirīkṣaṇa* (in Marathi) by T. G. Kale,[34] *Purāṇa-Vivecana* (in Gujarati) by Durgashanker Shastri,[35] and *Purāṇa-Praveśa* (in Bengali) by G. C. Bose,[36] are also monographs on the Purāṇas in general, dealing with several topics such as origin and development of the Purāṇas, their contents, history and geography, religion and philosophy, and so on. *Purāṇa-Tattvaprakāśa* (in Hindi) by Chimmanlal Vaishya,[37] with numerous quotations in Sanskrit, seeks to prove that the Purāṇas are not the work of Veda Vyāsa and sets forth the doctrines of the Arya Samaj.

15. Some Important Articles and Monographs

"Mahāpurāṇas" by H. P. Sastri[38] is an amplified version of his preface to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V.[39] There is also an article under the same title by R. C. Hazra dealing with several aspects of the "Mahāpurāṇas".[40] Dikshitar's "Purāṇas, A study"[41] is a well documented article considering critically the views of earlier scholars on the subject and is well-worth perusal. Venkatachella Iyer[42] refers to Pargiter with approval and maintains that some of the major Purāṇas were re-written with the set purpose of promoting ignorance and superstition!

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri[43] tries to show how the Purāṇas explain the Vedas and how they have built up the national culture, and inspired the national literature. He also deals with the contents of the Purāṇas, their geographical and historical aspects, etc. and gives a brief summary of some Purāṇas.

In a lecture on "Purāṇas as illustrative of our national psychology and evolution",[44] C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar says that the "whole idea of the Purāṇas was to bring prominently before the minds of the people the fundamental truths of Indian life, thought and religion". He emphasises that the Purāṇas must be read as human documents. In another paper entitled "Some thoughts on the Purāṇas",[45] he states that "all the Purāṇas seek to portray the Indian genius in the nobility and greatness as well as in its inefficiency and weakness . . . the Purāṇas are an invaluable help towards the good life and they are also at the same time an epitome of the Indian genius, its possibilities and its shortcomings and triumphs — actual and possible".

16. Contributions of Kane and Hazra

Hazra has given the essence of his mature scholarship and of his extensive and critical study of the Purāṇas in an article contributed to the *Cultural Heritage of India* (revised edition), Vol. II.[46] He covers the entire field under the following headings: Meaning of the word 'Purāṇa'; works now known as Mahāpurāṇas; origin, antiquity and early character of the Purāṇas; rise of the present eighteen Purāṇas; form and character of the present Purāṇas; the present Purāṇas as historical and geographical records, as encyclopaedias and as religious books; and conclusion.

Kane is the latest writer on the subject. In the second part of Vol. V of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* he has devoted three chapters covering about 200 pages to the Purāṇas. Ch. XXII deals exhaustively with the origin and development of the Purāṇa literature. Ch. XXIII has brief notes on individual Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas, numbering as many as thirtyfour; and Ch. XXIV treats of the influence of the Purāṇas on Dharmaśāstra.[47]

17. Traditional number of Maha-Puranas

It is well known that the traditional number of Mahā-Purāṇas is 18. The lists, however, differ with regard to the *Vāyu* and *Śiva*. However, in order to accommodate these conflicting views, Pargiter takes their number to be 19, by including both the *Śiva* and *Vāyu*,[48] and Farquhar further increases the number by including the *Harivaṁśa* in addition.[49] But there is absolutely no support for increasing the traditional number.

18. Classification of the Puranas

The traditional classification of the Purāṇas into Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa need not be detailed here.

Basing his division on later Tamil Works, Dikshitar classifies the Purāṇas into five groups as under:[50]

(i) Brahmā — *Brahma* and *Padma;*
(ii) Sūrya — *Brahmavaivarta;*
(iii) Agni — *Agni;*
(iv) Siva — *Śiva, Skanda, Liṅga, Kūrma, Vāmana, Varāha, Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya,* and *Brahmāṇḍa ;* and
(v) Viṣṇu — *Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa* and *Viṣṇu.*

The most satisfactory grouping, however, has been attempted by Haraprasad Sastri, on a thorough and critical examination of the contents of the Purāṇas. He divides them into six groups in accordance with their subject-matter :[51]

(i) The first group is the so-called Encyclopaedias of literature, comprising the *Garuḍa, Agni* and *Nārada.* These contain the abstracts of all the great works in arts and sciences in Sanskrit literature. These deal, in addition to the usual Purāṇic material, with medicine, grammar, dramaturgy, music, astrology, etc.

(ii) The next group, which includes the *Padma, Skanda* and *Bhaviṣya,* mainly deals with Tīrthas and Vratas. The original matter in these Purāṇas has been lost out of recognition on account of various revisions of a drastic nature.

(iii) The Purāṇas, that underwent two general revisions which are apparent, form the third group, and comprise the *Brahma, Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta.* In these Purāṇas, the original part is the kernel or the central portion, which has been added to twice — at both ends on each occasion.

(iv) The fourth group, called historical, comprises the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the lost *Vāyu.* Haraprasad Sastri holds that excepting for a portion of the second part preserved in a manuscript, the genuine *Vāyu* is lost; the present *Vāyu* may be merged in the *Brahmāṇḍa.*

(v) Sectarian works form the fifth group which consists of the *Liṅga, Vāmana* and *Mārkaṇḍeya.* The *Liṅga* deals with Liṅga Pūjā (worship of Liṅga as an emblem of Śiva), while the

Vāmana is a handbook of Śaiva sects according to Haraprasad Sastri. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* deals with Devī.

(vi) Finally, old Purāṇas revised out of existence is the sixth group, including the *Varāha, Kūrma,* and *Matsya*. One naturally expects these entire works to have been spoken by these various incarnations of Viṣṇu; but actually Varāha speaks only about a half of *Varāha-Purāṇa*; Matsya only a third of the *Matsya;* and Kūrma only an eighth of the *Kūrma.*

Kane has classified the Purāṇas into (1) Encyclopaedias like the *Agni, Garuḍa* and *Nāradīya*; (2) those mainly dealing with tīrthas such as the *Padma, Skanda* and *Bhaviṣya*; (3) sectarian, such as *Liṅga, Vāmana, Mārkaṇḍeya*; (4) historical, such as the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*.[52]

19. Origin and Development of the Puranas

In his "Origin and Character of Purāṇa literature", B.C. Mazumdar states that Purāṇa as a branch of sacred literature did exist in the Vedic days; that it was recognised as the fifth Veda when the *Atharva Veda* was recognised as the fourth division of the Veda; that for each Vedic school a separate Purāṇa was organised such as, *Agni* for *Ṛgveda, Vāyu* for *Yajurveda,* and *Sūrya* for *Sāmaveda*; and that the modern Purāṇas received only a little additional matter by way of accretion from fifth century onwards, though the modern Purāṇas differ radically from the Vedic Purāṇas. The origin and history of the worship of phallus, Durgā and Śiva in *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas has also been considered.[53]

On account of the use of the word Purāṇa in singular in the passages of the *Atharvaveda,* identity of language in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas, and the traditional account of there being a single Purāṇa at the beginning, Jackson and others believe that there was only one Purāṇa in the beginning.[54]

Haraprasad Sastri says that in the only genuine portion of *Vāyu,* the number of the Purāṇas is given as ten, so that this represents, according to him, the next stage in the development of the Purāṇas, when their number was raised from four, as given in the *Viṣṇu,* to ten. He states that the traditional number eighteen is the final stage.[55]

S. P. L. Narasimhaswami believes in the existence of a *Purāṇasaṁhitā*,[56] recounting the history of India from the earliest times. The original is now lost as a separate work, its contents being found in the Purāṇas. Narasimhaswami, however, claims to have restored the original *Purāṇasaṁhitā*.

In the "Nature of the original Purāṇa", S. D. Gyani says that the original Purāṇa was one and comprised old ākhyānas, genealogies, etc.[57] According to Bhargava, the present eighteen Purāṇas grew out of the Vedic Purāṇa with alterations here and there by uneducated temple-priests.[58]

20. Date of the Puranas

Various views have been held by different scholars regarding the date of the Purāṇas. Reference is made here to the articles discussing the date of Purāṇas in general, as it is beyond the scope of the present survey to analyse different books on the Purāṇas in order to state their views. While considering individual Purāṇas at a later stage, reference will be made to the monographs dealing with those Purāṇas in connection with their dates.

According to Jackson, from the later Vedic period to at least the second century B.C., there existed a single Purāṇa, attached to Itihāsa, which dealt with cosmogony, genealogies, manvantaras and cosmology. The common source of the Purāṇas was compiled not later than the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.[59]

According to Pargiter, "the three Purāṇas, the *Padma*, *Brahma* and *Bhaviṣya* . . . existed before and even long before the end of the fifth century . . . it seems reasonably certain that the Purāṇas cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era".[60]

Apropos Pargiter's view that "the Purāṇas existed in the fourth century B.C. and were authoritative even then",[61] Keith maintains that "there is no reasonable possibility of any of the existing Purāṇas antedating 300 A.D. and very probably no one is at all as old as this".[62] Fleet puts 600 A.D. as the earliest limit for passages giving lists of planets etc.[63] Bisheshwar Nath Reu goes to the length of stating that the Purāṇas were in existence even in prehistoric period.[64]

"Date of the Purāṇas" by S. D. Gyani mentions the following four stages of development of the Purāṇic literature: (1) *Vaṁśa* and *Ākhyāna stage* (1200-1000 B.C.), (2) *Bifurcation stage* (1000-600 B.C.), (3) *Pañcalakṣaṇa stage* (600 B.C. — A.D. 100) and (4) *Sectarian or encyclopaedic* stage (A.D. 100-700).[65]

The same subject was later treated in two articles under the same title by the same author, with minor modifications, the different chronological epochs being stated as follows: (I) *Ākhyāna-Vaṁśa stage* — from the early Vedic period to the end of the Bhārata War (*circa* B.C. 1200 to *c.* B.C. 950); (II) *Bifurcation Stage* — from *circa* B.C. 950 to *c.* B.C. 500; (III) *Pañcalakṣaṇa Stage* — from *c.* B.C. 500 to the beginning of the Christian era; (IV) *Sectarian or Encyclopaedic Stage* — from the beginning of the Christian era to *c.* A.D. 700."[66]

21. Contents of the Puranas

Besides references to the contents of the Purāṇas, either as a whole or of the individual Purāṇas as well, as found in the contributions by Wilson, Pargiter, Jwala Prasad, Kale, Durgashanker Shastri, H. P. Sastri, Dikshitar, Hazra and others, mentioned earlier, Winternitz has a sufficiently detailed treatment of the Purāṇas in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I.[67] Recent Histories of Sanskrit Literature as well as Histories of India in their sections on Sanskrit Literature deal with the topic to some extent.

22. Miscellaneous Contributions

Finally, in the present section we come to the general articles on the Purāṇas. In "Purāṇa Vidyā", V. S. Agrawala states that the Vedas hold the key to the Purāṇas, and it appears that the two existed side by side. The vast treasure of cosmic knowledge embodied in the Vedas is conveyed through a vast and varied symbolism, the common objective of all the Vedic Vidyās being to explain the cosmic process of creation and dissolution as witnessed through the triple forms of life-mind-matter or *prāṇa-mana-vāk* or *Agni-Vāyu-Āditya*. The Purāṇas elaborate Prajāpati Vidyā through *Sarga* and *Pratisarga*.[68]

Chintaharan Chakravarty in his "Purāṇa Digests"[69] invites attention to *Purāṇasāra*, composed by Rudra Rāya, son of Rāghava

Rāya, about the middle of the 17th century; *Purāṇasarvasva*, probably by Govardhana, compiled at the instance of Puruṣottama, a rich merchant of Varendra Viṣaya in Gauḍa. These are encyclopaedic works dealing with a variety of topics.

Wilford got compiled for him *Purāṇasaṁgraha* in 1801; but the work proved unreliable. Raghavan has referred to "*Purāṇārthasaṁgraha* of Veṅkaṭarāya",[70] containing 30 chapters and 4000 verses, which is a digest of knowledge of all branches of learning comprehended in Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Dharmaśāstras, and Darśanas.

"Purāṇic culture and tradition" by A. P. Karmarkar enumerates 18 lores known to the Purāṇas including Vedas and their branches. A chart showing Vedaśākhāpraṇayana according to the Purāṇa has been given.[71]

Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi shows that the Purāṇa is already mentioned in different parts of Veda as being equally divine in origin and authoritative along with the Vedas themselves. The description of Purāṇa as the fifth Veda is justified.[72] Another article by the same scholar elaborately discusses and explains the five topics of the Purāṇas. The ten topics found in some Purāṇas like *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta* are shown to be an expansion of the five principal topics. Each of the five topics is further explained as being fivefold.[73]

According to Badrinath Shukla the main theme of the Purāṇas relates to the metaphysical doctrine of cosmic creation.[74]

Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, in his article entitled "Purāṇas as the vehicles of India's philosophy of history",[75] points out that the Purāṇas show that India has been throughout the home of the Aryans and they expanded from there in different directions. According to the Purāṇas, history is the eternal process of becoming in which the formation of worlds, man's civilization and cultures, their rise and fall constitute an eternal drama enacted by a power too mysterious to be ordinarily comprehended.

III

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

23. Historical Importance of the Puranas

There are a number of articles dealing with the historical importance of the Purāṇas. "Historical Importance of the Purāṇas",[76] by S. Bhimasankararao is mostly based on Pargiter's work and gives the following general conclusions by Pargiter: (1) *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* present a remarkable similarity and declare that they were taken from *Bhaviṣya*; (2) *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* have much in common, the portions of the former being in ornate classical prose style; (3) *Viṣṇu* professes to be narrated by Parāśara and sets about Paurava genealogy from the standpoint of Parīkṣit and deals with Ikṣvāku and Bṛhadratha genealogies from the time of Bhārata war; (4) There was a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiṣa in Adhisīmakṛṣṇa's reign and the Sūta recited Purāṇas; (5) *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* were originally in Prakrit and were subsequently Sanskritised; (6) dynamic portion terminates with the downfall of Āndhras about A.D. 236. *Matsya* brings the narrative down to the mid-third century A.D. As Samudra-gupta's conquests are not mentioned in the Purāṇas, their accounts closed before A.D. 335.

According to V. R. R. Dikshitar, the Purāṇas are altogether an encyclopaedia of information and therefore very useful in writing a history of Indian culture and civilisation — *viz.* history of Indian polity, of Indian society, of religion and philosophy, legal history, history of arts and crafts, architecture and iconography. Finally there is the consideration of the chronological system of the Purāṇas based on the explanation of G. Bose. The date of the Mbh war is stated to be 1415 or 1451 B.C.[77]

In "Historical Value of Purāṇic Works",[78] P. C. Divanji stresses the necessity of recognising Purāṇas as independent sources of ancient Indian history, both political and cultural.

According to A. S. Altekar there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Purāṇic genealogies of pre-Pāṇḍava period for reconstructing contemporary history after taking all due precautions. He finds that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Śiśunāgas or the Mauryas or the Āndhras. The date of the Bhārata war has been placed in c. 1400 B.C. and the Vedic period is shown to have started some time about 2700 B.C.[79]

V. V. Mirashi has stated that "the statements in the Purāṇas about the ruling dynasties of the north and the south India" including the Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas, Maghas, Naiṣadhas, etc., "are corroborated in a remarkable degree by the discoveries of inscriptions and coins."[80]

24. Aryan problem

In connection with the different aspects of the Aryan Problem, scholars hold various views regarding the original home of the Aryans, their racial characteristics, migrations, etc. on the basis of the Purāṇas.

Pargiter[81] holds that the Purāṇic tradition does not support the theory of the Aryan invasion of India through the N. W. Frontier, and takes the Mānava, Aila and Saudyumna dynasties as respectively belonging to the Dravidian, Aryan and the Muṇḍa races, the Saudyumnas being specially connected with the Mon-Khmēr branch of the Muṇḍas. According to Pargiter, mid-Himalayan region was the original home of the Ailas or Aryans, and they entered North India about 2050 B.C.

Dutt[82] and Ghurye[83] express contrary opinions regarding the Himalayan origin and the three racial stocks propounded by Pargiter.

Jwala Prasad Singhal takes the great flood as the first great landmark in Purāṇic history, regards Punjab as the home of the Aryans, and compares the information collected from the Purāṇas with Western historians.[84]

Narayan Tripathi considers "Purāṇic Traditions",[85] which show India as the early home of the Aryans, from where they migrated in all directions at different periods; divisions of the world also have been given.

In "Purāṇic Data on the Original Home of the Indo-Aryans",[86] R. B. Pandey shows that the original home of the Indo-Aryans was Madhyadeśa and its centre lay between Ayodhyā and Pratiṣṭhāna. They expanded towards east, south and west from there and migrated beyond the frontiers of India towards north-west. He states that the Purāṇic evidence, which is more trustworthy than the philological one, is corroborated by Vedic evidence.

The Cradle of Indian History[87] by C. R. Krishnamacharlu examines the Epic and Purāṇic accounts about the home and expansion of the early Hindus and the Indo-European and Indo-Persian contacts.

J. Kennedy has discussed the Purāṇic histories of the early Aryans,[88] and the Aryan invasion of northern India.[89] Munshi deals with the *Early Aryans in Gujarat* on the basis of Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic evidence.[90] Bhargava places the Aryan home in some mountain range to the north of Saptasindhu.[91] Pusalker has dealt with "Aryan Origins according to Purāṇas",[92] where he shows that Pargiter's theory of three racial stocks is not supported by traditional history or Vedic texts. Purāṇas suggest common origin of all dynasties. The earliest tradition indicates India as the home of the Aryans, memories of extra-Indian home having faded out.

25. Historical Reconstruction from Puranic Data

Long before the appearance of his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*,[93] Pargiter had published several articles dealing with ancient Indian genealogies and chronology,[94] earliest Indian traditional history,[95] ancient Indian genealogies,[96] and so on.

Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* reconstructs ancient Indian history right from the beginning of Purāṇic accounts, which start with pre-Flood dynasties beginning with Svāyambhuva Manu up to the Bhārata war. He has established several synchronisms, and has placed his results in a tabular form in parallel columns facilitating easy reference.

A. P. Banerji Sastri supplies useful corrective to many sweeping assertions of Pargiter, Macdonell and others in his article on "Ancient Indian Historical tradition".[97] Rapson,[98] Winternitz,[99] Dikshitar,[100] Pusalker[101] and others have criticised several of Pargiter's views and theories. Pargiter has continued the account of Purāṇic genealogies in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.[102]

26. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India

H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*,[103] first published in 1923, which lays under contribution not only literary sources comprising Vedic texts, Epics, Purāṇas and the Sanskrit works as also Buddhist and Jain texts, but also archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic sources and travellers' accounts, has run into six editions and is recognised as the standard and authoritative work for the period covered by it. Beginning with Parīkṣit, it takes us through the Śiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nadas, Mauryas to the close of the Gupta period.

27. Some other Important Works

Chronology of Ancient India[104] by S. N. Pradhan focuses attention on Purāṇic dynasties from the period of Rāma to that of Kṛṣṇa and deals also with the Bārhaspatyas, Śiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas and Mauryas. Pradhan has attempted several important synchronisms and has established the identity of Divodāsa Atithigva of the *Rgveda* with Divodāsa of the Purāṇas, who lived in the period of Daśaratha, father of Rāma.

According to J. P. Singhal, great flood was the first great landmark in Purāṇic history and Punjab was the home of the Aryans.[105] On a comparison of the Purāṇic information with Western historians, he reached several startling conclusions, which have been elaborately developed in a book entitled *The Sphinx Speaks*[106] published recently.

V. Rangacharya has given an account of the evolution of Vedic literature, of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the Aryan expansion over India in the Vedic and post-Vedic period. Aryanization of the Dekkan, South India and Ceylon is described in the concluding chapter.[107] M. Vishvanatham's *Purāṇa-Mīmāṁsā* bears an alternative title "A Review of the Ancient History of India".[108]

In the *Vedic age*,[109] Pusalker has attempted to give a connected history of ancient India from earliest time to the period of the Buddha. The traditional account, based on Vedic and Purānic texts, is reconstructed in the form of history giving a connected story after putting it in chronological context. He places Vaivasvata Manu and the flood in 3102 B.C. It is probably for the first time, that a book of Indian history includes, in independent chapters, a continuous history based on the Purāṇas.

Altekar's correlation of Vedic and Purāṇic dynastic lists has already been referred to.[110] Besides the Bhārata War, he gives dates for the Dāśarājña (1900 B.C.), Gṛtsamada (2700 B.C.), Atri (2600 B.C.), Citraratha (2000 B.C.), Sṛñjaya Sahadeva (2000-1800 B.C.), Viśvāmitra (2300 B.C.) etc., and assigns the hymnal activity of the Vedic period to 2700-1500 B.C., the Brāhmaṇa Period to 1600-1000 B.C. and the Upaniṣads to 1200-600 B.C.

Prācīna Bhāratīya Paramparā aur Itihāsa by Raṅgaya Raghava treats history under Kirāta-Deva-Asura-yuga, Satya-yuga, Tretā-Yuga, Dvāpara-yuga, Kali-yuga, etc. on the basis of Purāṇic materials.

P. L. Bhargava presents an exhaustive study of the Purāṇic material and reconstructs the pre-Bhārata war history on the basis of agreement between Vedic and Purāṇic traditions in his *India in the Vedic Age*.[112] After establishing several synchronisms, he deals with history under the following headings: "The era of Saptasindhu; the era of conquest; the era of expansion; and the era of settlement." Besides political history, there are chapters dealing with social conditions and religious beliefs.

Vedic History (set in chronology) by S. K. Pillai[113] is an attempt to trace historical details of Vedic Ṛṣis and kings that ruled in the Vedic age on the basis of Vedic and Purāṇic materials. Among other histories of India, utilising Purāṇic sources, may be mentioned the works of Jayaswal,[114] Jayachandra,[115] Bhagavaddatta[116] and others.

28. Works on Puranic Genealogies

Now we shall consider books and articles dealing with Purāṇic genealogies in a chronological order under the following heads; (1) Pre-Bhārata war; (2) Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Śuṅgas; (3) Sātavāhanas, Vikramāditya, Kuṣāṇas, Vākāṭakas, Guptas, etc.

29. Pre-Bharata War genealogies

D. R. Mankad discusses the chronology and other details of the Purāṇic ante-diluvian dynasty of Svāyambhuva Manu.[117] Gulshan Rai gives a connected political history of India from

7350 B.C. to 3000 B.C. on the basis of information supplied by the Purāṇas; according to him corroborated statements in the Purāṇas should be accepted as trustworthy.[118] N. Devaraja Sarma deals with post-Vedic chronology from about 6500 B.C. to *c.* A.D. 400 depending on astronomical clues in Purāṇic myths.[119]

While dealing with the twelve Devāsura-Saṁgrāmas as described in the Purāṇas, D. R. Mankad states that these were family feuds for revenue and kingdom. The Daityas were honourable, straightforward, simple and trusting, while the Devas were dishonourable and deceitful. Though rash, the Daityas were not dishonest. The scene of the feud between Vāmana and Bali has been located in the Himālayas.[120]

R. P. Majumdar puts the Asuras in a historical setting by giving synchronistic references to Purāṇic statements about the Asura dynasty.[121] M. M. Yajnik has published the genealogical tables of the kings of solar and lunar dynasties with a map of Jambudvīpa.[122]

Pre-Mahābhārata solar dynasty has found several exponents in Mankad,[123] Pusalker[124] and Raya Krishnadas.[125] Mankad finds harmony in the midst of the apparent discrepancies in the various lists of names given in the Purāṇic records, while Pusalker regards the *Rāmāyana* lists as unreliable. In discussing whether Śrīkṛṣṇa's family was solar or lunar, Mankad concludes that it was solar.[126] In "Dāśarājña: A New Approach", Pusalker has tried to show, after ascertaining the comparative historical value of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, that the war of Saṁvaraṇa may be said to be the Purāṇic account of the Vedic Dāśarājña and that the Vedic description of the battle is more reliable than the epic or Purāṇic.[127] In another article, Pusalker has tried to show the identity of Vedic Kuruśravaṇa with Purāṇic Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa.[128]

Munshi has narrated the historical events from Rāma Jāmadagneya to Janamejaya Pārikṣita on the basis of Vedic and Purāṇic data.[129] N. Devaraja Sarma has dealt with post-Vedic chronology and Purāṇic myths.[130] Mankad has taken an excellent survey of the studies in the Purāṇic history, genealogy and chronology in modern times, which has been availed of in the preparation of this section.[130A] G Harihara Sastri draws attention to the "Purāṇic Genealogies in the Avantisundarīkatha", which refer to the chronology of Kaliyuga dynasties beginning with Pradyota.[131]

30. Works on Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Sunga genealogies

Raychaudhuri states that the Pradyota and Śiśunāga dynasties in the Purāṇas were not lineal but collateral.[132]

In connection with Mauryan and pre-Mauryan history, Bhargava finds that the Purāṇic chronology of the Pradyotas, the Bimbisāras, the Nandas and the Mauryas agrees with various Brahmanical works.[133]

Discussing the bearing of Purāṇic data on Mauryan history, H. G. Shastri points out that though differing on the number of kings, the Purāṇas agree about the total duration of the Mauryan rule.[134]

H. C. Seth interprets the Purāṇas to suit his particular theory of the Mauryas.[135] According to him, the belief that Candragupta was a scion of the Nanda king of Magadha, and that his mother Murā was of a lowly origin from whom the family name Maurya was derived, is of very late origin. Candragupta does not belong to the Nanda family but comes from the Gandhāra region and takes the name of Maurya from Massaka, the capital of the kingdom founded by him. Seth gives 325 B.C. as the date of the commencement of Candragupta's reign in his own ancestral domains in the north-west.[136] He also maintains that Parvataka is Porus of the Greek historians and a chief of the Kurus.[137] In "An Obscure Passage in the Purāṇas",[138] Seth cites a passage from the *Viṣṇu* and concludes that in older Purāṇic traditions Kali age seems to have ended with the nine Nandas of Magadha; in later Purāṇic traditions Kali age was extended indefinitely beyond the *Mbh* to include much later, unpopular and anti-Brahmanic dynasties. He further hazards the opinion that Devāpi and Maru in the passage may be Porus and Candragupta Maurya. Dasharatha Sarma does not agree with Seth that the *Mudrārākṣasa* indicates that Candragupta was not related to the Nandas and that the word Vṛṣala therein stands for a royal title.[139]

P. S. Telang has also discussed the origin of Candragupta Maurya. He disagrees with Seth's view that Candragupta belonged to Gandhāra. According to him Candragupta belonged to Eastern India and was unrelated to the Nandas of Magadha.[140]

31. Works on Satavahana, Kusana, Vakataka and Gupta genealogies

Gleaning facts from the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas and Sanskrit literature, Kota Venkatachalam shows that Śrī Mukha Sātavāhana (833 B.C.) was the first king of the Āndhra dynasty."[141]

After a thorough examination of the Purāṇas and the writings of early scholars, O. Ramachandraiya tries to establish the correct Āndhra-Sātavāhana chronology. According to him, Simuka founded the dynasty in 271 B.C., and it was not Simuka but one of his descendants, Pulomāvi I, who slew Suśarmā, the last Kāṇva king.[142]

Bhargava discusses the chronology of the nineteen kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇic tradition and other evidence and its correlation with the Śālivāhana era.[143] G. Venket Rao assigns the accession of Simuka to 270 B.C. and vindicates the *Matsya Purāṇa* list of the Āndhras.[144] He further identifies the Sātakarṇi of the Hāthigumphā, Nānāghat and Sānchi inscriptions with Sātakarṇi II, the sixth ruler according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[144a]

Jayaswal has proved that the word *yaunaḥ* mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* represents the Kuṣāṇa title Jauna.[145] Pusalker has given an account of Vikramāditya from the *Skanda* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*.[146] Jayaswal has attempted an identification of some of the post-Āndhrabhṛtya rulers of the Purāṇic list.[147]

In "New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas"[148] B. Bhattacharyya gave a summary of the account from the Kaliyuga-vṛttānta section of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. R. C. Majumdar,[149] Jagan Nath,[150] D. C. Sircar,[151] and others have shown that the Kaliyuga-vṛttānta is not genuine but a modern forgery. R. C. Majumdar has fixed the date of the forgery between A.D. 1893 and 1903 during which the reading "Sthiragupta" was preferred to "Puragupta". In view of the discrepancies between the accounts of the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* about the Guptas, D. C. Ganguly states, contrary to Pargiter's view, that no importance should be attached to these accounts until they are corroborated by authentic evidence.[152]

The discrepancy in the Purāṇic statements on the Imperial Guptas is shown to be more apparent than real by Dasharatha Sarma,[153] and he finds parallels for Purāṇic names; according to him, Devarakṣita, Mahendra and Guha represent the three successive Gupta rulers Candragupta, Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, and Skandagupta. Mankad has written on Samudragupta in the Purāṇas.[153a]

31-A. Biographical Dictionaries of Ancient Puranic Personages

Finally in this section, we come to biographical particulars about personalities appearing in the Purāṇas. *Bhāratavarṣīya Prācīna Caritra Kośa* (Dictionary of Biography in Ancient India in Marathi) by Sidheshwar Shastri Chitrao gives the biographies of characters figuring in Vedic, post-Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic literature, with suitable references.[154] It is the only book of its kind in any language. Recently a revised edition of the work, with many additions and references to Buddhist and Jain sources, has been brought out in Hindi.[155]

Akshaya Kumari Devi in her *Bibliographical Dictionary of Purāṇic Personages*,[156] deals under twentytwo sections with Vedic and Purāṇic deities; Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas: Yādavas; Turuvaśas; Pauravas; Pañcālas; Ṛṣis-Vedic and post-Vedic; etc. Niṣādas have been equated with Negritos, Rakṣasas with Negroes. Other equations are: Daityas=Mongoloids; Dānavas=Caspians; Druhyus=Semites; Ānavas=Pabae Alpines; Turvasus=Mediterraneans; Ikṣvākus=Achnae Aryans; Gādhis=Mitanni Aryans; Purus=Amorites; Khattis=Aryans; and so on. There is a chronological table of ancient dynasties at the beginning.

32. Researches in the Yuga-Purana

In the context of the historical material in the Purāṇas, reference may be made to the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, a part of the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā*, to which attention was first drawn by Kern in his introduction to the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*.[157]

Jayaswal concentrated on the historical material in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and published a text on the basis of Kern's fragment and two more MSS, along with translation and notes.[158] On receipt of a transcript from a MS in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Jayaswal compared the readings of that MS with his published text in a tabular form.[159]

K. H. Dhruva also wrote on the historical contents of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, throwing a good deal of light on the ancient history of India, and published a text which contained several unwarranted and fanciful emendations.[160] D. R. Mankad has brought out a critical edition, based on Jayaswal's MSS and a fresh one from Saurashtra, which contains notes dealing with the data supplied by the *Yuga-Purāṇa* on the Maurya and Śuṅga history.[161]

A. K. Narain has discussed the problem of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and the interpretation of some passages from it in his *Indo-Greeks*.[162] By suitably emending the text of *Yuga-Purāṇa*, D. C. Sircar indicates that the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, who invaded Puṣpapura, were led by Demetrius, and that Pāṭaliputra was re-occupied by Puṣyamitra and his allies.[163]

33. Researches on Puranic traditions

Pargiter's theory of two distinct traditions — Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya — has been criticised on cogent grounds by Keith,[164] Dikshitar,[165] and Pusalker.[166] While discussing "Antiquity of Purāṇic Story Traditions",[167] S. B. Choudhury has tried to show that the original traditions of all Purāṇic stories were current contemporaneously with the Vedic legends.

In answering the question "Purāṇic Tradition — Is it Vedic?," V. C. Bhattacharyya states that the set of traditions propagated by the Purāṇas is basically founded on the Vedic heritage.[168] He has further invited attention to a Purāṇa verse (*Viṣṇu*, III. 3.11), which goes against the usual view that the *Ṛgveda* is the original Veda and that the *Yajurveda* appears late in the field.[169] He holds that the Purāṇas believe in the *Pauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas (i.e. the extant Saṁhitās) which, according to them, came into being after the introduction of the Śrauta cult. The *Matsya Purāṇa* represents Purūravas Aila as a Mantravādin and a Kṣatriya, who was also the introducer of the "three fires". The Brahmanic tradition has suppressed this point.

While writing on "Ancient Indian Tradition," D. D. Kosambi states that some of Pargiter's hypotheses need to be reformulated, e.g. some elements of the Brahmanism are pre-Aryan; some Purāṇic kings may be pre-Vedic.[170]

34. Pargiter's researches on Puranic Yuga and Manvantara

The Purāṇic theory of creation involves a consideration of Yugas and Manvantaras, which represent Purāṇic conceptions of chronology. Pargiter takes the division of time into four ages (Yugas), viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali as having a historical basis.

In the scheme of genealogy from Manu Vaivasvata to the Bhārata war, comprising 95 generations according to Pargiter, Kṛta yuga covers 40 generations (1-40), Tretā 25 (41-65) and Dvāpara thirty (66-95). Taking an average of 18 years for each generation, the Kṛta age, according to Partiger, extended to 720 years, and the Tretā and Dvāpara respectively to 450 and 540 years.

35. Other notable researches

In his monograph dealing with the astronomical method and its application to the chronology of ancient India, Daftary has dealt with Yuga, Manvantara, Kalpa etc. According to him, Yuga (also called Manvantara) was a period of four years (equivalent to a Kalpa); the Mahā-Kalpa was a period of one thousand years, comprising Kṛta, (four hundred), Tretā, (three hundred), Dvāpara (two hundred) and Kali (one hundred); the first Kṛta began in 3102 B.C. and the Bhārata war took place in 1197 B.C.[171]

Mankad has tried to show that all the Yugas had at first an equal number of years, each having one thousand years at first and then twelve hundred years; the total of four Yugas being at first four thousand years and later four thousand eight hundred years; Manvantara was used for (a) a period from one Manu (generic dynastic title for a king) to another Manu, or (b) a period from a Manu (starter of a dynasty) to any king of his line; Caturyuga in the usual Purāṇic formula "चतुर्युगाणां हि सङ्ख्याता साधिका ह्येक सप्ततिः मन्वन्तरम् ।" was computed at forty years; the Manvantara Caturyuga method, employed for longer chronological computations, took a unit of forty years (termed as a Caturyuga) and in a given dynasty kept as many kings as the units of forty years were required. Manu's date has been taken to be 5976 B.C. and the date of Bhārata war 3201 B.C.[172]

Bose has made an attempt to introduce order and consistency into the entire confused and tangled scheme of Purāṇa chronology in his *Purāṇa Praveśa.* According to him, the Purāṇa stands for what we now term "history". The "Kalpa" is a cycle of 5000 years divided into fourteen Manvantaras (one of 359 years, and thirteen of 357 years each), as also into four Yugas (Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali) in the proportion of 4:3:2:1; Bhārata war took place in 1416 B.C.; the beginning of Kali age was 1458 B.C.; and of Kṛta age 5958 B.C.[173]

36. Mankad's Researches in Puranic Chronology

Mankad has made an exhaustive study of Purāṇic chronology in various articles and his monograph *Purāṇic Chronology*[174] contains a detailed discussion of his various theories.

This monograph is divided into two parts each comprising four chapters. Introduction and the theory of Manvantara Caturyuga-Method in its application both to pre-Kali and Kali chronology are dealt with in Part one. "Kashmir Chronology", "Nepalese Chronology", and "Naraka Episode and Assamese Chronology" are considered in part two, which deals also with "Various Chronological Computations" and has an Appendix entitled "Who was Alexander's contemporary? — Candragupta Maurya or Candragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty?"

The third part of the monograph discusses various problems connected with the contemporaneity of Sandrocottus and Alexander while the Concluding Part is devoted to the "Yuga", "Saptarṣi Era", "Harṣa Vikramāditya", and "Pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā Dynasty".

Mankad's main thesis, as explained in detail later on, is that the Purāṇic genealogies have been constructed on an arbitrary and artificial method, designated as Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method by him; according to which, one King-name in the genealogies represents a time-limit of 40 years or 20 years.

On the basis of Purāṇic and Greek evidence, he arrives at the following important dates: 5976 B.C. = date of Manu Vaivasvata; 3201 B.C.=date of the Bhārata War; 2976 B.C.=date of the

Kali Era; 2066 B.C.=date of Buddha's death 2051 B.C.=date of Mahāvīra's death; 1986 B.C.=accession of **Mahāpadma**; 1550 B.C. = accession of Candragupta Maurya; 1498 B.C. = coronation of **Aśoka**; 1113 B.C. = accession of **Puṣyamitra Śuṅga**; 329 B.C. = accession of Candragupta I; *c.* 312-10 B.C.=commencement of the Gupta era; 307-5 B.C. = accession of Samudragupta. Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty has been taken as the contemporary of Alexander. It is also stated that the *Mahābhāṣya* of **Patañjali** (contemporary of **Puṣyamitra Śuṅga**) came to be studied in Kashmir in the eleventh century B.C. There are several genealogical tables in the book.

36-A. Mankad's Views on Yugas and Manvantaras

On account of the importance of the topic and the numerous articles by Mankad on the subject, reference may be made to his views on Yugas and Manvantaras and his detailed treatment of Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method.

In his paper on the "Yugas",[175] he discusses the method of Yuga calculation and ascertains the number of years given to each Yuga. The system of Manvantaras as propounded in the **Purāṇas** is discussed in the paper on "Manvantara".[176] "The Caturyuga formula", according to Mankad, "took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's regnal period", and "the Manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty".[177]

His conclusions may be summed up as follows:— "In the 'Yugas' and the 'Manvantaras' the following conclusions have been based: (1) All the Yugas at first had equal number of years, each having 1000 years at first and then 1200 years, the total of four Yugas being at first 4000 years and then 4800 years. (2) Yugas were computed at various figures, so were Caturyugas. (3) Manvantara was used in two senses: (*a*) period of one Manu (Manu being a generic title for a king) to another Manu, or (b) period from a Manu (starter of a dynasty) to any king of his line (4) Caturyuga in the usual Purāṇic formula "**चतुर्युगाणां हि सङ्ख्याता साधिका ह्येक सप्तति:**" was computed at 40 years. (5) The **Purāṇas** employ (what Manked calls) the Manvantara-Caturyuga method for longer chronological computations. The kings who are enumerated in the genealogical tables of solar and lunar branches are really Caturyugas or regnal units of 40 years each. (6) Such Manvantara-Caturyuga computations were made particularly in the days of 71st, 72nd, and 73rd kings, more particularly in the days of the 72nd king, and hence we have Manvantara (= total reignal period of a dynasty up to a particular point) equal to 71 Caturyugas."

Mankad demonstrates in his article "Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method" how this method is actually used in our Purāṇic genealogies under (1) Manvantara of 71 Caturyugas, (2) Yuga of 1000 years, (3) Yuga of 1200 years, and (4) Caturyuga of 40 years.[178]

In "Some Traditional Chronological Considerations: Purāṇic: Buddhist: Jaina", Mankad shows, on a consideration of several calculations taken from Purāṇic, Buddhist and Jain traditions, that our chronology has been adjusted at different periods, and that the usual method of adjusting the chronology was by selecting the lowest date out of the various dates prevalent: the omission of all kingless periods by one school of chronologists as well as the difference in the date of *Mbh* war are responsible for the prevalence of these various dates.[178a]

37. Other notable researches in Puranic chronology

R. Morton Smith, who generally follows Pargiter's texts in his two papers "On the Ancient Chronology of India",[179] believes "that the *a priori* case for belief for Pargiter and the Purāṇa has far more rational support than that for scepticism, and would invite the sceptic to read first the paragraphs wherein we fix the chronology of the V-IV centuries B.C."

Purporting to be based on several original texts, including the Purāṇas and other important sources, *Indian Chronology*,[180] by D. S. Triveda gives unacceptable dates for several well-known historical events.

IV

GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

38. Some General Works

Nundo Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of India* supplies, *inter alia*, epic and Purāṇic references to various place names, and identifies them.[181] His *Rasātala or the Underworld* refers, in addition, to western geographers.[182]

Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*[183] and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[184] (with English translation, notes etc.) give geographical particulars about islands, rivers, mountains and other place-names based on sources including the Purāṇas, and also give identifications.

Political History of Ancient India[185] by H. C. Raychaudhuri also contains valuable geographical data from the Purāṇas. His "India in Puranic Cosmography", "Mountain System of the Purāṇas" and "On some Rivers of Ancient India", which are included in *Studies in Indian Antiquities*,[186] refer to Purāṇic geography. B.C. Law's *Historical Geography of Ancient India*,[187] which is a valuable contribution on the subject, has the Purāṇas as one of its sources. *Die Cosmographie der Inder*,[188] *Bhāratvarṣa*,[189] and *Das Purāṇa von Weltgebände*[190] by W. Kirfel have already been referred to earlier.

"Purāṇic List of Rivers" by D. C. Sircar, already referred to, has been included in his *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*.[191] Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV,[192] has a special appendix on the list of Tīrthas where, among others, references to the Purāṇas have been given. In the *Chronology of Gujarat*[193] there is an appendix on "Geographical Data from Purāṇic Tradition".

In the published theses on individual Purāṇas, there are chapters discussing "Identifications of Place, Names and Tribes" (*Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*),[194] "Geographical Data" (*Agni Purāṇa— A Critical Study*),[195] and "Geographical and Ethnic data" (*Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa*).[196]

"The Geographical Texts of the Purāṇas.: A Further Critical Study"[197] by C. A. Lewis is a detailed analysis of geographical lists in different Purānas, which group the various peoples under specific divisions with the primary aim "to establish the correct text as far as is practicable". Hans Hensgen has studied the cosmographical contents of the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu* and *Matsya*.[198]

39. Identification of Dvipas mentioned in the Puranas

Identification of the seven and (or) nine great islands of the earth according to the Purāṇas gave rise to several articles under this heading.[199] Recently Rai Krishna Dasa and B. H. Kapadia have written respectively on "*Purāṇic* Geography: Caturdvīpa and Saptadvīpa"[201] and The Four World Oceans and the Dvīpa-Theory of the Middle Ages".[201]

O. C. Gangoly conjectures that Borneo may have been the Barhiṇadvīpa of the Purāṇas.[202] V. S. Agrawala identifies Nāgadvīpa with Nicobar and finds confirmation for the identification in Valahassa Jātaka.[203] According to S. A. Dange "Rāmaṇīyakam— the Island of Nāgas"[204] was an island somewhere in the Bay of Bengal and might have been the original (or another) name of Nicobar, so called because of its beautiful surroundings.

Kasten Ronnow offers "Some Remarks on Śvetadvīpa",[205] while Buddha Prakash in his "Studies in the Purāṇic Geography and Ethnography — Śākadvīpa" discusses the identification of Śākadvīpa and of the four tribes, viz. Maga, Magaga, Ganga and Mandaga (with several variants) associated with it.[206] According to Buddha Prakash, Śākadvīpa included the land on the eastern, western and northern shores of the Caspian sea up to Southern Russia. Pātāla has been identified with Central America by H. R. Mankad.[207]

40. Researches in Topographical Information of the Puranas

Topographical information contained in the *Agni*[208] and *Mārkaṇḍeya*[209] *Purāṇas* has been alphabetically given by H. V. Trivedi while Sibdas Choudhuri deals in a similar manner with the *Garuḍa Purāṇa.*[210]

"Topography in the Purāṇas" forms the subject of two articles by S. B. Chaudhury dealing with Puruṣottamakṣetra which comprised the modern South Cuttack and Puri districts of Orissa, and Veṅkaṭācala.[211]

According to H. V. Trivedi,[212] Hemakūṭa was towards the West and was supposed to stretch up to the far western part of Kashmir. Binayak Misra deals with "Folklore and Purāṇic Traditions about the Origin of God Jagannātha", disentangling historical facts clouded by legends and mythology with the help of archaeological data.[213]

In his note on the "Vastrāpathamāhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa", H. C. Raychaudhuri shows that the king Bhoja who reigned at Kanauj was supreme over Saurāṣṭra and abdicated in favour of his son.[214]

According to V. B. Athavale, Prāgjyotiṣa mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas as capital of Naraka and Bhagadatta was in the Ānarta country (modern Kathiawad).[215]

Pusalker has dealt with Delhi,[216] Ujjayini,[217] and Dvārakā,[218] giving their history through the ages. "Antiquity of Gayā" is described by Ghose,[219] and N. N. Choudhury in his article in Sanskrit,[220] writes about ancient Delhi in the Epics and Purāṇas. With regard to the interpretation of "Mahī-Sāgara-Saṅgama" as "the meeting place of the earth and the sea",[221] D. C. Sircar states that Mahi does not mean the earth but the river Mahī, and "Mahī-Sāgara-Saṅgama"[222] means the confluence of the river Mahī with the Sea.

41. Location of Kamboja

Regarding the location of Kamboja, there has been a difference of opinion between D. C. Sircar[223] and V. S. Agrawala,[224] the former placing it round about Kandahar in Afghanistan and the latter in the region of the Pamirs. H. D. Sethna[225] observes in this connection that both are right in their locations but "Both are wrong in ruling out each other's Kamboja", as "there were two Kambojas". In his last article, Agrawalla finally places Kamboja in the Pamirs and states, with regard to Sethna's two Kambojas, that Kamboja was "only one country under two variant names."[226]

42. Mountains and Rivers mentioned in the Puranas

Reference has already been made to D. C. Sircar's "Text of the Purāṇic list of Rivers", recently published in *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*[227] and to the chapters on mountains and rivers in H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Studies in Indian Antiquities*.[228]

B. C. Law's "Mountains of India" and "Rivers of India"[229] and "Countries and peoples of India"[230] bring together much valuable matter not only from the epics and the Purāṇas but from the Buddhist sources, travellers' accounts, etc. as well.

"Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas" by A. S. Gupta shows that the physical and divine aspects of Sarasvatī are found both in the Vedas and the Purāṇas and contains an elaborate treatment of the Purāṇic conception of Sarasvatī.[231]

B. H. Kapadia gives various discriptions of the descent of the Gaṅgā from the Epics and the Purāṇas in his "Four-fold Division of the Heavenly River in the Purāṇas".[232]

43. Researches on Tribes mentioned in the Puranas

Most of the general books and articles on cosmography referred to in this section deal with the people or tribes of India as described in the Purāṇas.

Pargiter's view that the Mānava, Aila and Saudyumna dynasties belonged respectively to the Dravidian, Aryan and Muṇḍa races, the Saudyumnas being specially connected with the Mon-Khmer branch of the Muṇḍas has been criticised by Dutt,[233] and Ghurye.[234] B. C. Law's *Tribes in Ancient India*[235] deals exhaustively with as many as 148 major and minor tribes in the whole of India with full documentation, the Purāṇas constituting one of the sources drawn upon.

Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India[236] by S. B. Chaudhury attempts to reconstruct the geography and ethography of ancient Northern India on the basis of early traditional works like the Purāṇas, covering the period *c.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 650.

"*Bhuvanakośa* Janapadas of *Bhāratavarsa*" by V. S. Agrawala[237] contains some comments on the readings and identifications proposed by C. A. Lewis in his article referred to above.[238] Theses on individual Purāṇas mentioned above deal with the ethnic data also.[239]

V

PURANIC RELIGION

44. Broad sub-divisions of Puranic Religion

We shall now consider Purāṇic religion under Vaiṣṇavism (including incarnations, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Kṛṣṇa and Paraśurāma), Śaivism (including Śakti and Gaṇeśa), Dharmaśāstra, Rites and Customs, and Miscellanea.

45. Researches in Vaisnavism

We get general information about Paurāṇic religion from *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects*[240] by R. G. Bhandarkar and *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*[241] by J. N. Farquhar, there being a useful bibliography to the latter book. P. V. Kane in "Purāṇa Dharma"[242] refers to the attitude of Vedic texts towards Purāṇa Dharma, which stresses the importance of *dāna, tīrtha, vrata, bhakti, nāmasmaraṇa,* and *ahiṁsā.*

K. G. Goswani's "Vaiṣṇavism"[3] is a historical sketch. Viṣṇu is shown to be a Vedic deity, a sun-god. Vaiṣṇavism in the *Mahābhārata* owes its origin to the cult of Vāsudeva; Purāṇic Viṣṇu is an amalgam of the cult of Vedic Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and the historical god, Vāsudeva.

Reference may be made here to Lakṣmī, the consort of Visṅu. N. N. Chaudhuri's Sanskrit article (Bhagavatī Lakṣmīḥ)[244] discusses the various aspects of the goddess Lakṣmī and her relation with Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī and Uṣā, and criticizes the custom of gambling on the occasion of Lakṣmī worship though prescribed by Raghunandana in his *Tithitattva.*

46. Researches in Incarnations

Ronald M. Huntington discusses the incarnations in his "Avatāras and Yugas: An Essay in Purāṇic Cosmology".[245] According to him there are incarnations of Viṣṇu alone and not of Brahmā or Śiva. Purāṇas are not unanimous regarding the number and form of incarnations. There is observed an evolutionary pattern in the Avatāras. There is also a consideration of the system of Yugas.

S. L. Katre in his well-documented paper on "Avatāras of God" deals in detail with 33 incarnations of god on the basis of Purāṇic sources, giving a useful survey of the material on Avatāras scattered in different Purāṇas.[246]

In the "Avatāras of Viṣṇu and their enumeration in some early Indian texts" J. N. Banerjea refers to the *Bhagavadgītā, Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata, Matsya* and *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā.*[247]

Kamala Ray has also written about ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in Bengal.[248]

47. Researches in Bengal Vaisnavism

S. K. De has contributed a number of valuable articles on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and his book on the subject has been considered a little later. In "Bhāgvatism and Sun-Worship"[249] he opposes Grierson's arguments in support of his theory that the monotheistic Bhakti doctrine of the Bhāgavata religion is a direct development of or was originally connected with Sun-Worship. His other articles refer to "Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism", [250] "Caitanya as an Author"[251], "Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya-caritāmṛta"[252] and "Avatāra in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism".[253] His "Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal" shows that the Caitanya sect of Bengal originated from the tradition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and owed a great deal of its development to the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by emotional Saṁnyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara.[254]

Another series of articles by S. K. De deals exhaustively with the "Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism"[255] in the light of various works such as Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, Jīva's *Śrīkṛṣṇasaṁdarbha*, *Tattvasaṁdarbha* etc. Bengal Vaiṣṇavism attaches highest importance to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, as it is believed to have been composed by Vyāsa after *Brahmasūtras* and other Purāṇas. *Śrīkṛṣṇasaṁdarbha* is more theological than philosophical, and *Bhaktisaṁdarbha* gives the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of Bhakti. In another article, De writes about "Some Bengal MSS in Sanskrit" from the Dacca University MSS Library.[256] Mrinal Das Gupta deals in detail with "Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya worship".[257] B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma[258] shows that Baladeva Vidyabbhushana, a leading exponent of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, taught that the Caitanya school was really an offshoot of the Dvaita philosophy of Madhva.

Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal[259] by S. K. De is a very valuable contribution to the critical and historical study of Caitanyaism which is really a 'peculiar system of erotico-mystic devotion,' the historical development of which sentiment *(madhura-rasa)* has so aptly and adroitly been traced and discussed by the author. The whole Caitanya movement and its dogmas and doctrines have been discussed in a historical and critical spirit. The biographical sketches on the life and doings of the six Gosvāmins in Chapter III and the historical notes on both Sanskrit and Bengali literary works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in chapters V-VI are very learned and give a true and correct picture of the history of the Faith and Movement. There is also an elaborate and learned summary of the teachings on theology and philosophy of the famous Ṣaṭ-sandarbhas of Jīva Gosvāmin.

Among the incarnations of Viṣṇu are included Kṛṣṇa and Paraśurāma, and reference is made to these two in the following sub-sections.

48. Krsna Problem

The Kṛṣṇa problem has attracted the attention of a number of scholars. Tadpatrikar deals with the episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa as described in the Epic and in the different Purāṇic works.[260] From a study of the Jarāsandha eposide in the *Mbh* and the Purāṇas, S. L. Katre concludes that while the *Mbh* presents Kṛṣṇa in essentially human colours, the Purāṇas present him in pure divine colours. Defeat, failure and humiliation have been transferred from Kṛṣṇa to Jarāsandha in the Purāṇic accounts.[261]

H. C. Raychaudhuri, in his *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect,*[262] has collected and discussed statements, references and allusions from early literature to throw light on the Kṛṣṇa problem and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity, or a tribal god, or a vegetation deity, and treats Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as one person, identical with Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.

Kirfel[263] compares the different stories of the childhood of Kṛṣṇa from the *Bhāgavata, Brahma, Brahma-vaivarta, Harivaṁśa, Padma* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* and gives a comparative text.

Nanimadhab Chaudhuri supports the view that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a deity of Ābhīra origin and rejects the theory of Christian borrowings in the concept of *Kṛṣṇa,* on the ground of fundamental difference between the cult of Bāla-Gopāla and the conception of child Jesus, there being no room for the former in the cult while the latter is essentially an exaltation of the mother. The Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa's opposition to Indra-festival and his advocacy of the primitive type of nature-worship and animal-worship have been regarded as evidence of the tribal nature of the religion preached by him. It is suggested that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a tribal hero of the nomadic Gopas, being later on identified with the later epic hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[264]

In "Vedic and Epic Kṛṣṇa" S. K. De disputes the identity of Vedic Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa, a Vedic seer or teacher) with the epic Kṛṣṇa and states that it is not supported by Purāṇic tradition.[265]

In his "Historicity of Kṛṣṇa".[266] Pusalker has considered the Kṛṣṇa problem on the basis of literary, archaeological and sculptural evidence under these heads : (1) whether Kṛṣṇa was a human being or a divinity at the beginning; (2) whether there was one Kṛṣṇa or several Kṛṣṇas ; (3) life of Kṛṣṇa collated from all sources; (4) the period of Kṛṣṇa ; and (5) various theories regarding the Kṛṣṇa problem.

In connection with "Kṛṣṇa, Gopas, Gopīs and Rādhā"[267] S. L. Katre concludes that (i) Kṛṣṇa's association with Gopas and Gopīs was known to the original *Mahābhārata* ; (ii) Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love-episode, though absent in *Bhāgavata*, etc. has its echoes in literature at least from the beginning of the Christian era; (iii) non-mention of Rādhā in the *Bhāgavata* probably only means the absence of northern influence on South Indian Purāṇic culture at the early stage; and (iv) substantial portion of the *Bhāgavata* containing Kṛṣṇa legend is much earlier than the 10th or 9th century A.D., and the few detached passages pointing to such late date alone may be later interpolations.

49. Researches in Parasurama Legend

Jarl Charpentier's "Paraśu-Rāma" gives main outlines of his legend from the epics and draws some conclusions therefrom.[268]

In the "Paraśurāma legend and its significance",[269] P. Anujan Achan shows that the Āraṇyaka legend may be assigned to the close of the second century A.D. and the other versions are later; that version of the Paraśurāma legend in the different parts of *Mbh* differ considerably, the only common factor being the extermination of the Kṣatriyas twentyone times and the gift to Brāhmaṇas. The legend indicates the ascendency of the Brāhmaṇas. Paraśurāma was originally a devotee of Śiva, but later was described as belonging to Vaiṣṇava cult, and is now worshipped as the sixth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

Munshi has discussed the historical value of the Paraśurāma tradition,[270] where he has shown four stages of the growth of a historical tradition. He has established the historicity of Paraśurāma and localised him in the west coast of India down to Malabar coast. Paraśurāma is chronologically shown to be near the battle of ten kings. It is concluded that the legends of Paraśurāma represent the first phase of Aryan advance up to the Narmadā on the one hand and the boundaries of Magadha on the other.

Pusalker has considered the Paraśurāma problem with special reference to Konkan on the basis of the *Mbh*, Purāṇas, *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* and *Vāḍeśvarodaya-Kāvya*.[271]

In "the Paraśurāma Myth" Iravati Karve gives the popular version of the Konkan myth of Paraśurāma, which is the last episode in his life, and states that it belongs to that class of myths which try to explain certain geographical and social peculiarities. The factors that emerge from the myth are stated to be : (i) Konkan was a gift of the sea; (ii) shipwreck and creation of fourteen Brāhmaṇas ; and (iii) curse subsequent to the faithlessness of the Brāhmaṇas. Then the Paraśurāma story is reconstructed from the Purāṇas, *Mbh*, and the Vedic texts, and the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa* account about *Citpāvanas* is considered. Finally are given the more southern versions of the Paraśurāma myth found in the Purāṇas and popular beliefs.[272]

50. Researches in the Hiranyagarbha Legend

Before passing on to Saivism, we may take note of "Hiraṇya-Garbha" by V. S. Agrawala which deals in detail with Hiraṇya-Garbha (the Golden-Germ) in Vedic and Purāṇic texts. Hiraṇyagarbha is Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, also called Hiraṇya, Prāṇa, Agni, Sūrya, Hiraṇmayāṇḍa. The wide conception of Vedic cosmogony is epitomised in **Hiranyagarbha.**[273]

51. Researches in Saivism

V. M. Apte in his "From the Ṛgvedic Rudra to the Purāṇic Śiva" states that the epithets, appearances, characteristics and functions of Śiva have gradually evolved from those of Rudra.[274] There is a discussion about the origin of phallus worship.

Mr. Raja Rao has dealt with the astronomical background of the Vedic Rudra and Purāṇic Śiva.[275] E. Rose has given some Purāṇic texts of the thousand names of Śiva[276], and this work and that by H. Meinhard[277] deal with Śaivism in the Purāṇas.

According to V. S. Agrawala, one Rudra is called Sthāṇu.[278] The One becomes the Many by His inherent power. The myriads of Rudras are the primal Yatis of creation. Each human or animal body is the abode of one Yati or one Rudra, or his servant one Siṁha or one Śālāvṛka. The One cosmic divine energy of Rudra becomes divided into the many Rudras or Śālāvṛkas. Each of these hyenas holds in his mouth the triple Yatīs, i.e. the tripartite life-principle of Manas, Prāṇa and Vāk, i.e. Mind, Life and Matter.

52. Researches in Sakti worship

"Compilation of Purāṇic Works or Chapters on Śakti Worship" by R. C. Hazra shows that serious doctrinal and ritualistic differences, sometimes found among people of different climes and times, led to the compilation of new Purāṇic works. The other reasons were to restore declining Varṇāśramadharma due to alien rule, to popularise Brahmanical ideas of life and society, and to revitalize the dying dominant faiths.[279]

53. Researches in Ganesa worship

In "Gaṇeśa and the antiquity of some Śaiva myth"[280] N. Devaraj Sarma observes that Gaṇeśa as such is not a Vedic deity, but Vedic Rudra and Bṛhaspati contributed to the evolution of the later form a Gaṇeśa. All important Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava legends in the Purāṇas, which are mutually complementary, give consistent chronology from at least 7000 B.C.

Hazra traces back the worship of Gaṇapati-Vināyaka to an early period. According to him, originally regarded as malevolent demons putting obstacles to men's work, the four Vināyakas were gradually fused into one elephant-god Gaṇapati, who became a remover of obstacles also. Gaṇapati was included among the Pañcāyatana (five deities) at a later period and the Gāṇapatya sect came into being. No early Purāṇic work deals exclusively with the worship of Gaṇapati.[281]

Alain Danielou has dealt with the meaning of Gaṇapati invocation from the *Padma Purāṇa*, the birth of Gaṇeśa from the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and the marriage of Gaṇeśa from the *Śiva Purāṇa*.[282]

While discussing the problem of Gaṇeśa in the Purāṇas, Juan Roger Riviere says that "systematic studies of the Purāṇas could give some light on the problem of his (*Seil.* Gaṇeśa's) origin", though he thinks "of a Dravidian or Indus Valley origin in this context".[283]

54. Puranas and Dharmasastra

Then we come to the Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra. Reference must be made at the outset to the monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* by Kane, which exhaustively deals with the problem in Vol. V.

Meyer's *Gesetzbuch und Purāṇa*[284] deals with the interrelation of the Purāṇa and lawbook in ancient India. It is mainly a detailed criticism of Losch's work on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, where he tried to subvert the previous arguments of Meyer and prove that the Smṛti has been placed together from fragments taken out of the Purāṇas, and that no individual authors of Hindu law books existed. Meyer proves that the Smṛti was the source of the Purāṇa passages.

J. D. M. Derrett has reviewed "the contribution made by 14 or 15 Purāṇas to the Vyavahāra section of the Dharmaśāstra, as seen through the eyes of established Nibandhakāras'.[285]

Chapters dealing with different aspects of Smṛti material in the Purāṇas, which appeared as separate articles have now been incorporated in Hazra's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*.[286] Reference has been made in the footnote to important articles by Hazra on this subject from the Journals.[287]

55. Researches in Puranic Rites and Customs

R. C. Hazra in his valuable *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* has subjected the Purāṇas to a critical analysis from the ritualistic point of view. The first part of the work fixes the chronology of Purāṇic chapters dealing with Hindu rites and customs, and the second part deals with pre-Purāṇic and Purāṇic Hindu society.

According to Hazra, there were two stages by which Dharmaśāstra material was added to the Purāṇas; in the first stage (third-fifth century A.D.) only such topics on Hindu rites and customs as formed the subject-matter of early Smṛti-Saṁhitās like Manu and Yājñavalkya were incorporated, while the second stage (A.D. 600 onwards) incorporated new topics regarding gifts, initiation, sacrifices, *homa, pratiṣṭhā, tīrthas, tithis, utsarga,* etc., not found in Manu and Yājñavalkya or in Purāṇas written prior to the sixth century. The Appendices refer to the verses quoted from the Purāṇas in the Smṛti works and to untraceable Purāṇic verses.

P. V. Kane briefly illustrates the view that though the rites, ceremonies, usages and religious views on which most of the Purāṇas lay emphasis are different from the Vedic tradition, they do not ignore Vedic tradition but try hard to build on the foundations of the Vedic tradition, from a few passages of the *Brahma* which heads the list of Purāṇas at least from the eleventh century if not earlier.[288]

S. C. Banerji shows that the term *Vrata* is as old as the Vedas, but it passed through various shades of meaning till at last it attained the present sense in the Purāṇas.[289] He has further referred to the Purāṇic basis of the Bengal Smārta *Vratas.*[290]

56. Miscellanea

According to V. S. Agrawalla, the Purāṇic ideal of the attainment of happiness in this world (*bhukti*) and of bliss in the life hereafter (*mukti*) was restated in order to comfort the pseudo-monasticism of the Buddhists.[291]

In "Aśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata", R. C. Hazra shows that the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* owe their origin to the

Pārıplava Ākhyānas of the Aśvamedha. The *Atharva-Veda* (XI-7.24) connects the Purāṇas with the Yajñas.[292]

VI

PHILOSOPHY

57. Discussion on Puranic Philosophy in Histories of Indian Philosophy

Most of the histories of Indian Philosophy refer, in brief or in detail, to the Philosophy of the Purāṇas. S. N. Das Gupta, in the third volume of his *Indian Philosophy,* devotes a chapter to the "Philosophic Speculations of some of the select Purāṇas",[293] where he considers the theories about Brahman, Kāla, Ahaṁkāra, Yoga, Bhakti etc. of the *Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Nāradīya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas.* S. Radhakrishnan has only incidental references to the philosophy of the Purāṇas in Epic Philosophy. There is a section of the ethics of the Purāṇas.

In describing the philosophy of the Purāṇas. J. N. Sinha deals with the philosophy of the *Viṣṇu, Nāradīya, Āgneya, Kūrma, Garuḍa, Vāyu, Skanda, Mārkaṇḍeya, Devī-Bhāgavata,* Brahmavaivarta and *Bhāgavata*—eleven Purāṇas in all, including both the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and *Bhāgavata.* Along with philosophical speculations, reference is made to the cults of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Śāktism, and Karma-Yoga, Bhakti-Yoga, and Jñāna-Yoga in the Purāṇas. Also included are the *Nārada-Bhaktisūtra* and *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra.*[294]

58. In Monographs on Puranas

Monographs on the *Vāyu* (Dikshitar and Patil),[295] *Matsya,* (Kantawala),[296] *Agni* (Gyani),[297] and *Harivaṁśa* (Pande)[298] deal exhaustively with the philosophy of the respective Purāṇas.

59. Researches in Puranic cosmogony and Ethics

Pusalker has taken a survey of the cosmogonic ideas of the Hindus right from the period of the Vedas to the time of the Purāṇas including Purāṇic cosmogony.[299] A. P. Karmarkar has also dealt with Purāṇic cosmogony in a different way.[300]

Ethics of the Purāṇas forms the subject of the article by C. S. Venkateswar contributed to the revised edition of the *Cultural Heritage of India* (Vol. II).[301] In a Sanskrit article, V. V. Dviveda discusses the problem of the exact number of ultimate categories on the basis of the *Bhāgavata* (X. 22.1-25) and elaborates the number of *tattvas* from one to thirtyfour as propounded by different religious and philosophical systems in ancient India.[302]

Cosmological speculations in the *Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu* and *Matsya* have been dealt with by Hans Heusgen.[303] Betty Heimann discusses the philosophy of "It" in the context of Vedic, Purāṇic and Buddhist texts. "The supra-personal, the supra-godly, the all-embracing natural power of Nature is ultimately symbolized in the 'It'. Nature is the true 'It', the not-bound to one single form of male or female, the Ne-uter, the not One or the Other, but the All combined, the all-emanating, the all-absorbing Force".[304]

60. Researches on Cosmogony on Sankhya Lines

In the "Sāṅkhyization of the Emanation Doctrine shown in the Critical Analysis of Texts", P. Hacker attempt a fresh critical analysis of the cosmogony text of the critical edition of the Śāntiparvan (224) and traces the line of development to a later stage represented by texts groups II-A and II-B by Kirfel (*Garuḍa, Padma, Varāha, Viṣṇu, Mārkeṇḍeya, Kūrma, Brahmāṇḍa, Liṅga* and *Vāyu*). The result shows that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* is the oldest version dealing with cosmogony on Sāṅkhya lines followed by *Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa, Padma, Viṣṇu* and *Kūrma*, in that order. The chronology of *Liṅga*, which is later than *Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa*, cannot be fixed in relation to *Padma, Viṣṇu* and *Kūrma*.[305]

Hariprasad C. Mehta has expounded the theory of *Sāṅkhya* in the *Bhāgavata* in Sanskrit.[305 A] V. S. Agrawala traces the development of Pāśupata-Voga from the period of the *Yajurveda* to the *Liṅga Purāṇa* expounding the symbolism.[306]

61. Researches in Bengal Vaisnavism Philosophy

According to B. N. K. Sarma, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana, a leading exponent of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, taught that the Caitanya school was really an offshoot of the Dvaita philosophy of Mādhva.[307] Swami Tejasananda shows that the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata* is intensely practical and affects all aspects of life.[308]

62. Heterodox Systems in the Puranas

Jos. Abo has invited attention to the heterodox systems of philosophy propounded by different Purāṇas, where side by side with Brāhmaṇic systems, Vedānta, glorification of sacrifices, etc. we find some doctrines of Buddhism, and the inclusion of Buddha among the incarnations of Viṣṇu.[309]

In "Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas", R. K. Choudhary states that the Purāṇas tried to strengthen the orthodox system against the heretical sects of Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvikism, Śaivism, Bhāgavatism and Vaiṣṇavism. There is a description of Pāṣaṇḍas, Kāpālikas and Lokāyatikas, and a reference is made to the system of tree-worship in Purāṇas.[310]

63. Conception of Kingship in the Puranas

Though speaking of the philosophical significance of the Purāṇa stories of Veṇa and Pṛthu, U. N. Ghoshal refers to the conception of kingship and the obligations of both the ruler and the subjects — divinely ordained obligation of protection in return for taxation and the subjects' obligation of obedience to their ruler. According to him, Purāṇic statements in connection with Veṇa-Pṛthu stories "evidently refer to the threefold principle of the king's obligation according to the Smṛtis, namely the divine, the ethico-religious and the quasi-contractual. . . ."[311]

VII

INDIVIDUAL MAHA-PURANAS*

64. Researches in Brahma Purana

F. Otto Schrader in "Apocryphal Brahmapurāṇa"[312] shows that chapters 235-244 of the *Brahma*, dealing with *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*, have been borrowed from different chapters of the Śānti-parvan, though many readings of the Purāṇa disagree with those in

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*In dealing with individual **Mahapuranas**, their order, as given by Winternitz in his **History of Indian Literature** Vol. I has been followed here.

the Śāntiparvan. He suggests that at least a selection of these readings will have to be registered in the critical edition of the *Mbh.*

Hazra's article under the same title shows that the printed text of the *Brahma* is a late compilation belonging to the period between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. Numerous quotations from the *Brahma* in several Nibandha writers are not found in the present *Brahma,* which borrows chapters from the *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Mahābhārata.*[313]

On the basis of some passages from the *Brahma,* Kane has shown that the Purāṇas lay emphasis on the Vedic tradition and build their super-structure on its foundation.[314]

65. Researches in Padma Purana

L. Hilgenberg in *Die Kosmographische Episode in Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa*[315] critically investigates the relation of *Mbh* cosmography with that given in the *Padma* and other Purāṇas, and concludes that the *Mbh* account is based on the *Padma,* and that both these accounts are based on what Kirfel calls the longer group of Purāṇas, while some passages come also from the relatively very late shorter group. Belvalkar, however, examines the same relation giving citations from both texts, and proves the posteriority of the *Padma* version.[316]

M. V. Vaidya compares the Tīrthayātrā in the *Āraṇyaka-parvan* (III. 80-83) and the *Padma* (ASS, I, 10-39) and concludes that the *Padma* definitely borrowed Tīrthayātrā from the Bengali version of the northern recension of the *Āraṇyakaparvan.*[317]

In his *Padma-purāṇa and Kālidāsa,*[318] Har Dutt Sarma shows that the *Padma* was the source of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and *Raghuvaṁśa.* Kirfel has considered the textual problem of the *Padma* and the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[319]

According to Hazra, there are two recensions of the *Padma,* the northern and the southern, the latter of which has been published in the Ānandāśrama and Veṅkaṭeśvara editions, though there is difference in arrangement in the two editions.[320]

Asoke Chatterjee worked on the *Padma-purāṇa* for his D. Phil., and several chapters from his thesis have appeared as articles in different journals. According to him, the **Dharma-Purāṇa** did not originally form part of the *Padma*, but constituted a separate work in itself. Written in Kāmarūpa it was composed between A.D. 1250 and 1325. During the penetration of Islam, in order to check social disintegration and to safeguard the interest of society, the Dharma-purāṇa was written by the Brahmins and made a part of the widely read and universally accepted *Padma*.[321] Chatterjee puts the date of the composition of the Bengal recension of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the *Padma* about the second half of the seventeenth century.[322]

Chatterjee has further dealt with the position and antiquity of the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the *Padma*;[323] the characteristic features of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the *Padma*;[324] and Puṣkara-māhātmya or the so-called *Padma-purāṇasamuccaya*.[325]

Chatterjee has also dealt with a treatise of the *Kārtika-Māhātmya*— its character and importance.[326] He refers to a MS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, copied in Saṁvat 1821, which, though stated to be from the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the *Padma*, is different from the corresponding sections of *Padma* as available in print.

66. Researches in Visnu Purana

According to V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar the major portion of the present *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* existed from the commencement of the Christian era.[327] He assigns the *Viṣṇu* to the sixth or seventh century B.C.[328] Hazra puts the *Viṣṇu* between A.D.100-350.[329]

Reference has already been made earlier to a verse from the *Viṣṇu* (III.3.11), which contrary to the usual view that the *Ṛgveda* is the original Veda, gives prime importance to the *Yajurveda*.[330]

"The Śubhāśraya Prakaraṇa (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 6-7) and the meaning of Bhāvanā" by J.A.B. von Buitenen states that in reply to Khāṇḍikya's enquiry in the *Viṣṇu*, Brahman was declared by Keśidhvaja as the "auspicious substratum" (*śubhāśraya*) of the mind. The whole topic, especially the expression *bhāvanā* used in that context, is explained here in the light of the Pāñcarātra tenets taught in the works like the *Ahirbudhnīya-saṁhita*.[331] V. Varadachari has dealt with the similes in the *Viṣṇu*.[332]

67. Researches in Vayu-Purana

Some aspects of the Vāyu-Purāṇa[333] by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar refers to cosmogony, historical portions, philosophy, music, etc. of the *Vāyu*, as also to the literature known to the author of *Vāyu*, etc.

D. R. Patil's *Cultural History from the Vāyu-Purāṇa*[334] is the first systematic attempt at presenting the *Kulturgeschichte* based on the data collected from the *Vāyu*. The book is divided into two parts : the first part gives the facts collected from *Vāyu*, while the second interprets them in the light of other material and puts them in their chronological setting. The first five chapters in each part deal with intellectual culture and the last five with material culture. Patil's researches indicate three chronological strata in the *Vāyu*. The appendix gives an alphabetical list of tribe and place-names with cross references.

Hazra's article on the *Vāyu*[335] has been reproduced in his *Studies in Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*.[336]

S. B. Chaudhury has shown that the *Vāyu* is the genuine Mahāpurāṇa [337A] and Pusalkar also has arrived at the same conclusion after a fresh consideration of the problem.[337B]

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri draws attention particularly to two passages in the *Vāyu* which give views regarding the origin of the Vedas and the Saṁhitās.[337C] He has also referred to the *Gayā-māhātmya* in *Vāyu*.[337D]

68. Researches in Bhagavata Purana

In his *Bhāgavatādarśa* (in Marathi),[337E] Y. V. Kolhatkar deals mainly with the different problems connected with the *Bhāgavata* with particular reference to its religion and philosophy, *bhakti*, and *advaita*, etc.

There have been quite a number of articles on the date of the *Bhāgavata*, different scholars like C. V. Vaidya[338] (tenth century A.D.), Krishnamurthy Sarma[339] (prior to sixth century A.D.), A. N. Ray[340] (550-600 A.D.), Durgashanker Sastri[341] (not before ninth century), R. C. Hazra,[342] and J. N. Banerjea,[343] assigning it to different periods basing their conclusions on literary and other data. Gode draws attention to an illustrated MS of the *Bhāgavata* copied in 1648 A.D.[344] and fixes the date of Śrīdharasvāmin, author of the commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and other works, between *c.* A.D. 1350 and 1450.[345]

Ray points to I.3, VI.8 and XII.1 in the Bangawasi edition as interpolations in the *Bhāgavata*[346] and takes the author of the *Bhāgavata* to be a native of Tamil country,[347] who was familiar with and proud of his country and holy places and rivers as also of Tamil Āḷvārs, etc. He further shows that the *Bhāgavata* has borrowed words and ideas from the *Gauḍapādakārikās.*[348]

S. Srikantha Sastri shows that *Paramārthasāra,* like Gauḍapāda's *Kārikās,* forms one of the basic texts for *Śrī Bhāgavata,* and may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.[349] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar places the *Bhāgavata* during the time of the Imperial Guptas.[350]

With regard to the place of origin of the *Bhāgavata,* J. N. Banerjea states that it was composed in South — most probably in the Pāṇḍya country in comparatively early times.[351]

J. Meier treats of the grammatical archaisms in the *Bhāgavata,*[352] while S. Mehta has invited attention to the linguistic peculiarities of the *Bhāgavata* in an informative paper.[353]

Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa or Esoteric Hinduism[354] by P. N. Sinha contains an English translation of the essential features of the *Bhāgavata* omitting unimportant details, political descriptions, prayers, adorations, etc. M. R. Majmudar has invited attention to an illustrated Gujarati version of the *Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha.*[355]

P. C. Divanji has discussed the problem of the *Bhagavatgītā* and the *Bhāgavata* as models for the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha.*[356] J. E. Abbott deals with similar passages in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Bhagavadgītā* and concludes that the author of the *Bhāgavata* was familiar with the *Bhagavadgītā* and used it freely in the composition of his work.[357]

In the " Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Bhagavadgīta,[357A] Raghavan investigates the question whether the author of the *Bhāgavata* knew the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg.* and concludes that he knew only the vulgate text of *Bhg.*

Another article by J. E. Abbott concerns topographical list of the *Bhāgavata.*[358] N. N. Chaudhuri, in his Sanskrit article, has invited attention to the peculiarities of the *Bhāgavata,*[359] while N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar[360] and K. Trivedi deal with different aspects of the *Bhāgavata.*[361]

With regard to the rival claims of the *Bhāgavata* and *Devī-Bhāgavata* to be included among the Mahāpurāṇas, Ganganatha Jha shows that the description in the Śiva Purāṇa (372.i.129) is more applicable to the *Devī-Bhāgavata.*[362] It may be observed that the *Śiva Purāṇa* itself is not taken to be a Mahāpurāṇa. S. Srikantha Sastri has tried to prove that the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* which can be assigned to the sixth century, is slightly earlier than the *Bhāgavata.*[363]

In his article on the "Bhāgavata Purāṇa" Hazra arrives at the following conclusions. : (i) Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata* is the real Mahāpurāṇa and not *Kālikā Purāṇa* or *Devi-Bhāgavata*; (ii) date of composition of the *Bhāgavata* falls in the sixth century A.D. — probably in the former half; (iii) date of the Smṛti chapters is the same as that of the Purāṇa ; and (iv) of the three lists of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, those in I.3 and VI.8 are spurious.[364]

We shall consider some more articles dealing with the problem of the relation between the *Bhāgavata* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* in the next section under *Devī-Bhāgavata*.

69. Researches in Naradiya Purana

Hazra has discussed the relation between the *Nāradīya* and the *Bṛhannāradīya* and has come to the conclusion that the *Bṛhannāradīya* is not the original *Nāradīya* but only an Upa-Purāṇa ; that the present *Nāradīya* is not the earlier *Nāradīya* noticed by the *Matsya, Skanda* and *Agni;* and that the present *Nāradīya,* which is more a compilation than an original work, has lost many verses which formed part of the early *Nāradīya.*[365]

In the "Identical Philosophical Texts in the Nārada Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata — Their Contents and Significance", V. M. Bedekar refers to the common philosophical verses in the *Mahābhārata* (XII.175-185, 187-8, 211-2) and *Nārada* (I.42, 44, 105, 45, 5-87). The conclusion is that the *Nārada* seems to have taken them from the *Mahābhārata,* or both adopted these verses from some common third source.[366]

70. Researches in Markandeya Purana

Reference has already been made to the English translation with exhaustive critical notes, especially relating to the geographical portions, by Pargiter.[367]

V. S. Agrawala's *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa : Ek Sāṅskṛtika Adhyayana* (in Hindi) is an exhaustive treatment of the Purāṇa dealing with cosmogony, spiritual outlook in episodes, worldly existence, spiritual knowledge, mutual relations of the Vedas and Purāṇas, cosmography, Kalpa and Manvanatara, and several other topics. It is an attempt to unravel Purāṇic symbolism.[368]

Agrawalla has also written on *Devī-Māhātmya*[369] and has brought out an edition of the text along with explanatory notes.[370] Mirashi has fixed the lower limit for the date of *Devī-Māhātmya*, which is *c.* A.D. 813.[371] On a consideration of verbal similarities between the *Durgā-Saptaśatī* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Dasharatha Sharma shows that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is a later work belonging to a period after the eighth century.[372]

Swami Prajnanananda has given an analysis of the discussions on music in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,[373] while K. L. Barua has collected particulars about Kāmarūpa from the *Mārkaṇḍeya*.[374]

71. Researches in Agni Purana

S. D. Gyani's *Agni-Purāṇa - A Study*[375] is a critical survey of the *Agni* with special reference to its literary aspect. After taking a critical survey of the contents of the *Agni*, the book deals with technical literature, geographical data, historical data, mythology and religion, philosophy and cosmogony, Smṛti material, Rājadharma, and Arts and Sciences.

S. B. Chaudhury gives an analysis of the *Agni* and places its compilation between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century A.D.[376]

P. C. Lahiri[377] and Raghavan[378] write about Rīti and Guṇa in the *Agnipurāṇa* ; and Meyer[379] about "Tree-culture in the Agni" giving the Sanskrit text. S. K. De assigns the Alaṁkāra portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* to the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[380]

"Our present Agni-purāṇa,"[81] according to Hazra, is an apocryphal and comparatively late work, the result of a destructive recast of the original *Agni*. It is originally a work of the Pañcarātras. The extant *Agni* is quite distinct from the *Vahni-Purāṇa*.

In "Discovery of the genuine Āgneya Purāṇa" Hazra states that the present *Agni-Purāṇa*, written about the ninth century A.D., is a spurious work. The real *Āgneya-Purāṇa* had assumed a different title *Vahni Purāṇa*, in order to save itself from extinction. It was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Most of the extracts quoted from the *Āgneya-Purāṇa* in the comparatively early Smṛti works (viz. Ballālasena, Halāyudha, Hemādri, etc.) occur in this so-called *Vahni Purāṇa* and not in the printed *Agni*.[382]

Hazra has adduced evidence to prove the identity of the *Āgneya-Purāṇa* and *Vahni-Purāṇa* in "Studies in the genuine Āgneya Purāṇa alias, Vahni-Purāṇa". Most of the verses quoted under the title of *Āgneya-Purāṇa* in different works such as Ballālasena's *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara* are found in the *Vahni-Purāṇa*. The *Āgneya Purāṇa* came to be known as the *Vahni-Purāṇa* in southern India considerably earlier than A.D. 1100. The spurious *Āgneya Purāṇa*, written some time during the ninth century A.D., came to be known as such under the influence of Tantricism, while the genuine *Āgneya-Purāṇa* | was forced to traverse to South India, where Tantricism had not penetrated so much and assumed a new title *Vahni-Purāṇa* in order to save itself from extinction.[383]

Dasharatha Sharma has discussed the political thought and practice in the *Agni-Purāṇa*,[384] while kingship in the *Agni* has been dealt with by B. Mishra.[385]

Yogendra Mishra describes Bihar in the *Agni* on the basis of a few chapters in the *Agni* dealing with the places of pilgrimage like Gayā and Rājagṛha, which furnish materials for the cultural and geographical history of ancient Bihar.[386]

Decorative style and Alaṁkāras in the *Agni* have been elaborately treated by S. N. Gajendragadkar.[387]

72. Researches in Bhavisya Purana

Reference has already been made to the *Kaliyuga-rājavṛttānta*, purporting to be a section of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[388] Hazra has written on both the *Bhaviṣya*[389] and *Bhaviṣyottara*.[390] J. Scheftelowitz has discussed the problem of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (ch. 58) and the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*.[391]

73. Researches in Brahmavaivarta Purana

A. S. Gupta has shown that the extant *Brahmavaivarta* is not the same as described by the *Matsya* and other Purāṇas; that it is a revised, enlarged and totally changed work and is most probably an apocryphal work of the Bhāgavatas or Kṛṣṇa-worshippers completed in eastern India (specially in Bengal) in the early Mahomedan period.[392]

Ramniranjana Pandey in his article in Hindi has discussed the nature of Bhakti in the *Brahmavaivarta*.[393]

74. Researches in Linga Purana

According to Hazra, the present *Liṅga*, an apocryphal work, is not the earlier one noticed by the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Agni*, and may be placed between A.D. 600 and 1000.[394]

V. V. Paranjpe has discussed in Sanskrit the problem of the date of the *Liṅga*[395] and also the etymologies as given in the *Liṅga*.[396] The seventh century A.D. has been fixed as the earliest date of the extant *Liṅga Purāṇa*.

75. Researches in Varaha Purana

After dividing the *Varāha*, into four distinct sections, Hazra puts them in their chronological context.[397]

K. V. Nilameghacharya, in his Sanskrit article on the relation of the *Varāha* and the Rāmānuja-sect of Vaiṣṇavism, has shown that the former contains many important religious and philosophical tenets of the Rāmānuja-sect; that the ślokas, quoted as from the Varāha, in the works of the Rāmānuja-sect but not traceable in the extant *Varāha*, might have been lost from the text or might be traced in the southern MSS; and that the *Varāha* was composed long before the inception of the Rāmānuja-sect.[398]

76. Researches in Skanda Purana

H. P. Sastri has invited attention to a MS in the Nepal Durbar Library written in characters, which belong to the seventh century A.D.[399] In his note on the "Vastrāpatha-Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa", H. C. Raychaudhuri shows that the king Bhoja who reigned at Kanauj was supreme over Saurāṣṭra and abdicated in favour of his son.[400]

Surya Kanta has given an English translation of the flood legend in the *Skanda* with prefactory remarks in "Mārkeṇḍeya and the flood legend in Skanda-Purāṇa".[401]

On a comparison of the legend of Cirakārin in the *Skanda Mahāpurāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, V. M. Bedekar concludes that both versions probably drew upon a common floating version of the story with suitable changes, though it appears that the version retained by *Mahābhārata*, belonged to an earlier time than that of *Skanda*.[402]

According to H. G. Narahari,[403] the Samādhilakṣaṇa forming part of the Sūta-saṁhitā of the *Skanda* is indebted to the *Bhg*, for its contents and many verses are obviously imitations of the statements contained in the *Bhg.*

In connection with the help received by Col. J. H. Speke, while discovering the sources of the Nile, from the map drawn from the Purāṇas, especially the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, by Lt. Wilford,[404] it is interesting to observe that Ingalls has shown that the supposed account of Egypt and the Nile in the *Skanda* was due to the dishonesty of the Pandit who erased the original geographical names in the *Skanda* MSS and wrote in their place *Miśradeśa* (Arabic *misr*=Egypt) or *Guptadeśa* (Gupta, according to Wilford,= Aiguptos).[405]

77. Researches in Vamana Purana

Vāmana Purāṇa : A Study,[406] under the sub-title "An Exposition of the Ancient Purāṇa Vidyā", by V. S. Agrawala interprets the Purāṇic texts in their Vedic background. The material about religion and philosophy contained in the Purāṇas is of great esoteric significance. Preponderance of the Asura motif is shown to be a distinguishing feature of the *Vāmana*. There is an exposition of the symbolical significance of several myths and legends.

Besides the article by Hazra,[407] there is one by Raghavan which gives a list of the MSS of the *Vāmana*.[408] Raghavan discusses the influence of Kālidāsa on the *Vāmana*.

The MSS of the *Vāmana* have been divided into the following four groups by A. S. Gupta: I. D MSS (printed text); II. Telugu MSS (which omit five Adhyāyas containing Tīrthas and Viṣṇu stories); III. Śāradā and Kashmir MSS (which omit nine Adhyāyas containing Vāmana-caritra); IV. Bengali MSS (which omit more than 27 Adhyāyas containing Vāmana-caritra and the description and glorification of a number of Tīrthas).[409]

Ramshankar Bhattacharya has prepared a subject-concordance (*viṣaya-sūci*) of the *Vāmana* under ten **khaṇḍaṣ** in accordance with the plan of Purāṇa concordance prepared by the All-India Kashiraj Trust.[410]

A study of the **non-Anuṣṭubh** metres in the *Vāmana* (in Sanskrit) by Thakur Prasad Sharma Dvivedi refers to seventeen metres used in the *Vāmana* and discusses the metrical defects of several stanzas.[411]

78. Researches in Kurma Purana

Ramshankar Bhattacharya has prepared a similar subject-concordance (*viṣaya-sūci*) of the *Kūrma*,[412] following the lines of the concordance of the *Vāmana*, referred to earlier.[413]

In "the Legend of Sītā in the Kūrma Purāṇa," P. E. Dumont invites attention to the passages in *Kūrma*, II. 34 and gives its translation. According to the passage, the Sītā who lived with Rāvaṇa and sat on his lap was not the real Sītā but a false image of her created by Agni. According to Dumont, "this new version of the legend of Sītā shows, in a striking way, how an old legend was transformed under the influence of new religious conceptions".[414]

Hazra holds that the *Kūrma* was originally a **Pañcarātra** work which was later turned into a **Pāśupata** one. He has also dealt with the Smṛti chapters of the *Kūrma*.[415]

Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi takes a survey in Sanskrit of the topics dealt with in the *Kūrma* and discusses certain important matters such as cosmology, monism, etc.[416]

79. Researches in Matsya Purana

Comparatively a large number of articles and books have appeared on the *Matsya*. The introduction and appendices to the English translation of the *Matsya*[417] deal, among other things, with the date of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Matsya*, the date of the *Matsya*, the sacrificial session and an account of the dynasties of the Kali age after the war.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar writes about the polity in the *Matsya,* architecture, Tamil version of the *Matsya,* etc. in his *Matsya Purāṇa — A Study.*[418]

V. S. Agrawala's *Matsya-Purāṇa — A Study*[419] is an exposition of the Purāṇa Vidyā on the same lines as his studies of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[420] and *Vāmana*[421] referred to earlier. An attempt is made for the first time "to probe into the cosmological symbolism of the great Purāṇic myths and legends and to formulate an answer to those problems in a manner consistent with Indian thought". The book contains a detailed explanation of the Manu-Matsya myth as also of the legends of Yajñavarāha, Devāsura-Saṁgrāma, Brahmāśāpa, Tripura, Andhakāsura, etc. There is also a discussion about genealogies, geography, Māhātmyas, etc.

There is an exhaustive treatment of the social structure, position of women, political structure, religion and philosophy, and social and economic life on the basis of the data from the *Matsya Purāṇa,* as studied in the context of comparative material from the other sources in *Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa*[422] by S. G. Kantawala. The Narmadā region is taken as the home of *Matsya.* One of the appendices deals with the geographical and ethnical data in the *Matsya,* and another with flora and fauna.

Arising out of the *Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa,* or as byproducts of the study, Kantawala has published several articles on the *Matsya* including "Home of the Mastya Purāṇa,"[423] "Cāturvarṇotpatti according to the Matsya Purāṇa" (in Gujarati),[424] "Matsya Purāṇa and Promiscuity",[425] "The Cult of the Manes as depicted in the Matsya Purāṇa",[426] "Geographical and Ethnical data in the Mastya Purāṇa",[427] "The Capital — its layout according to the Matsya Purāṇa,"[428] "Are the 'Liṅgāyatana Ārādhyas' referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa?".[429] "The Brahmā-Sarasvatī episode in the Matsya Purāṇa",[430] "Some Linguistic Peculiarities of the Matsya Purāṇa"[431] and "A note on Ṛṣis".[431A]

Before turning to the other books and articles on the *Matsya,* let us refer to the articles dealing with the MSS material and textual problems of *Matsya*, collected for its projected critical edition.[432] Raghavan has taken an inventory of the *Matsya* MSS.[433] Gupta has referred to the textual peculiarities of a Śāradā MS of the *Matsya,*[434] and found out the Devanāgarī-source of the Ujjain Śāradā MS of the *Matsya.*[435]

With regard to the Kashmirian version of the *Matsya*,[436] Gupta shows that it is smaller in extent, having a smaller number of topics and a smaller size of the *Matsya* text, and that it displays peculiarities in readings and arrangement. In another article, Gupta subjects to a critical study a newly acquired Śāradā MS of the *Matsya*.[437] In a short article he gives "Textual Notes".[438] Nilmadhav Sen has made an attempt to suggest emendations for a few out of the innumerable wrong readings of the *Matsya*.[439]

In another article, Sen invites attention to some linguistic aberrations in the *Matsya*.[440] C. R. Swaminathan has attempted a metrical analysis of the *Matsya*,[441] while Thakur Prasad Dvivedi refers to instances from *Matsya* where metrical portions appear like prose passages.[442] A. S. Gupta has made an analysis of the stotras in the *Matsya*.[443]

Passages from the *Matsya* on war and peace have been gleaned by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.[444] Raghavan has two instalments of gleanings from the *Matsya*.[445] Hazra has critically examined the Smṛti-chapters of the *Matsya*.[446]

A. P. Karmarkar refers to the *Matsya* as the earliest extant Purāṇa in Indian literature.[447] P. V. Kane has given some of the striking agreements between Kauṭīlya's *Arthaśāstra* (I. 20-21) and the *Matsya* (209) and shown that the *Matsya* passages are based on the *Kauṭilīya*.[448] In "Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi and Matsya Purāṇa," G. H. Khare compares the iconographic chapters of the *Matsya* (258-261 ASS Ed.) and *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* (Part I, 3. 726-874, Mysore Ed.) and concludes that the former is the source of the latter.[449]

R. S. Betai has made a comparative study of the *Matsya* and *Kumārasambhava*.[450] Bhabatosh Bhattacharya has referred to a peculiar gift recorded in the *Matsya* and *Dānasāgara*.[451]

V. Raghavan has critically edited the *Matsya* text relating to Yajña-Vārāha, [452] while V. S. Agrawala and Motichandra have discussed the Yakṣa-worship in the *Matsya*.[453]

R. C. De invites attention to a Persian translation of the *Matsya* made at Benares by Gosvami Anandghana of Delhi during the close of the eighteenth century, MSS of which is deposited in the Institute Italiano of Rome.[454]

Manoranjan Shastri has invited attention to the "Svalpamatsya Purāṇa", hitherto unknown to scholars, of which two MSS in old Assamese characters are available in Assam. Compiled during the first half of the eleventh century, the work consists of 49 chapters of which the first five contain a summary of the first six chapters of the extant *Matsya,* and the remaining deal entirely with Dharmaśāstra material, viz. *Dāna, Pratiṣṭhā, Śrāddha, Aśauca, Prāyaścitta Adbhuta* etc.[455]

Raghavan has edited the first four adhyāyas of the Svalpamatsya Purāṇa.[456] He has also issued a sample edition of the first adhyāya of the *Matsya,* in the pages of the *Purāṇa.* The edition is based on 5 printed texts and 36 MSS in different scripts of India.[457]

80. Researches in Garuda Purana

Contrary to H. P. Sastri's view which places the *Garuḍa* in the third-fourth century A.D., S. B. Chaudhury proves that the *Garuḍa,* as now extant, could not have received its final shape before the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[458] Kane places the extant *Garuḍa* "not later than 950 A.D. and not earlier than the 6th century A.D."[459] Hazra assigns the *Garuḍa* to the period between A.D. 850-1000.[460]

A. P. Karmarkar has a brief note on the *Bṛhaspati Nītisāra* in *Garuda-Purāṇa,*[461] while L. Sternbach deals exhaustively with *Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra* and *Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā* of the *Garuḍa.*[462]

A. R. G. Tiwari has studied the mythology of the *Garuḍa.*[463] E. Abegg has a monograph in German on the Pretakalpa of the *Garuḍa.*[464] W. Kirfel has treated the *Nidānasthāna* in the *Garuḍa* in an article in German.[465]

S. Chaudhuri's "Place-names in the Garuḍa Purāṇa" totalling 343 entries, is a list of place names and Tīrthas in the *Garuḍa.* Place-names noted by De, B. C. Law, Kane, Macdonell and Keith, and Dikshitar have been indicated in the article.[466]

81. Researches in Brahmanda Purana

J. Gonda has invited attention to the old Javanese *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.*[467] R. C. Majumdar had earlier written on "Indo-Javanese Literature" giving important and valuable information, among other things, about old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa,* old Javanese translation of *Ādi, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Āśrama, Musala, Prasthānika* and *Svargārohaṇa,* and about *Arjuna-vivāha, Koravasrama,* and the versions of *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.*[468]

Writing about the date of the *Brahmāṇḍa,* S. N. Roy states that the process of the separation of *Brahmāṇḍa* from *Vāyu* started somewhat after A.D. 400 and continued for many centuries, till the Purāṇa assumed its extant form about A.D. 1000.[469] Kane regards the *Brahmāṇḍa.* as "one of the oldest of the 18 Purāṇas" and places it "between the 4th and 6th century A.D."[470] Hazra shows that the separation between the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu* "took place ....not earlier than 400 A.D."[471]

S. V. Dixit has dealt with the similes in the *Brahmāṇḍa.*[472]

82. Researches in Harivamsa :

Finally we come to the *Harivaṁśa,* which, though considered as a Khila of the *Mahābhārata,* is regarded as a Purāṇa.

In a monograph in Hindi entitled *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa kā Sāṁskṛtika Vivecana*[473] (Cultural Exposition of the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa), Vinapani Pandey discusses the following topics: Whether Harivaṁṣa is a Purāṇa ; date, social and religious life; fine arts; historical traditions; philosophical speculations.

In the "Purāṇic Line of Heoroes", W. Ruben seeks to prove that the *Harivaṁśa* is a genuine supplement of the *Mahābhārata ;* therefore the *Harivaṁśa* is the oldest Purāṇa, and many Purāṇas have borrowed from *Harivaṁśa.*[474]

Vinapani Pandey has dealt with the metres in the *Harivaṁśa.*[475] Reference has already been made to the book[476] and article[477] by J. D. L de Vries on the *Śrāddhakalpa* in *Harivaṁśa* and five other Purāṇas.

While discussing the date of the *Harivaṁśa.* S. P. Bhattacharyya points out that the *Harivaṁśa* had become an authoritative text by the first century A.D. and its later redaction took place about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.[478]

In "Ekānaṁśā and Subhadrā", J. C. Ghosh points out that Ekānaṁśā mentioned in the *Mbh* as a daughter of Aṅgirasa, becomes in the *Harivaṁśa,* Yogakanyā, the daughter of Yaśodā. This Ekānaṁśā was later turned into Subhadrā.[479]

VIII

UPA-PURANAS

83. Dr. Hazra's contribution to Upa-puranic Researches

R. C. Hazra is the only scholar in the domain of Purāṇic studies who has made solid, substantial and sustained contributions not only to the entire range of Purāṇas but to the Upa-Purāṇas as well. Out of the projected five volumes on the *Studies in the Upa-purāṇas*, under the auspices of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, two have appeared so far dealing respectively with (1) Saura Upa-purāṇas and (2) Śākta and non-sectarian Upa-purāṇas.

84. Researches in Saura and Vaisnava Upa-puranas

After discussing the extent, antiquity and the origin of the Upa-purāṇa literature in chapter I of Vol. I of the *Studies in the Upa-purāṇas*[480] the next chapter deals with the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, which is the only Saura Upa-purāṇa covered in this volume.

The Major and Minor Vaiṣṇava Upa-purāṇas are considered in the next two chapters, the former comprising the (1) Viṣṇu-dharma, (2) Viṣṇu-dharmottara and (3) Narasiṁha, while the latter consists of (1) Kriyā-Yogasāra, (2) Ādi Purāṇa, (3) Kalki Purāṇa, (4) Puruṣottama Purāṇa and (5) Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa.

The concluding chapter deals with some lost Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upa-purāṇas. The (1) Saura-dharma (2) Saura-Dharmottara and (3) Sūrya-Purāṇa are the Saura works included, while the following thirteen are the Vaiṣṇava Upa-Purāṇas in the chapter: (1) Ādi Purāṇa, (2) Āṅgirasa Upa-purāṇa. (3) Bṛhad-Vāmana Purāṇa, (4) Bṛhad-Viṣṇudharma, (5) Bṛhad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa, (6) Bṛhan-Narasiṁha Purāṇa, (7) Durvāsas Upa-purāṇa (alias Āścarya Upa-purāṇa), (8) Kauṣika (or Kauṣikī) Purāṇa, (9) Laghu-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, (10) Māgha Purāṇa, (11) Prabhāsa Purāṇa, (12) Viṣṇu-Dharmottarāmṛta, and (13) Vṛaddha-Padma Purāṇa.

85. Researches in Sakta and non-Sectarian Upa-puranas

There are four chapters in Vol. II of the *Studies in the Upa-purāṇas*,[481] dealing respectively with (1) The Śākta Upa-purāṇas, (2) the non-Sectarian Upa-purāṇas, (3) the lost Śākta Upa-purāṇas and (4) Some lost Upa-purāṇas of non-Sectarian or unknown origin.

The first chapter is an exhaustive treatment of the (1) Devī Purāṇa, (2) Kālikā Purāṇa, (3) Mahā-Bhāgavata Purāṇa and (4) Devī-Bhāgavata. In the second are considered the (1) Bhaviṣyottara, and (2) Bṛhad-Dharma Purāṇa.

The following nine comprise the lost Śākta Upa-purāṇas: (1) Bṛhan-Nandikeśvara Purāṇa, (2) Kālikā Purāṇa—distinct from the extant one available in print, (3) Nandā or Nanda Purāna (same as Nandi below), (4) Nandikeśvara Purāṇa, (5) Nandi Purāṇa, (6) Sāradā Purāṇa, (7) Sankeya Upa-Purāṇa, (8) Skanda Upa-purāṇa, and (9) Vāyavīya Upa-purāṇa.

The last chapter deals with twentyfive lost Upa-purāṇas of non-Sectarian or unknown origin, which may be enumerated as follows: (1) Āditya Purāṇa, (2) Ākheṭaka Upa-purāṇa, (3) Auśasa Upa-purāṇa, (4) Bārhaspatya Upa-purāṇa, (5) Bhāgavata Upa-purāṇa, (6) Brahmāṇḍa Upa-purāṇa, (7) Brhad-Auśanasa Upa-purāṇa, (8) Ekapāda Upa-purāṇa, (9) Garuḍa Upa-purāṇa, (10) Kūrma Upa-purāṇa, (11) Laghu Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, (12) Līlāvatī Upa-Purāṇa, (13) Mādhavī Purāṇa, (14) Maheśa Upa-purāṇa, (15) Mṛtyuñjaya Upa-purāṇa, (16) Nāradīya Upa-purāṇa, (17) Puṣkara Purāṇa, (18) Rudra Purāṇa, (19) Saura Purāṇa, (20) Soma Purāṇa, (21) Tvāṣṭra Purāṇa, (22) Ūrdhva Purāṇa, (23) Uttara-Saura, (24) Vāmana Upa-purāṇa, and (25) Yama Purāṇa.

86. Articles by Hazra on Upa-puranas

It may be stated here that some of the material covered in the volumes of the *Studies* has already appeared in the articles on the Upa-purāṇas by Hazra to which reference is presently made.

In an article on "the Upa-purāṇas — their extent, antiquity and origin", Hazra states that the age of the Upa-purāṇas begins approximately from the Gupta period and the date of the definite formation of 18 Upa-purāṇas as mentioned in the *Kūrma* is approximately between A.D. 650 and 800. As to their origin, it is supposed that it was the Smārta adherents to the popular systems of religion such as Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas, etc., who took up the

Purāṇas for establishing *Varṇāśramadharma* and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by the fresh additions of Purāṇic works — the Upa-purāṇas.[482]

In his latest article on the subject, contributed to the *Cultural Heritage of India*,[483] Hazra has dealt with the following topics: the extent, antiquity and origin of the Upa-purāṇa literature; contents and chronology of the Upa-purāṇas; Vaiṣṇava Upa-purāṇas; Śākta Upa-purāṇas; Śaiva Upa-purāṇas; Saura Upa-purāṇas; Gāṇapatya Upa-purāṇas; non-sectarian Upa-purāṇas; and Miscellaneous Upa-purāṇas.

87. Contributions of other scholars to Upa-Puranic Research.

In the *Vedaśastradīpikā* (in Marathi),[484] there is an article on "Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas" by Lakshman Shastri Murgudkar which deals with the Upa-purāṇas very briefly. Histories of Literature and Histories of Philosophy hardly, if at all, refer to the Upa-purāṇas.

88. Researches in Adi-Purana

The *Ādipurāṇa,* dealing with Kṛṣṇa's life and promulgating his glory, published by Venkatesvara Press, is quoted, according to Hazra, in the *Haribhaktivilāsa* and *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta,* and is not of much antiquity. It is distinct from the earlier *Ādipurāṇa* which is enumerated as one of the Upa-purāṇas and which is quoted in various Smṛtis and Nibandhas.[485]

89. Researches in Devi-Bhagavata and Devi Purana

Reference has already been made earlier to some articles dealing with the relation between the *Bhāgavata* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. Hazra has proved in his paper on the "Devī-Bhāgavata" that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* cannot be regarded as the real *Bhāgavata* and that it is much younger than the latter.[486]

In "Devī-Bhāgavata or Bhagavatī-Purāṇa" S. N. Tadpatrikar tentatively concludes from MSS evidence and "with a little help of imagination" that the Purāṇa was originally called *Śrī-Bhagavatī-Purāṇa,* with each of its parts called *Aṁśa,* and later, with the growing popularity of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata,* came the period of controversy when the devotees of Devī named their Purāṇa

Srīmad-Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa naming each part as *Skanda*. Then the two extremes met indiscriminately with different sorts of Adhyāya-colophons. Finally the word Devī was added to *Bhāgavata* to distinguish it from its rival and the word *Devī-Bhāgavata* is found in Adhyāya-colophons of printed editions.[487]

Contrary to the opinion of T. N. Ramachandran, who has tried to show that the scenes of the penance of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the Deogarh relief are based on the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa as contained in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Benares Ed. IV. 5-10, esp. ch. 6),[488] Hazra points out the difference between the Deogarh relief and the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and concludes that "it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purāṇic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the *Mbh.*"[489]

"The Devī-Purāṇa" by Hazra shows that it is one of the important Upa-purāṇas dealing with the exploits and the worship of Devī and containing particulars about literature on the worship of Śakti. Hazra believes the main body of the work to have been composed in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., somewhere in the vicinity of Tamluk in Bengal. There is an appendix listing verses quoted from *Devī-Purāṇa* in later works.[490] There is also an article on the *Devī-Purāṇa*, a work of Bengal.[491]

90. Researches in Maha-Bhagavata Purana

Hazra, in "the Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa, a work of Bengal", shows that as distinct from *Bhāgavata*, *Mahā-bhāgavata* is an Upa-purāṇa (though it calls itself Purāṇa, and Mahāpurāṇa, but never Upa-purāṇa and this claim is supported by *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*), dealing with the praise of Devī and her worship. It is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa. It was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[492]

91. Researches in Siva Purana

In "Problems relating to the Śiva Purāṇa"[493] after concluding that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is the same as the *Vāyavīya Mahāpurāṇa*, and that the present *Śiva Purāṇa* is merely an Upa-purāṇa, Hazra discusses the problem of the origin and growth of the *Śiva Purāṇa* with reference to the printed texts presented by the Vangavasi and Venkateswar editions which have only three Saṁhitās common to them.

V. V. Paranjape has considered some readings in the *Śiva Purāṇa.*[494]

92. Researches in Visnu-Dharmottara Purana

Hazra shows that the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* an encyclopaedic work of the Gupta period, cannot be dated earlier than 400 and later then 500 A.D. and was compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of Punjab.[495] Verses from the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* quoted in the Smṛti digests of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Caṇḍeśvara, Govindānanda, Raghunandana and Anantadeva figure in the " Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa : its Dharmaśāstra contents and their utilization in medieval digests", by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.[496]

S. C. Mukerji has made a critical study of the chapters on music in the *Viṣṇudharmottara.*[497] Bühler has stated that the *Viṣṇudharma* and *Viṣṇudharmottara* were canonical works according to Alberuni.[498]

The date of composition of the *Viṣṇudharma* has been put between A.D. 1250 and 1325 by Asoka Chatterji,[499] while H. P. Sastri refers to a MSS of it having been copied in A.D. 1047.[500] Kane has controverted the date assigned to the *Viṣṇudharma* by Hazra.[501]

93. Researches in Samba Purana

A long list of chapters common to the *Sāmba* and *Bhaviṣya,* has been given by Hazra in "the Sāmba Purāṇa, a Saura work of different hands".[502] It is stated that the *Sāmba* is mainly devoted to the cult of the *sun.* An analysis of its contents shows that the work has undergone handlings by different authors at different times, the Magian elements being incorporated probably during the reign of the Scythian kings.

In a paper entitled *"the Sāmba Purāṇa through the ages",*[503] Hazra has shown that the *Sāmba* has a number of chapters common with the *Bhaviṣya, Brahma* and *Skanda,* (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa

1). As regards common chapters, it is stated that the *Bhaviṣya* is the borrower; the *Sāmba* is the source of the *Brahma;* the text of the *Skanda* is based mainly on *Bhaviṣya,* but sometimes supplemented by *Brahma.* The *Sāmba* is placed between A.D. 500 and 800 while its interpolations are to be dated (1) between A.D. 700 and 950, (2) between A.D. 950 and 1050 and (3) between 1250 and 1500.

94. Researches in Narasimha, Brhad-dharma and Bhavisyottara Puranas

Genuine portions, as distinct from spurious additions, of the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa,* an Upa-purāṇa glorifying Narasiṁha, have been assigned by Hazra to the fifth century A.D.[504]

Hazra has shown that the *Bṛhad-dharma Purāṇa* is a work of Bengal belonging to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D.[505]

There is an anlysis of "the Bhaviṣyottara, *a non-sectarian* Upa-purāṇa *of wide popularity*" whose date of composition is placed by Hazra between A.D. 700 and 800.[506]

95. Researches in Kalika Purana

Gode puts the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* before 1000 A.D.[507] Raghavan states 700 A.D. as the earlier limit of the *Kālikā* and gives a summary of its contents.[508] R. C. Hazra distinguishes between the present and an earlier *Kālikā* and places the former between the tenth and the eleventh century A.D.[509] Tirthanath Sarma places "*Kālikā Purāṇa*", a compilation of the time of Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa to the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century.[510]

Hazra questions the view of Sarma, and places the *Kālikā* in the 10th or the first half of the 11th century A.D. The popularity of the cult of Tantrism is traced even before Indrapāla (A.D. 1033-1055).[511]

In his article on the "Kālikā-purāṇa, Kālidāsa and Māgha", Raghavan states that "the earliest reference to *Kālikā Purāṇa* now known is Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya,* and on this basis, Gode fixed A.D. 1000 as the lower limit for the date of *Kālikā Purāṇa.*[512] Māgha is assigned to the end of the 7th century and beginning of the 8th century A.D. And this date can be taken as furnishing the upper limit for the date of the *Kālikā Purāṇa.*"[513]

96. Researches in Ganesa Purana :

There is a good analysis of the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* given by Stevenson.[514] *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa,* which is an Upa-purāṇa glorifying Gaṇeśa, is said to have been produced in the Banaras region at a comparatively later period.

Hazra's paper gives an analysis of the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa.*[515] Reference has already been made to "*Gaṇpati* worship and the Upa-purāṇas dealing with it" by Hazra.[516]

97. Researches in Mudgala, Nandi, Nandikesvara and Brhannandikesvara Puranas

Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi, in an article in Sanskrit, has taken an exhaustive survey of the topics in the *Mudgala Purāṇa.*[517]

Hazra has gathered particulars about the *Nandī Purāṇa* from the extant Purāṇic literature as also from statements and quotations in Smṛti digests in the absence of a MS of the work.[518] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyengar holds that the original *Nandī* is probably lost and the verses quoted from it by Lakṣmidhara are almost on gifts of various kinds.[519]

Hazra has shown that the *Nandikeśvara* and the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* were two Upa-purāṇas written in Bengal. He reconstructs their contents etc., from quotations in other works.[520]

98. Researches in Saura and Agastya Puranas

"Saura Purāṇa" by Hazra gives an analysis of the Purāṇa and dates it "not earlier than 950 A.D."[521] The present *Saura* is distinct from the earlier *Saura* mentioned as a Mahāpurāṇa in the earlier *Kālikā* and is a work of the Pāśupatas.

J. Gonda has written about the "old Javanese Agastya Purāṇa", of unknown date and considerable length, edited and translated by him into Dutch. It is a work of the Purāṇa variety, and it is as yet impossible to say whether it was modelled upon a Sanskrit text or whether it is a complete work or a part of a larger text. In this work we find chapters dealing with the origin of Brahmarṣis and Manus, Manvantaras, genealogies, stories of Dakṣa, Kadrū, Vinatā, etc., philosophy, guru and his functions, etc.[522]

99. Researches in Ekamra and Kriya-yogasara Puranas

Hazra has analysed the contents of *Ekāmra-purāṇa* on the basis of a MS of the Purāṇa, which is conjectured to be the work of the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It is a Śaivite treatise in seventy chapters written in Orissa.[523]

Another article by Hazra deals with " Kriya-Yoga-Sara ", an independent Upa-purāṇa written in Bengal.[524]

IX

MISCELLANEA

100. Researches in stories and legends

Utgikar considers the story of the Ṛṣi Āni Māṇḍavya in its Sanskrit and Buddhistic source.[525] The comparison of the stories in the *Mbh, Purāṇas* and *Jātakas* shows that the story in the *Ādiparvan* is the original form from which the other versions were borrowed.

Lacchmi Dhar Shastri, however, sees in the Aṇi Māṇḍavya episode in the *Mbh* a parallel to the account of Jesus Christ in the Gospels. According to him Aṇi Māṇḍavya is "a representation of Jesus Christ in the *Mbh* in the most important aspects of his life and character.................." and "the teaching of Aṇi Māṇḍavya represents the teaching of Jesus Christ, repudiates *Karma* and upholds faith, hope and charity".[526]

In "The Palace of Hiraṇyakaśipu ", M. V. Vaidya considers the story of " Hiraṇyakaśipu ", occurring in two distinct forms in the Purāṇas. The description of Hiraṇyakaśipu's *sabha* in the Purāṇas presents striking parallelisms with about two dozen stanzas from the Sabhāparvan. As against Hopkins, who holds the description of the different sabhās in the epic to be later,[527] it is shown that the *Mbh* is the source-book of the Purāṇas in this case.[528]

The Indian flood-legends and the Matsya-P. have been studied by A. Hohenberger[529] where he deals with the worship of *Viṣṇu*.

The text of the story of Yayāti as found in the *Mbh* and the *Matsyapurāṇa* has been compared by G. P. Dixit,[530] principally from the metrical point of view; and the conclusion is that the metres of the *Matsya* belong to a later period of development than those of the *Mbh*.

Following Heras, A. P. Karmarkar takes the Matsyāvatāra to be a direct borrowing of the proto-Indian cult of Āṇ, and shows that the legends of the fish, underwent three different stages, viz. the *Śat. Brā*, the *Mbh* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[531]

In "Sāvitri and the Banyan", S. A. Dange shows that the *Mahābhārata* story has no reference to the banyan tree, but in the *Skanda* version, the banyan tree occupies prominent place.[532]

The myth of "Prajāpati and his daughter", according to Dange, refers to the type of kinless society among primitive Australians, primitive Semang people of the Malay peninsula or the totemistic Aruntas of Central Australia. It is not possible to say whether this myth originated among the far ancient Aryans or they borrowed it from the non-Aryans.[533] Dange has also written on "Kadrū, Vinatā and the Wager".[534]

Ronald M. Huntington has discussed the legend of Pṛthu.[535]

Spiritual interpretation of the Śākta and the Purāṇa episodes has been given by Jean Herbert.[536] According to the author the cart represents the human body and its overturning means the action, Yogic and otherwise, necessary to eliminate Asuric dangers to the body. Pūtanā represents the possessive maternal instinct.

Anant Krishna Shastri has taken a critical and comparative study of the Prahlāda-carita as presented in the Purāṇas, Upa-Purāṇas and the *Mbh*, and has tried to reconcile the varying and contradictory statements in several Purāṇas.[537] In another article he shows that the Prahlāda-carita has its source in the Śruti or Veda, viz. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.[538]

101. Interpretation of the Puranas

These different interpretations, suggested for some legends and episodes, bring us to the consideration of the interpretation of the Purāṇas. That all the statements in the Purāṇas are not to be taken at their face value was understood by people since olden times, and several methods of interpreting the Purāṇic data have been formulated. An indication of one such method can be had from Sukthankar's *Meaning of Mahābhārata*, where he takes a three-dimensional view of the *Mbh*.[539]

In an exhaustive article on the "Problem of Interpretation of the Purāṇas",[540] A. S. Gupta deals, with these eight different methods: (1) Nirvacana or etymology, (2) Factual interpretation, (3) Symbolical interpretation, (4) Mythological interpretation, (5) Aupacārika or figurative interpretation, (6) ontological or philosophical interpretation, (7) interpretation by means of the Yuga-Kalpa theory and (8) interpretation with the aid of (a) textual criticism, (b) non-Purāṇic works, (c) metaphors and allegories and (d) conventional descriptions.

"Some Significant Allegories in the Purāṇas"[541] have been considered by Pusalker under (i) natural phenomena, (ii) origin of the castes; (iii) stories of the epics, and (iv) Kārtavīrya Arjuna and Paraśurāma.

102. Researches in Angirasas and Bhrgus

R. S. Satyasrayi gives an account of the ancient Ṛṣi Āṅgiras and his family from the Vedas and Purāṇas and also of their propagation of the Vedic culture.[542] Ancient Bhṛgus have similarly been dealt with by A. Padmanabhayya from Vedic, Purāṇic and epic literature.[543]

103. Researches in Vratyas

"Vrātyas in Ancient India",[544] by A. P. Karmarkar adduces evidence from the *Mbh* and the Purāṇas to show that the Vrātya cult mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* is non-Āryan. It is further shown that the cult developed among the indigenous people of India, and the Aryans started in parallel institution of Cāturvarṇya, and later accepted Vrātyas into their fold after converting them by the rite Vrātyastoma.

On a consideration of Vedic, epic and Purāṇic texts Kshetresha-chandra Chattopadhyaya has shown that Vedic orthodoxy looked upon suicide with abhorrence, which was considered meritorious by non-Vedic ascetics. Later on Vedic orthodoxy compromised with the common culture if the land and approved of the 'religious suicide at Prayāga'.[545]

104. Researches in Vidyas

M. N. Ray writes about some Vidyās in the Purāṇas where he differentiates between parā and aparā vidyā, and between *vidyā* and *kalā*: 64 *vidyās* mentioned in the Purāṇas have been enumerated.[546]

105. Polity in the Puranas

"Polity in the Purāṇas" has been dealt with by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, where references to *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Agni* have been given.[547]

In the *Political thought in the Purāṇas*,[548] Jagdish Lal Shastri has collected together all passages dealing with *Rājanīti* from *Matsya, Agni, Mārkaṇḍeya, Garuḍa, Kālikā,* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇas*. The first thirtytwo pages give a summary in English of the different passages.

Purāṇa-viṣayānukramaṇī, Vol. I (in Hindi),[549] edited by R. B. Panday is an alphabetical register of the names of kings, queens, and other political and historical personages from the eighteen Purāṇas with a summary description of each.

Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, in a Sanskrit article, invites attention to the study of ancient Indian polity for the correct understanding of the Purāṇas.[550]

106. Music

Chapters on music from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* have been subjected to a critical study by Shyam Chand Mukerjee.[551]

107. Iconography

B. K. Barua deals with the iconographical representations of some Śakta Goddesses and their worship in medieval Assam on the basis of the *Kālikā-P*.[552]

Under "Crafts and Professions in the Purāṇas"[553] A. P. Karmarkar gives a list of different crafts and professions from the *Brahma* (42) and Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 203) arranged alphabetically with English equivalents.

108. Versions in regional languages

For the versions of the Purāṇas in different regional languages reference may be made to "Tamil versions of the Purāṇas",[554] by V. Raghavan, "Telugu version of the Purāṇas",[555] by R. V. Ramakoti Sastry, and "Kannada versions of the Purāṇas",[556] by M. K. Suryanarayanarao.

X

ADDENDA

109. Subject matter of the Puranas

Contrary to the usually held view, on the basis of *Pañcalakṣana* definition of the Purāṇas as given by the *Amarkoṣa*, that Dharma did not form the original subject-matter of the Purāṇas but was added to them later, Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, on the strength of the *Pañcalakṣana* definition of the Purāṇas quoted in the *Jayamangalā* on *Kauṭiliya-Arthaśastra*, shows that Dharma has been included as one of the characteristics of the Purāṇas in that definition.[557]

110. Historical importance of the Puranas

It is a good sign than an eminent archaeologist like Sankalia assigns the Purāṇas, along with the Vedic texts, to the proto-historic period,[558] thus confirming the view of Altekar,[559] Pusalker and others, though in a recent publication, a well-known English historian condemns the Purāṇas as purely imaginary in unambiguous terms.[560]

Archaeological excavations at Hastināpur,[561] which show evidence of flood in early levels, assignable to a period a few generations after the Bhārata war, have confirmed the Purāṇic statement[562] about the transfer of the capital from Hastināpur on account of floods.

Altekar,[563] Pulsalker,[564] Subbarao,[565] and Sankalia,[566] have tried to correlate the Puranic material with the findings of archaeological research in connection with the Aryan occupation in India and their expansion.

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